



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

L.SOC.120.N.Y.68.71 Vol.13-16

HARVARD UNIVERSITY



LIBRARY
OF THE

PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN
ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

BOUGHT FROM
LEWIS SEAVER DIXON FUND

Received December 29, 1941

6745

6-3

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

OF

FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN

1895

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
1896

L. S. Dixon, T. L.

Rec'd. Dec. 29, 1941

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES, 1895.

President: MERRILL E. GATES, LL.D., Amherst, Mass.

Secretaries: Mr. JOSHUA W. DAVIS and Mrs. ISABEL C. BARROWS.

Treasurer: Mr. FRANK WOOD, 352 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

Business Committee: Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT, Dr. M. E. STRIEBY, Mr. AUSTIN ABBOTT, Dr. L. C. WARNER, Mr. HERBERT WELSH, Hon. W. T. HARRIS, Mrs. A. S. QUINTON, and Miss ANNA L. DAWES.

Washington Committee: President M. E. GATES and others, to be appointed.

Law Committee: Mr. AUSTIN ABBOTT, Justice WILLIAM STRONG, PHILIP C. GARRETT, DARWIN R. JAMES, and Judge W. H. ARNOUX.

Publication Committee: FRANK WOOD and ISABEL C. BARROWS, Boston, Mass.

PREFACE.

THE thirteenth annual meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian was held, through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley, at the Lake Mohonk House, Ulster County, New York, Oct. 9-11, 1895. Six sessions were held. Among the many guests were several government officials from Washington, including the Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who were specially welcome, as their presence and words showed how sincere is their interest in Indian reform.

The report has been delayed by untoward accidents and circumstances over which the editor had no control. But, when it is remembered that manuscript for revision or proofs for correction had to be sent to at least thirty persons, and that in all these documents travelled not less than twenty-two thousand miles, the wonder is that none went astray, even though they were delayed. Nor must we be too impatient with the fact that in the pressure of professional life some of those who took part in the proceedings seemed dilatory in returning corrected proofs. The papers were well worth waiting for, and the volume was never of more value than this year.

One copy of this report is sent to each member of the Conference. If other copies are desired, application may be made to Mr. A. K. Smiley.

Boston, Dec. 31, 1895.

CONTENTS.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES	2
PREFACE	3
 FIRST SESSION.	
Survey of the Field, by Gen. E. Whittlesey	8
The Southern Utes, by Mr. Francis E. Leupp	12
Remarks by Commissioner Browning	14
Remarks by Dr. C. A. Eastman	15
Remarks by Rev. A. D. Riggs	17
The Pyramid Lake Indians, by A. K. Smiley	18
Remarks by Rev. H. B. Frissell	20
Remarks by Dr. Sheldon Jackson	21
Remarks by Mr. Alfred Hardy	23
Remarks by Rev. A. E. Dunning	25
 SECOND SESSION.	
Educational Work, address by Dr. W. N. Hailmann	26
The Relation of School Education to the Work of Civilizing Other Races, by W. T. Harris, LL.D.	33
Memorial Tributes	39
 THIRD SESSION.	
The Obstacles in the Way, by Commissioner Browning	41
Land in Severalty, by Rev. H. B. Frissell	46
The Severalty Law, by Hon. H. L. Dawes	48
Remarks by Capt. R. H. Pratt	52
Remarks by Rev. Albert Riggs	53
Remarks by President C. F. Meserve	54
Letter from H. B. Peairs	55
 FOURTH SESSION.	
Letters from Bishop Whipple	59
The Hopeful Features of our Work, by Mr. Herbert Welsh	60
Remarks by Miss Angel Dacora	63
Remarks by Mr. Edward Marsden	64
Remarks by Dr. Charles A. Eastman	66
Remarks by Dr. Carlos Montezuma	68
Remarks by Rev. Thomas Riggs	69
Remarks by Gen. O. O. Howard	70
 FIFTH SESSION.	
Scotch Highlanders and American Indians, by Rev. M. E. Strieby, D.D.	73
Extracts of Letters	79
Remarks on Reindeer, by Dr. Sheldon Jackson	81

Some Characteristics of the Indian, by Rev. J. N. Hallock	83
Address by Capt. R. W. Pratt	86
Remarks by Mrs. A. S. Quinton	89
Remarks by Mrs. C. B. Fisk	91
Remarks by Miss Ives	92
Address by Mrs. C. A. Eastman	92
The Indian Territory, by Hon. H. L. Dawes	95
The Indian Territory, by Hon. T. J. Morgan	99

SIXTH SESSION.

Address by Rev. C. L. Thompson, D.D.	102
Remarks by Pres. J. D. Dreher	103
Lake Mohonk Platform	105
Address on the Indian Territory, by Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D.	107
Law for the Indian, by Austin Abbott, LL.D.	110

LIST OF MEMBERS	118
LIST OF SPEAKERS AND WRITERS	121
INDEX OF SUBJECTS	121

THE THIRTEENTH LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 9, 1895.

The thirteenth session of the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference began Wednesday morning, Oct. 9, 1895, assembled at the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley. Among the guests were representatives of the government at Washington, men of all professions, army officers, and several Indians. After the morning devotions Mr. Smiley opened the Conference, and in a brief speech welcomed all who were present to participate in the proceedings. He nominated as the presiding officer President Merrill E. Gates, who was unanimously elected. As Dr. Gates was delayed, so that he could not be present at the opening session, Dr. Lyman Abbott was elected to preside during the morning meeting.

Dr. Abbott, in taking the chair, reviewed rapidly the changes that have taken place in Indian affairs during the past few years. After speaking of what the Lake Mohonk Conference had done toward bringing the reservation system to a close and inaugurating a broad educational system under the charge of and supported by the government, he continued as follows:—

Now there remain some other questions. What shall be done for the protection of the Indian while he is in the transition state? He has his land given to him; but he is not taxed, because experience has shown that, if his lands could be taxed, there was danger that they might be taxed away from him. What is to be done in this direction? For my own part I am very sure that the Indian, during the period of transition, should have a right wherever he is to appeal to the federal courts; but it is certain that to-day in many localities he is neither amenable to law on one side nor able to appeal to the law on the other. I hope we shall have a clear statement of some of the injustices and wrongs growing out of that condition and suggestions as to what practical remedy can be devised and put into execution to get for the Indian that protection of law which is the basis of all civilization. Then there is the Indian Territory, which stands in a peculiar relation, different from the reservations in general. It is not for me to give any statement of what that differ-

ence is, but the Commission that has been appointed to inquire into this has gone far enough to discover great wrong and injustice there. Senator Dawes is the chairman of that Commission, and we shall expect to hear from him on that subject. Whatever remedies are to be applied must be applied by Congress, but we must help to form the public opinion that shall secure such remedies in Congress. Then there is the question of administration. We are all aware that the Indian service has suffered a great deal from constant changes for political reasons. I am sure also that it may be said with great confidence that the present administration, and especially the Secretary of the Interior, is very desirous of getting the Indian department out of politics and making the administration non-partisan. I hope and trust that we shall have some consideration of that subject, and that we shall not adjourn without pledging to the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs our co-operation in any feasible plan that promises to accomplish this result. As I understand the facts, the administration has gone as far as it can well go to place it under civil service rules. Indian agents cannot be appointed under those rules. The question whether anything else can be done to secure legal exemption of the Indian department from the spoils system is the most important question next to the law question. It is largely a question of administration.

On motion the following persons were elected :—

Secretaries, Mr. Joshua W. Davis and Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows.

Treasurer, Mr. Frank Wood, Boston.

Committee on Business and Resolutions, Dr. Lyman Abbott, Rev. Dr. M. E. Strieby, Mr. Austin Abbott, Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Miss Anna L. Dawes, Dr. L. C. Warner, Mr. Herbert Welsh, Hon. W. T. Harris.

The first paper of the morning was read by General E. Whittlesey.

SURVEY OF THE FIELD.

BY GENERAL E. WHITTLESEY.

I hold in my hand the proof-sheets of the first few pages of the annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. I am restricted to the bare mention of a few of the more important matters which are contained in this interesting report.

The appropriations for the entire Indian service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1896, are \$6,716,712.24.

That is \$16,200.94 less than for the previous year. For education the amount appropriated is \$2,056,000.02, 2 per cent. less than the previous year; and that year the appropriation was about 9 per cent. less than the year before. That year the appropria-

tion was 2 per cent. less than the former years. So for the last three years the appropriations for education have been sadly diminishing. Notwithstanding that, the attendance at all the schools during the last year is more than in the previous year. The enrolment was 23,096, and the average attendance, 18,188, was 968 more than in the previous year. You can see that the greatest economy and prudence must have been exercised by the administrative officers in bringing up the attendance in this way, while the appropriations were less than for the previous year.

The educational work has been carried on in the same lines as in former years, and all the different classes of schools have been kept in operation as before. An effort has been made to place the Indian children in the public schools of the various States without any very great success as yet on account of the prejudice that exists against mingling the Indians and whites in schools. Still there has been some advance. The number so placed during the last year is nearly double the number of the former year, being 487 last year. I need not give the statistics of the various classes of schools; but I will just say a few words in regard to the contract schools,—a matter which has been before this Conference so often. The whole amount assigned for the support of contract schools during the present year is \$370,796, a reduction of 20 per cent. in accordance with a law passed by the last Congress.

Great difficulty has been experienced by the Commissioner in making this reduction, but he says that he had decided not to make a uniform horizontal reduction everywhere. He has continued without modification contracts with schools at points where the government has no schools or where there are very inadequate school facilities. He has also reduced the number of pupils to be contracted for at points where the government had already provided school accommodations. In some schools the per capita allowance has been reduced. Some schools have been taken under the entire charge of the government which had been formerly under the different denominations. A very excellent school plant has been established at the La Point Agency in Wisconsin. It was my privilege to visit that reservation last spring, and I saw the excellent work which the agent has been doing for the education of the Flambeaux Indians. New buildings are in process of erection at several other points. It has been determined among others to give five new schools to the Navajoes, who have so long been neglected and who for so many years have been utterly indifferent to all educational privileges. A great awakening has taken place among them, and they are very anxious to have their children educated.

Besides all that has been done, there are yet many needs in the Indian school service. Large numbers of children are yet unprovided for, although the enrolment for the last year amounts to something more than 60 per cent. of all the Indian school population of the tribes outside of the five so-called civilized tribes of the old Indian Territory, though these tribes are not more civilized than many other tribes. The Indians of the State of New York are provided for by

that State. Though more than 60 per cent. are thus provided for, there remain thousands and thousands of Indian children for whom there are no school facilities.

On two reservations the school plants have been consumed by fire, at Santee and White Earth; and, although temporary arrangements have been made for the accommodation of the schools, it will be necessary to erect school buildings. At the Rosebud Agency there is no boarding-school, and never has been; but one is much needed. All this shows that there is yet much to be done. There is work enough to be accomplished. The Commissioner writes an interesting paragraph with regard to field matrons and field teachers:—

Upon the recommendation of the agents at Standing Rock and Rosebud Agencies there have been established among the Sioux the positions of "female industrial teachers (field service)," payable from the Sioux educational fund. Their duties are similar to those of the field matrons,—visiting Indian homes and teaching the women the art of domestic economy. The importance of this work is very great, and will have a direct bearing upon the education of the girls, and make brighter the home life of the returned pupils.

For strictly field matron work Congress gave for the current fiscal year \$5,000 more than last year, making the appropriation \$10,000. This enables the office to heed a few more calls of agents and Indians for field matrons to be assigned to their fields; but, for want of funds, quite as many requests have been refused as have been granted.

I trust that the appropriation for next year will grant a still further increase in the fund. No doubt as to the value of the service rendered by field matrons toward ameliorating and elevating Indian home life has ever been suggested. As an experiment, its success was conceded beforehand; and four years of actual experience only strengthens belief in the good which is being accomplished by the expenditures for such work.

With regard to the allotments of land the report does not give a complete statement. It goes as far as to say that 4,466 patents have been issued during the last year, and something more than 2,000 have been approved by the Indian Office, and the patents are now being prepared.

One other matter is of interest. The department is giving employment in the schools and in other ways to as many as possible of the graduates of the larger non-Reservation Indian schools. The policy is to appoint, where it is possible, assistant teachers from this class of graduates; and many are now thus employed. With regard to other appointments in the service the policy is to promote from lower positions men who have proved efficient and faithful to higher positions up to the agent. In that connection it may not be improper for me to say that at the Conference in Washington last January the Secretary of the Interior pleased greatly all who were assembled by announcing that it was his determination to make the Indian school service from this time on absolutely non-partisan; that his plan was to appoint civilian agents for vacancies, employing, when possible, those who had formerly been in the service and had done good work without regard to their political connections; that his policy would be to advance clerks who had proved efficient. During the last year that plan has been carried out to my knowledge. I believe the Sec-

retary is entirely sincere in his determination to make the service non-partisan.

Two or three other matters I may briefly allude to. The so-called Bannock War turned out to be a dastardly outrage of some white men upon innocent Indians. It has caused the department at Washington a great deal of anxiety. It has cost a good many thousands of dollars in the movement of troops, and has cost the lives of innocent men, women, and children.

Another matter is the Ogden land claim in the State of New York. The appropriation bill for the current fiscal year provides that the Secretary of the Interior be, and hereby is, authorized to negotiate with the Ogden Land Company

for the purchase of the interests said company may possess, if any, in the Cattaraugus and Allegany Indian reservations in the State of New York.

He is also authorized to negotiate with the said Indians under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe as to the terms upon which the said Indians will consent to the United States purchasing the interest of said company in said reservations, if such interest is found to exist; and the Secretary of the Interior shall make a full report to Congress of his proceedings under this provision.

The Secretary at my suggestion appointed Mr. Philip C. Garrett, of Philadelphia, to negotiate for the purchase of this claim which has been hanging over the Indians for so long. I do not know that anything has yet been accomplished. Certain legal points in connection with it have been referred to the Department of Justice for opinion.

The matter of leases of Indian lands allotted was before the Conference last year, and had been very thoroughly investigated by our lamented friend, Mr. Painter. The same provision is contained in the appropriation bill this year. The disastrous result from this leasing, especially among the Omahas and Winnebagoes, will be presented more fully later.

Nothing has been said to show that there is anything in the situation and outlook to cause discouragement, but much to fill us with confidence and hope for the future.

But there yet remains much land to be possessed, much work to be done. It is only by hard, patient, and faithful labor that the rough material of human nature can be shaped into forms of refinement and civilization. We must hand over this work very soon to younger hands and men of stronger brains and better hearts; and they with the blessing of God will accomplish that which sometimes seems to us impossible, and we trust that they and their descendants will see the work in which we are so much interested fully achieved.

Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT.—I think it would be hard to find a younger man with better brain and better heart than the one who has just spoken to us. We have made no reference to those who have gone from their work on earth to what I believe is the larger work of the other world, because this evening one hour is to be taken to pay their memories some tribute of respect. Among them was Mr.

Painter, and perhaps no man ever brought us more in a large way than he was accustomed to bring from year to year. His work has been taken up by Mr. Francis E. Leupp, who will speak to us next.

THE SOUTHERN UTES.

BY MR. FRANCIS E. LEUPP.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The month of June and a part of July I passed among the Utes in Southern Colorado. You may remember the fight which my predecessor made, and which he so gloriously won, in preventing the Colorado people from driving the Southern Utes into Utah and putting them upon a reservation entirely unfitted for their advancement. The reservation on which they now are is about 110 miles long by 15 wide in the southwestern part of Colorado. Congress at its last session passed a bill—whose author I cannot discover—which provides for cutting the reservation in two, concentrating the tribe upon the west 40 miles, with a small addition in New Mexico, and throwing open the rest to white settlers.

The Southern Ute tribe contains about a thousand members. They are divided into three bands,—the Weeminuches, the Moaches, and the Capotes. The most unprogressive band, the Weeminuches, live already at the west end of the reservation. They care simply to ride their horses, hunt, and indulge in savage pastimes. The more progressive Indians are at the east end of the reservation. Last winter's act gives permission to any of the Indians who desire, and whom the Secretary of the Interior considers fit, to take land in severalty on the east end of the reservation before it is thrown open. This plan was hatched in Durango, which occupies a position just north of the middle of the part to be opened to white settlers. That town was anxious to have the land thrown open, so that new railroads might go through, and more trade be developed. The consent of three-fourths of the adult male Indians, which is customary, was not required, but only that of a bare majority. When the vote was taken, a majority of just five was shown, but that was unquestioned; and the Secretary of the Interior seemed to have no option but to move to the west end of the reservation that part of the tribe who did not take allotments.

Prior to allowing the bill to pass, the Colorado senators, who were in communication constantly with their constituents, went to the Secretary of the Interior, and asked him what he intended to do when the bill came to him for approval. He told them that he thought it would be much wiser for Congress to pass some resolution which would indicate its intention to let these Southern Utes alone, and then allow the Indian Office to see what it could do toward bringing them up to civilization under conditions of assured stability. They

got him to put this idea into the form of a written letter, and to add that he did not consider most of these Indians fit for allotment at present; that there were about twenty or thirty who had shown some disposition to farm and adopt civilized ways, but that to the rest of the tribe he thought it would be unwise to make allotments. With that letter in their pockets they went on and passed the bill, trusting that the Secretary would refuse to allot land to more than the twenty or thirty, as that would give them an opportunity to push the rest into the west end. But, when the Secretary came to put the bill into operation, he found himself confronted with this problem. Here were the progressive Indians who were to be pushed in among the unprogressive Indians, which meant their certain degradation. They would lose every iota of civilization they had acquired. How could he save them from such a fate? He made this test as to the fitness of an Indian for allotment: Did he desire to take land in severalty, after he had had explained to him what allotment meant, and all the conditions of citizenship? It was not, mark you, a condition which the Secretary had invited himself; but it had been forced upon him. He therefore ordered a roll to be made of those who wished allotments. When the Indians assembled, Major Kidd, who was the commissioner solely authorized by the Interior Department to make the enrolment, was absent on other business, and had deputed his work to the agency clerk. The clerk could not do anything but his delegated duty; and the agent, owing to Major Kidd's having been constituted sole representative of the department, did not feel authorized to take any part in the conference. I therefore rose before the signing began, and said that I was willing to take the responsibility of stopping the whole business till I was sure that the Indians knew what they were going into. I then explained to the Indians what citizenship meant, putting the worst side of it to them. I made them understand that, as citizens, they could no longer be treated as children; that they would be amenable to the laws like any white person; that, if an Indian should get drunk, or steal, or commit any other offence against the law, he would be arrested by the sheriff or the police, and locked up and punished, just as a white man would be. I knew that that would be a most forcible argument with them. I had the agency interpreter turn my words into their language, of which I understood enough to keep a general run of what he was saying. Then I invited questions. Buckskin Charley, chief of the Moaches, asked several that were intelligent concerning taxation and other kindred matters, showing that the Indians understood what I had told them. Then he made a few remarks to his own people, and the enrolment began. Most of those present decided that they would take land in severalty,—not that they desired it, but because it seemed the only way to prevent their being removed.

Colonel Day, the Southern Ute agent, is a typical South-western man in every way; but he was the only person in that whole community who was standing by the Indians. And he has stood by them manfully. He has refused to allow the Indians to be badgered or betrayed. He has stood out all alone, in spite of the fact that he has

been threatened with injuries and indignities of all sorts, including the boycotting of his paper and such personal assaults as would make it disagreeable for his family to continue to live in Durango. He had been through the Civil War, though, as General Blair's chief of scouts, and knew something of roughing it; and these things did not frighten him.

The end of the whole story was that an allotting commission was appointed. Mr. Julius Schutze, of Texas, a German editor of prominence, was made chairman, Colonel Day the second member, and Major Kidd the third. They are now making the allotments. The condition of the Indians is not far advanced in civilization. A good many are blanket Indians still; but they are naturally a clever lot of men, and a number of them have taken up farming with a desire to do something at it. Buckskin Charley has sixty acres, which he cultivates himself or with the help of Mexicans. I found him working in the field. His wife has adopted some of the ideas of white women. He has built some rude but substantial little houses for himself and for his cattle, and his wife has trained vines against them as a white woman would. The Ute women are very bright, but they have never had an opportunity of doing anything for themselves. The only "field matron" they have is the agency trader. He bought a sewing-machine, and invited the Indian women to learn sewing. A number came over and took lessons. They grasped the idea readily, and soon were able to make garments. Of course, the trader has an eye to the main chance. He realizes that the more the women can sew, the more dresses they will want.

The future of these Indians is problematical. The west end of the reservation is an arid desert. There is only one river on it, the Mancos, which dries up by the middle of August every year. There are seven rivers on the east end, where the allotments are in progress.

Several difficulties present themselves in endeavoring to execute the new law for the good of the Indians. The first thing necessary is to arrange for irrigating that part of the reservation to which the bulk of the tribe will be removed. And some way will have to be found of irrigating the ranches of those who take land in severalty. Under the laws of Colorado water rights issue in the order in which the claims are "proved up," and of course the whites are trying to get all the water possible. It may be necessary to buy a few ranches above the reservation which have water sources, in order to control the water below. But I am sure that the Secretary of the Interior takes the greatest interest in this matter, and will do all that he possibly can for the tribe.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs was invited to speak.

Commissioner BROWNING.—*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen*,—I appreciate highly the privilege of being here and of listening to those whom I know to be friends of the Indian. I have heretofore read with pleasure and profit the proceedings of the Con-

ferences held here, but this is the first time I have had an opportunity to come. It has been a busy year at the Indian Office. I have taken no outing; and those who have come to offer advice and suggestions have not always done so with an eye single to improving the condition of the Indians. I wanted to come here, and thought that by doing so I might have my spiritual and bodily strength renewed, and return to my work with new zeal. I made a special effort to have my annual report printed, that I might bring copies of it here for distribution. I failed in this, but there will be proof-sheets of it in the hands of General Whittlesey for the use of the members of the Conference.

One of the important things a judge learns when he enters upon his duties on the bench is to gracefully reverse his own decision if he finds that he has been led into delivering an erroneous one. So where mistakes have been made in my work, or if it is found that the work is being prosecuted in the wrong direction, I desire to call a halt, "about face," if necessary, and work upon other lines. I will not further interrupt the regular proceedings of the Conference. If, during the discussions that hereafter take place, I can give you any information that will aid you, I shall be very glad to do it.

I thank you for your cordial reception.

Dr. ABBOTT.—We have all been interested in the reports, which have been fragmentary, of the work which Dr. Charles Eastman has been doing in establishing Young Men's Christian Associations among the Indians; and we shall be glad to hear from him.

Dr. EASTMAN.—Although I am myself an Indian, and travel among Indians and study their nature as if I were not of the same race, I am anxious to learn more about them. We all have peculiar ideas and theories in regard to the Indians. We are earnest and enthusiastic in our theories. It is perfectly natural that we should try to get hold of the Indian as a whole, and train him body, mind, and soul; but it is hard to know how this is to be done. Missionaries work among them faithfully, and many schools are established for Indians in the East and at their own homes; but the outcome is slow and sometimes discouraging. I see here and there barbarism among Indians who are supposed to be well advanced, but I see similar things in the highest civilization. We must not therefore be too much discouraged, but keep in mind that all these efforts are for good.

My special work was started by the missionaries. It succeeded to a certain extent, but I want Young Men's Christian Associations among the Indians to be like those among white people. They should be able to hold the young men who have been trained in the East, and keep them in the right way when they return to their homes. The object is to interest young men in other young men. In the old days the young men of the tribes were a power. That time has died out; but we can regain that power, and utilize it. We must prepare them by physical and mental training to develop their

higher faculties. There are excellent Christians among the Indians, but one of the sad features that I have found is that there is a denominational line which is not good for the young men. Such a thing may not be dangerous to you, because you are so advanced in civilization; but it is a great detriment to our people. It obstructs any true progress. We have a good many Christian people and good churches here and there, and yet there is much superficial Christianity among our Indians that I would like to see done away with. What I wish to do is to establish Young Men's Christian Associations, and invite every man to go in, whether he is a Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, or whatever he may be. We want to study together simple, practical Bible studies. We want physical exercises, that we may improve our muscles. We want other studies, that we may improve our minds, and so encourage one another. Then, when a student comes back, we can bring him in among ourselves. There is no life in our young men to-day. The spirit of the Indian is broken, and he can never accomplish anything unless it is revived. That is what we want to do through the Young Men's Christian Associations. But it takes men, time, money, and sacrifice. We want to get the Indian to see that he can improve his body, his mind, his soul, just as well as any other race. These things are not hard for us with our surroundings, but they are harder for the Indian. He has been so long on the shady side of civilization that he is accustomed to it, and it has hardened his feelings.

The young men are becoming interested in these Young Men's Christian Associations. We can organize two or three in every reservation. There we can have meetings weekly, and establish some kind of athletic sports. There are no games now among the Indian race but gambling games. I want to do away with all that. I want to have pure, elevating, strengthening games and sports. These we can have under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association. I went not long since to Standing Rock Agency, where they were issuing beef; and there were hundreds of young men together, racing ponies and betting. Now, that is not entirely the fault of the Indian. It is the condition they live in. It is because of the lack of healthy, proper, enjoyable games that they fall into these things.

My work, then, you see, is to try to get the young men to sympathize with one another, to hold together for developing their manhood, their character. I want to have summer schools where these young men can come together in a simple way, and have contests, foot-races, lacrosse, and polo on ponies, and persuade them to give up horse-racing and other degrading things.

We have sent one young man to the Springfield Young Men's Christian Association training school. We expect to train him for local work, but I should like to have more than one trained whom we could turn into the field. We need from \$2,500 to \$3,000 a year to carry on this work.

Rev. A. D. Riggs was then introduced.

Mr. RIGGS.—I believe in the coming of the kingdom of God on earth, and so as a missionary of the gospel I have always been interested in using everything that would bring the Indian into a true relation to our Christian citizenship. During twenty-five years I have travelled largely in the Dakotas and in Nebraska; and, as I look back over the years, I see a great deal to encourage us. It is not that we have always done the best thing first or have entirely succeeded in what we were aiming at as American Christian citizens; but we have made progress, and have found some things that can be done, and some more that ought to be done, for the Indian.

There has been a wonderful advance in the attitude of the government toward the general question of education. It is on a higher plane. Then, too, something has been done in bringing the Indians into citizen relations. There are some discouraging things that can be told, as, for instance, the present condition among the Omahas and the practical failure of their citizenship. But I am not at all discouraged, because I think we are simply brought to the necessity of looking into the subject more thoroughly. It is not enough to study a thing in theory. Things must be brought into practical relations. At Santee we have been able to make a success in bringing the citizen Indian into true civil relations, and so I believe it can be done in other places. The present failure among the Omahas is because we did not begin right. A great deal will have to be done by the influence of Christian public opinion outside and by Christian agencies that are set in motion by organizations like the Indian Rights Association. The Indian may have a standing in theory before the law, but he has not by reason of that in the courts. He must be led into his relationships. He must be led into taking his part in the civil order, and this is one thing we have failed to make any arrangement for. Our government needs to take another step ahead. We must make some provision by which we shall make all our government agencies agencies of civilization. Again, justice costs something. Our communities do not want to be taxed for the court processes that are required for Indian cases, and so they are thrown out. We had a fight before we could get them into our county courts, and we had another fight before we could get police or local justice allowed. It is certainly fair that we should meet for the Indian the expense of bringing him into civil order, and not saddle the expense upon his next-door neighbors. That is a thing that is to be looked after. The Indian is always amenable to law. You may go down to our penitentiary at Sioux Falls, but you will not find any of our citizen Indians imprisoned there. There may be Indians there, but they are not those who have come into citizen relationship. That means a great deal. It means that, where they have an understanding of their position and responsibility, they have met it half-way. So there is great hope when we look at it practically. A great deal of the educational work has been taken up by the government. It is right that it should be; but, still, our missionary work has its own place. What we need for these tribes is that they shall have men with character, who have a look ahead, and

faith in the future among them. Dr. Eastman has testified that they are broken in a great many ways. They lack ambition, and it affects their bodily vitality. They must get a Christian hope, something that is noble and worthy to elevate them, to enable them to withstand sudden temptation and to meet their new responsibilities, and stand up in the face of this overwhelming civilization that has come to them. They must come to believe in it, and in their place in it. There is no hope for our Indians except as we bring in Christianity as a vital force. Our training school, therefore, has a more vital relationship to our advance than it ever had. Our work, then, is vital; and it depends on you whether it shall be supported or whether it shall fall into the background.

Dr. ABBOTT.—One gentleman who has attended this Conference from the beginning has been visiting, at the request of the Secretary of the Interior, the Indians of Pyramid Lake. You will be glad to hear from him; and I take great pleasure in introducing Mr. Albert K. Smiley.

Mr. SMILEY.—At the last session of Congress a bill was introduced by Senator Stewart, of Nevada, Senate Bill No. 99, providing among other things for the relinquishment of the Indian title to the entire Walker River Reservation and to a portion of the Pyramid Lake Reservation in Western Nevada, and for the removal of the Walker River Indians to Pyramid Lake.

This bill had been indorsed by the late Secretary Noble and Commissioner Morgan, and further indorsed by Secretary Hoke Smith and Commissioner Browning, none of whom were aware of the full effect of the bill. Otherwise they would not have given it their approval.

This bill failed to pass the last Congress, but will doubtless be pressed for passage in some form at the ensuing Congress. As the bill is a most iniquitous one, I desire that the members of this Conference may be posted in regard to its main features, and be prepared to help defeat its passage by any future Congress.

The late Professor C. C. Painter, a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, who is well known to this Conference as a staunch defender of the rights of Indians, found out that Senate Bill 99 was very injurious to the Indians, and wrote to Secretary Smith, suggesting further investigation. This resulted in a request from the Secretary that the Board of Indian Commissioners send some one to investigate the whole matter, and report.

The board sent me on this errand; and last April I visited the two reservations of Pyramid Lake and Walker River, and thoroughly examined the whole situation, and sent in my report to the government.

In Western Nevada two rivers rise in the high mountains, and, after flowing a long distance, in the latter part of their course through a desert country, terminate in two lakes without outlet. The first river is the Truckee, rising in Lake Tahoe and flowing into Pyramid Lake.

A band of about one thousand Indians live along the banks of this river near its mouth, and cultivate a narrow belt of land, conducting the water into irrigating ditches, and raising valuable crops.

The United States set apart about twenty-five miles of the lower part of this river and also the whole of Pyramid Lake as a reservation for these Indians. The Central Pacific Railroad passes along the upper end of this reservation; and the town of Wadsworth has sprung up upon Indian lands, without any title to the land upon which this large collection of houses has been built. The Indians have been driven down the river, and are now living some ten miles away from the whites.

There is a thriving United States boarding-school on this reservation; and the Indians are living very comfortably, deriving their sustenance by farming in the narrow valley of the river and by selling to the white settlers fish obtained in abundance at Pyramid Lake. There are only three or four acres of cultivatable land for each family, and consequently there is no room for more Indians.

The second river is the Walker River, emptying into Walker Lake. The lake and the lower part of the river are set apart as a reservation.

The Indians, about eleven hundred in number, live along the banks of the river, are self-supporting, and are altogether pleasantly situated. They live in comfortable houses, raise good crops of alfalfa, wheat, barley, corn, and potatoes, have excellent fences, and are in a thriving condition. There is a day school for the children.

The Carson & Colorado Narrow Gauge Railroad runs the whole length of the reservation; and the United States, in granting this privilege to the railroad company, stipulated that the Indians should ride free and that their farm products should be carried to market free. The Indians can ride only on top of the cars, and are charged freight; but the agent has forced the company to refund a part of the freight charges. The railroad company covet these lands, and also desire to free themselves from the obligations imposed by their charter. Senator Stewart is said to be the paid attorney of this company.

These Indians live on land which the United States solemnly covenanted with the Mexican government to hold for their occupancy and benefit.

Senate Bill No. 99 proposes to summarily remove these Indians from their ancestral homes, within one year from the passage of the bill, to a barren part of the Pyramid Lake Reservation, eighty miles away, giving the Indians only the value of their improvements. These two bands to be placed side by side are very hostile to each other, and are unanimously opposed to the proposed removal.

A prominent feature of the bill is to build an irrigating ditch forty-five miles long, conveying the water of the Truckee River to the desert land on which the Walker River Indians are to be located. The bill appropriates \$250,000, mainly to build this ditch. The town of Wadsworth and 17,000 acres of land belonging to whites are first to be supplied from the ditch, and the Indians' land is at

the extreme end of the ditch. It is quite doubtful whether the Truckee River can be carried forty-five miles in an open ditch, in porous soil, even should no water be abstracted in its course. It is morally certain that the Indians would get no water after the whites are supplied. The proposed ditch will take all the water of the Truckee River, which now irrigates the Pyramid Lake Indian lands. The effect of the bill will be to destroy the farming operations of both bands of Indians, who have been encouraged to improve their lands under the expectation of holding them in perpetuity. 2,100 industrious and deserving Indians will be made paupers, to be supported for all time by the United States government.

Another part of the scheme is to take away from the Indians the north and west shores of Pyramid Lake, where all the fishing is done, and thus deprive them of an important means of support.

Another feature of the bill is to restore to the public domain the town of Wadsworth and the land six miles north of it, without any compensation to the Indians.

In my judgment, the effect of the bill will be to entail upon the United States a heavy expense, say from \$300,000 to \$500,000, for which there will be no adequate return, and to ruin two tribes of Indians, who have been making steady improvements in the cultivation of their lands and the education of their children, under a solemn promise of a secure tenure to their ancestral possessions. The whole scheme is an outrage, unworthy of a civilized people.

REV. H. B. FRISSELL.—Last summer I visited the Sioux Reservation. I had not been there for twelve years, when I had found Sitting Bull at Standing Rock with his company of Indian warriors, huddled together in an Indian village, with every token of barbarism. This summer I found a very different state of things. There is still much that is discouraging, but there is also great cause for encouragement. The Indians who twelve years ago were thus crowded together are now scattered out on the farms and living in their homes. They have their shops, their churches, and their school-houses; and the students from Carlisle, Hampton, and other schools are instructing their people in habits of thrift and industry. There is a general move forward all along the line.

I attended the Sioux City conference, where a large number of those employed by the government in connection with the schools were assembled, to discuss the best plans for the education and elevation of the Indian. It was a goodly company of men and women, and they showed the greatest interest in the work in which they were engaged. Those who go frequently into the Indian country must see the vast difference between the agencies of to-day and those of a few years ago. We have heard here of one and another who have stood by the Indians in times of great stress, and I believe that the number is increasing rapidly. I have been pleased to see the interest that the Indian agents are taking in their work, and their devotion to it. But there are things which neither Indian agents nor government schools can accomplish. The Christian churches of this country must help in this work.

The condition of the Omahas has been discussed. There is much that is discouraging in their present situation, and there are many who say that the Dawes Bill is a failure. I believe that citizenship for the Indian is to be his salvation, and we must press for it as rapidly as possible. But, in the move out from reservation life into citizenship, the Christian people of the country need to stand behind the Indian. It is most unfortunate that the Board of the Presbyterian Church has not been supported sufficiently, and that the mission school at the Omaha Reservation, which for years did most excellent work, has been given up. How are we to expect these Indians to accomplish anything, if, when they most need help, they are left in the lurch? We have had many discussions here at Mo-honk in regard to contract schools. When the government aid was withdrawn from these schools, the churches of the country pledged themselves that they would see that the Indians did not suffer. But the Indians have suffered all through the West, and the churches have not lived up to their agreement. Schools have been closed, missions given up, and those that remain are only partially supported.

One word as to the relation of Hampton to this work. We had a hard fight in Congress last year for our appropriation. Although the school is entirely unsectarian, there were those who felt that no aid should be given to a contract school, even though it was un-denominational. We feel at Hampton that there is yet work for us to do for the Indian, and that the West needs more such young men and women as we have sent out. There seems to be no reason why the cry of separation of Church and State should cause Congress to withdraw its aid from a school which is entirely unsectarian, which has had in the past, and ought still more to have in the future, an important influence upon the education and life of the Indians in this country.

Eastern schools have an opportunity which is not afforded to those in the West to bring the Indians into contact with those of other races, and by means of their outing system to show them what home life among the whites is. Too much cannot be said for the good accomplished by Captain Pratt in this direction.

The next speaker was Dr. Sheldon Jackson.

Dr. JACKSON.— I come to represent Alaska. We have no Indians in Alaska: we have natives. When Alaska began to be developed, some wise man said: "What are you going to do with the natives? Do you want reservations?" The answer was, "No." "Do you want agents?" "No." "Do you want those people to be sheltered behind the Indian policy of the government?" "No. We do not want any Indian government at all." "What do you want, then?" "We want citizenship right from the start, and that the people should simply be called natives." It was at first a constant fight to keep from being called Indians. We wanted to commence where the friends of the Indian left off. We wanted to avail ourselves of

the experience of the past on the Indian question; and so we have no Indians, we have only natives. The natives have all the rights that any white man has. There has never been a time since the establishment of courts in that land when a native could not go into court, could not sue and be sued, like any white man.

Then we tried to improve on what the churches had done in other lands. We did not want Presbyterians and Congregationalists and Methodists and Baptists and Friends all huddled together in one corner of Alaska. We did not want half a dozen missionary societies working in one corner with 6,000 people, and leaving thousands of barbarians outside without any chance to hear the gospel. So we called a convention in New York City of the great missionary bodies; and, with a large map of Alaska before them, they decided on their separate missions. The Presbyterians had been at work in South-east Alaska, and they kept their place. The Church of England had had missionaries for forty years along the arctic circle, and had sent their men down the country along the Yukon River. So that valley was given to the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Methodists, with an eye to gain and commerce, said, Where is the centre of Alaska? It was answered, About 1,200 miles west of Sitka. And they took the Aleutian Islands for their special field. The Moravians took the valleys of the Kuskoquim and Nushegak Rivers. And later the Congregationalists took the land around Bering Straits, where they can reach the barbarians of Asia; the Baptists, Kadiak Island and the region around Cook's Inlet. And the Friends took an island in South-east Alaska. What is the result? The people are not troubled with the divisions that exist in Christendom. The Presbyterians are 633 miles from the Baptists; and in a country with no railroads, no horses, not a road five miles long in the whole country, no carriages, 633 miles is a great way off. Another 633 miles of water travel brings you to the scene of the Methodist work. 800 miles to the north-east the Moravians are at work, 500 miles farther north the Protestant Episcopalians, upon the Yukon River. The Roman Catholics have three missions also on that river. 300 miles north-east is the scene of the Swedish Evangelical Union mission work, and another 300 miles brings you to the Congregational work. Thus we have the missionary centres distributed over a large area. As the denominations gain strength and the work grows, they can radiate out and out until the lines of the different churches meet.

In 1885 the government instituted schools; but, as we did not call the people Indians, they put the schools under the Educational Bureau. South-east Alaska had a monthly mail steamer. Now it goes westward to the Aleutian Islands; but, if you go back from the coast, ninety one-hundredths of Alaska has no mail facilities whatever, and the traders, teachers, and missionaries get only one mail a year, and their supplies only once a year. We have learned that the ship with this year's supplies for Cape Prince of Wales and Point Barrow has been lost; and those people have got to get along as best they can until August, 1896, before a fresh supply of provisions can be sent to them.

Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT.—I have heard a good many ways of reaching Christian unity, but this is the first time I have ever heard that the way for Christians to live in peace is to live from three to eight hundred miles apart. We shall now be glad to hear from Mr. Hardy about the Navajoes.

Mr. ALFRED HARDY, Farmington, Conn.—It is known to most of you that there was great suffering last winter and spring among the Navajoes, living in North-western New Mexico and North-eastern Arizona, by reason of the almost total failure of their corn crops of 1893 and 1894, and that Lieutenant Plummer and his successor, Major Constant Williams, as acting agents on that reservation, after having travelled over the greater portion of it, felt constrained to ask government aid in the way of flour to issue to the most deserving and needy, and to prevent the still greater suffering which was inevitable with the coming of snow and cold weather.

Major Williams was finally impelled, by the great distress of the people, to buy ten thousand pounds of flour on his own responsibility, feeling that the government, when it should be finally convinced of the conditions there existing, would not only pay for it, but would give him authority to purchase and issue (to the needy only) a much greater amount; and in this he was right, for some fifty thousand pounds were issued by and through him at various points on and off the reservation. Having gained some knowledge of that people and their reservation during a nine months' service at the Fort Defiance school as industrial teacher, from June, 1892, to April, 1893, I was requested by the Indian Rights' Association in January last to visit that reservation, to carefully examine into the condition of the people and the causes for their distress; also to suggest remedies, if any such should occur to me; to examine the irrigation work, as done under the supervision of Colonel Vincent; also, as to the advisability of establishing additional schools, and to suggest the best locations for them.

In pursuance of this request, I reached the agency about February 7, remaining on the reservation until July, and travelling over eighteen hundred miles by wagon and horseback, visiting some of the more remote and best agricultural districts, and can fully verify the statements of the two agents named as to the absolute need at that time of government aid to avert a great calamity; and that the final relief that the department did send—in the way of flour and, later on, of seeds for planting—was fully appreciated by the people was evidenced by what I learned from the people themselves, who stated they must otherwise have starved. In addition to the loss of corn crops, I found the price of wool had fallen from 11 cents in 1892 to 3 and 5 cents in 1894—this year 5 and 6 cents—and sheep pelts from 2½ to 5 cents each; also, absolutely no demand or sale for horses, the latter having been sold in Durango at as low as \$2.50, the owners needing flour. Flour was from \$3.75 to \$5 per hundred; sugar, 10 cents; coffee, 30 cents; calico, 10 cents.

A source of great loss, also, is due to the disease among the sheep

known as "scab," which depletes the system, and causes the wool to drop off. There are strict Territorial laws, in the above-named Territories, compelling the dipping of all sheep therein in a solution which is at once a preventive and a cure.

The irrigation work before alluded to received my special attention; and, without going into details here, I will simply say that weakness, instability, and transientness characterize the whole.

There are no head-gates to control the flow of the water into the ditches; all storm water from rains and melting snow is turned into the ditches, by filling up the washes and ravines to a level with the former; the down-hill side of the wheat-fields ditch is cut to allow most of the water to flow directly back into the creek, beyond which point the ditch is so weak that there is great loss of water by seepage through the side, and any rise of the water in the ditch would cause the same to break away in many places and for long distances, just as was the case this last spring, when both dams and ditches were washed out.

The Navajoes say corn will not ripen at that altitude, and so informed Colonel Vincent.

In closing, I would specially mention the work of the field matron, as observed by me while with Mrs. Mary L. Eldridge, located at Jewett, N.M., on the San Juan River, and also while with Miss F. S. Calfee, among the Hualapais, at Hackberry, Ariz., in July last.

They seem to me to fill a place in the civilizing of the Indian that is not and cannot be filled by any one else; and it is second only to that of the agent in importance, as she comes directly in contact with the home in sickness and distress or trouble of any kind. She is or can be a physician. She is their counsellor, as no white man can be. They know she has no schemes on hand back of her kindness. When their medicine-men fail to cure, and the patient's entire property is devoured by them, then the last resort is the field matron. As these noble women have to ride many miles a day to visit the sick and on innumerable errands connected with their work, the families being so scattered, the use of horses and often a vehicle is absolutely a necessity; and, as there is no grass, the buying of forage is imperative.

To my mind, in view of the importance of the work of these matrons, and its being directly in the line of advancement to a better mode of living, both in the home and the field, of the entire family, and in overcoming the influence of the medicine-men, these motherly, warm-hearted, and courageous women should be upheld by the government in every way, and every facility should be provided by it to further their legitimate work. At present they receive from the government their salary only, the appropriation by Congress being inadequate to do more. Will not this Conference take some action on this matter, and urge Congress to increase its appropriations for this field of labor, assuming all the expenses incident thereto?

Rev. A. E. Dunning, of the *Congregationalist*, was introduced.

Dr. DUNNING.—The position which this Conference has always taken, that the Indian is to be treated as a citizen and as a white man as soon as possible, is coming to its realization. We held long ago that the reservation system ought to be abolished; but, now that it is coming to be abolished, we find that the results are not altogether satisfactory. We are learning that civilization has its cruel as well as its beneficent side. It takes courage to hold consistently to our position, but it is the only position that brings any solution to the Indian question: the Indian must cease to be an Indian. He is our brother; and he must be treated as a brother, and not as a child. In the process many will be sacrificed; but we shall never settle these matters till we take the race as a whole, and are willing to run the risk of the loss of individuals, that we may save the race by abolishing it and making no distinction between the Indian and the white man. The problem is now passing from the political to the moral side. It is a problem of character, and that is not solved in a day. You cannot make a man new by simply telling him that Jesus loves him. Men like Dr. Frissell and Dr. Riggs are to these races the great apostles of the true gospel. It used to be thought that the mind of a man took his body to church. But we are coming to believe that the whole man goes to church,—body, mind, soul, and heart. And this is the problem which we must leave the Indian to face for himself: we cannot do it for him. Dr. Eastman is to be congratulated that he is one of a race to whom he can give a training that will lift their whole being up.

Then I think we have learned to put away some of our prejudices here. When I first came to these Conferences, I thought that the system of contract schools was the best system possible; and it was only after some years that I was led to accept the general sentiment of this Conference that the government must take care of the Indian's mental education, and that the churches must increasingly wrestle with the problem of character, and lift the race to a higher level of manhood. We now feel that, if we press forward along the line of civilization, the government taking care of the secular business, the churches imposing upon the civilization which the government creates a loyalty to Jesus Christ, some of us will live long enough to see the name "Indian" pass into history, and we shall indeed be one people, and the difference in color even will be forgotten.

Adjourned.

Second Session.

Wednesday Night, October 9.

The Conference was called to order at eight o'clock by Mr. Smiley, who introduced Dr. Gates, who had been elected chairman at the morning session. Dr. Gates expressed his pleasure at once again looking into the faces of the members of the Mohonk Conference, and without delay invited Dr. W. N. Hailmann, Superintendent of Indian Schools, to speak.

Dr. HAILMANN.—My friends, the inspiration which I took away with me from this place last year has stood me in good service the entire year, and has sustained my courage through the various difficulties that have beset my work. I trust that the little that has been accomplished during the year will meet your approval, and will in turn raise your courage to continue in the determined efforts which you are constantly making to bring this work to speedier issue. I am glad to hear, therefore, that there is to be no languishing of effort on your part, and that you see clearly that your work is by no means done; that you are thoroughly convinced of the fact there is more yet to be done than has been accomplished. If this spirit continues, I have no doubt that, where we are now, perhaps, groping and floundering in this important work, we shall in due time see clear light ahead, and be able to proceed with greater results and with more satisfactory outcome in the work.

I was delighted to listen to the words of Dr. Frissell this morning. His words of cheer gave me fresh courage. They proceeded in his case from that deep and abiding faith which fills the whole being of this friend of philanthropic endeavor, and his faith is contagious. I was reminded while he spoke of a similar prophecy of faith that came to me this morning when, with Commissioner Browning, I stood upon the brow of Sky-top, and looked down upon the broad and beautiful valley spread out before us. The sky was cloudy, but a few sunbeams had struggled through rifts and breaks in the clouds of difficulty and doubt; and, while there were deep shadows upon the landscape, there were in many places bright, sunny spots. Similarly, behind the hindrances and doubts that beset our work there is an exhaustless source of light, a mighty force which is higher, deeper, and stronger than these obstacles, and which in due time will break through, and light up the entire landscape, the entire field of our labors.

In the first place among the workers in the field there is a growing appreciation of the fact that in their work the criterion of efficiency

is the one which will more and more surely determine appointments and secure tenure of office. There has been established throughout the service a system of promotion for merit and experience which is constantly holding before the force the one fact that those who would succeed and those who would hold their work must be efficient, must do their work well. This system of promotion has been of invaluable benefit in the development of a better spirit of work throughout the schools.

In the next place there has been a constant effort to make the organization of the schools more compact in every respect. There has been a firmer co-ordination of the various departments. The literary department in many schools has learned to work not independently of the other departments, but to work with a view to helping the other departments, more particularly the industrial departments. In return, the industrial workers are learning to realize that the more important part of their work lies in the educational influence they exert; that they are more helpful in the school as teachers than they are as tailors or shoemakers or blacksmiths. This I look upon as one of the most promising gains of the work. The pupils are also coming to feel that whatever they learn at the school will always help them in every other relation of life. And, on the other hand, the industrial workers are learning to see that, unless what they do reaches into the minds and hearts of the children, they have accomplished little or no good.

In a similar way the work has been more compactly organized in the different departments. The matron is beginning to feel that she is more than a housekeeper, that she is a mother rather than a housekeeper; and she prides herself upon the title of "school-mother" and emphasizes that in her work. She is being brought to feel that she is at the head of all the work the girls do. She controls every department of industrial economy in the school, and upon her vitalizing influence depends the outcome for life of the entire school work.

In short, the work is being vitalized in every direction. For this reason music and drawing are receiving growing attention. Special music-teachers have been added in our larger schools, and in all the schools an effort is made to have one or two teachers who can lead the singing and give instruction in singing to the children. It is found that this has a happy influence on the development of the children. Music reaches their hearts and attunes them to harmony, and to beautiful living together, more than any other influence that we can bring to bear upon them in the school.

For the same reason the kindergarten has come into the Indian school, and has justified itself there. We began with 10 kindergartens: we have now 24, all in excellent condition. Since their introduction, agents and superintendents write that they have no longer any trouble in overcoming the natural shyness of the Indian child. He plays as eagerly as the white children play. He expresses his ideas freely and without false modesty. He gives himself wholly to the work in hand. He forgets himself, and does not look upon him-

self as being concerned, but is intent only upon the play or exercise before him.

Similarly, our primary schools are learning to introduce this spirit into their work; and this covers a great deal of ground, because the bulk of the work is primary.

Our reading is coming to rest upon conversation; and the exercises are chiefly conversational, the child always having his attention directed to things outside of himself, and being himself brought into that state of mind which induces him to express himself freely with the purpose of pleasing and of giving information. His attention is directed more to nature. A wider field of simple reading has been furnished. We have about forty volumes of children's reading supplied, and all the schools call for it. They read this, not for the sake of reading, but for the sake of gaining information with reference to some point in which they take an interest, and for the sake of getting and giving pleasure. In all these directions the tendency of the schools is to make the work vital. The child does not feel that school is something that may be of use to him twenty years hence, but something that is useful and pleasant now.

As a consequence of this, corporal punishment is vanishing from the Indian schools: the rod is disappearing. There is a rule which forbids its use; but I am told that that rule might as well not have been made, as in many Indian schools, owing to the influences named above, the need of every form of punishment is waning. From many of the schools, too, have come pleasant tidings that the "jail" has been abandoned. This is well. It is a great step forward. Punishment by the infliction of bodily pain or by confinement may be in place for the larger boys and perhaps for the adult Indians; but for the growing child it is not well, and, indeed, always does injury. He must be put upon the right way, and kept firmly there. Punishments which inflict pain as a sort of compensation for the wrong done give a wrong tendency to the moral nature, and lead a child to get the idea that he can pay for wrong-doing by suffering physical pain or by paying something to the party that has been offended by his wrong-doing. It may secure a modicum of good behavior, but never establishes good character.

Much attention has been paid to the hygienic needs of the schools, — the water supply, the sewerage, the drainage. In the beginning of the year information was gained from each school as to what two points would require immediate attention, and in the majority of cases these referred to the hygienic condition of the schools. Bathing facilities have been improved. We are making war upon the bath-tub. It affords constant temptation to use the same water for several children, which is a source of disease. We are substituting the ring bath and the shower bath, in which it is absolutely impossible for two children to use the same water, nor, indeed, for any one drop to touch the same child twice. We are making war upon the roller towel, and substituting the individual towel. We are also paying more attention to the matter of heating, introducing better systems than by the stove. We also hope by the aid of Congress to be

able to introduce electric lighting. All these improvements are in the direction of hygienic betterment.

Improvements in the tables have also been made. They are more "civilized." White table-cloths and napkins have been introduced in many schools, and white china dishes instead of tin. This has a marvellous influence on the soul development of the children, and is a great aid in discipline. One result is seen in some of the boys' departments: they are kept as neat and clean as the girls', and they care to have pictures introduced as ornaments for their rooms.* The use of milk is said to have a power of developing the milk of human kindness: its introduction in the Indian schools is being steadily pushed.

In another direction the hygienic condition of the children has been largely improved by a change of policy in the study hour. The study hour in the evening has been made a rational recreation hour, in which the children are taught to make use of what they have learned in the day. In many schools the evening study hour has been a source of much suffering on account of diseases of the eye and on account of poor light. They are now keenly interested in everything that goes on. Some one talks or reads or recites, or they read in concert, and all sing. There is a report from some one about some interesting incident, an illustrated lecture; and in many other ways the hour is made a recreation hour.

The white people about the schools, wherever they come in contact with them, have been coming to take an interest in Indian education, especially in Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Washington, and Oregon; and we hope that in due time the superintendents of education in the different States will have the guidance of this work. In some States, as in Iowa, where the Sac and Fox Indians are still on a small reservation of their own which they have purchased with their own money, provisions are being made to enable them to be assimilated with the white citizens of the State in due time. The State superintendents of Oregon, California, and Nevada, are beginning to take an interest in this matter. The outing system inaugurated by Carlisle is beginning to take root in some of the Western States. The more thoroughly we establish this system and the more rapidly we place individual Indians among white people, the better it will be for the latter as well as for the Indians.

The National Educational Association has opened its doors to the subject of Indian education. At its last meeting in Denver Captain Pratt spoke in the manual training section, and there was manifestation of great interest. The Superintendent of Indian Schools addressed the general association, and stimulated sympathy. This subject having been introduced into the deliberations of this body, it will not again be given up. I have now invitations from three States to address the State Teachers' Associations upon the subject of Indian education.

Good is being done in vitalizing the work of the Indian schools by

* Philanthropists would give invaluable aid by sending to schools suitable pictures of an elevating and instructive character.

the summer institutes which are carried on. Last year we had five of these institutes. This year we had three ; and many of the Indian teachers were at the meeting in Denver, so that we had practically four. The institutes open the minds of the Indian workers. They help them to see that they are engaged in an important patriotic problem, that they are doing a great work for the country at large, that their greatest interest lies in the soul development of these children. In this way they reach a wider outlook and a deeper aim than before. It has increased their sense of responsibility, not only professionally, but in a missionary way. I know that we cannot make of the teachers missionaries in the ordinary sense of that term ; but we can infuse the missionary spirit, so that they will direct their work toward the spiritual interests of the children as much as to the material interests, and in advancing the material interests of the children they will at the same time see that these interests are seen by them in the light of spiritual truth.

A very important feature of the work during the last year was the employment of Indians in school work. We have twenty-seven now employed, and three normal schools for the training of teachers are in operation. At the end of the present year I hope to have at least forty graduates who can be placed in the Indian schools as teachers. It is probable that they may not do as good work in certain directions as trained and experienced white teachers ; but they will do the work, perhaps, in a better spirit, with more self-denial, and with that sense of satisfaction which comes to him who helps a brother by his work, and who makes it his chief business by that work to lift this brother. In other positions Indians are being employed ; and it is the policy of the Indian Office, whenever an Indian can be found to do the work acceptably, to intrust him with work. There is a growing confidence in the schools on the part of the Indians, and the children are brought more freely.

There is one point that has presented many difficulties, and that is the transfer of Indian youth from the reservation to the non-reservation school. Congress has said that no child shall be put away from the reservation without the consent of the parents, which must be given in the presence of an agent. To get this consent in the presence of an agent sometimes requires the parent to travel a hundred miles or more, which is often a great hardship, as well as an expense. Many times, too, the agents would rather retain the older children upon the reservation than send them away. The agents of the non-reservation schools, therefore, find it difficult to secure new recruits for their schools. Sometimes, too, the agents of two or three schools come to the same agency, and there compete for the children. This is apt to cause one agent to extol the merits of his school at the expense of the merits of another school. The department is now arranging for a system of regular transfers by its own officers, which will do away with the chief difficulties that I have been reciting.

There is a great deal more to be done in every direction. I am aware that your fundamental principle is one law for all, for Indian

and white man alike; and this I have no doubt is a most excellent principle, an excellent aim. It is the one aim to which all our work should tend. But, before this can be made the rule of our present work with the Indians, much will have to be done. We shall have to educate public opinion among the whites before we can do it safely. The Indian may be willing to come under the law of the white man; but is the white man ready to receive him, and to administer that law impartially? I am inclined to doubt it; and I think a crusade will have to be undertaken, largely by you, to secure that condition of public opinion among the white people in the States of Indian reservations before this can be safely done. The law is frequently now applied in States in the vicinity of reservations, so as to rob and debauch the Indian. He is a full citizen when he wants to drink whiskey. If the agent tries to prevent him from drinking whiskey, some white lawyer is at hand to help the Indian get the whiskey, and some court ready to help the lawyer. He is a full citizen when he wishes to escape the meshes of the law because of illegal marriage. If he has put his first wife away and has taken another wife, and is thereby in trouble, some lawyer is quite ready to show him the way by which he can escape the penalties of the law; and he is made a full-fledged citizen for this purpose. So the law is administered in an improper fashion, because public opinion is not educated. This is one of the things to be done by you. To see that the law is administered properly for the Indian is as important as anything that can be done for him.

One thing that should be done is to devise some way to help the young Indians. It is only a half-step to send the Indian to school and give him an education. It seems sometimes almost cruel to give him an education, and then turn him adrift and tell him to help himself, sink or float, in conditions which all but compel his sinking. You might see to it that here and there an educated Indian, a young man or woman who desires to work among white people, finds work. You might see to it that the industries of the Indians in their reservations are made living industries,—that the blanket-making of the Navajoes, the pottery, the bead-work, basket and mat weaving, etc., of other tribes, find a market. With some effort, these tribes might be made self-sustaining. These young Indians do not know how to help themselves. They have learned to speak English away from the reservations; but, when they return to the reservations, they have no use for English. They have learned to respect work; and they return to conditions where work is not respected, and where there is no opportunity for work. If you will seek a way to improve these conditions, I have no doubt you will find it.

Then we must have legislation, strong, courageous, vigorous, from Congress, which will protect the young Indian against the old. Certain practices of the old Indians must be discountenanced and discontinued. The courage that is needed for legislation can come through you, and can come to Congress only through such agencies as you may set in motion. The Senators and representatives of the country must be instructed by you to see to it that the firm legislation which is needed shall be secured.

Then we want to husband the gains that we have now in making the Indian service thoroughly non-partisan. Civil service regulations have done much good in this direction. Some of the methods may be blundering; but great good has been got from it, and it should be extended over every position in the Indian school service. At present we have two classes of employees,—those who come from the civil service, selected because of their presumed efficiency and kept there because of it, and a number of others, a part of whom at least are selected and kept in the service through patronage. These two sets of employees are naturally antagonistic. Some good friends think it would be better to have all the positions under patronage than to have a portion under patronage and a portion under civil service. Of course, we do not wish to take any such step; for it would be a step backward. It is expedient that we keep what we have gained, and that we render these gains effective by adding unto them.

You can do much in this direction, and I hope you will do it. I hope you will see to it that the members of Congress demand that they be deprived of the questionable privilege to influence appointments in the Indian Office, and that all these offices be filled on the basis of efficiency alone. We want permanency of policy in the Indian work. The practice of changing with every change of administration is most pernicious. A change of policy implies always a loss of effectiveness for a period. There should be as much permanency in the Indian Office and its methods as there is in the office of the Commissioner of Education. That is practically out of politics. If you can help to take the Indian Office out of politics, you will have assured continuous and rapid progress.

Another point to be gained is the placing of the spirit of motherhood upon the throne in the Indian work. It is not there now. You have heard to-day of the field matrons. I think we have sixteen field matrons in the service now; but we have more than tenfold this number of farmers who teach the men how to run their farms, how to breed cattle, etc. If I had the choice between these two good things, a corps of Indian farmers to help teach men the care of the field and a corps of matrons to teach the women, I would take the latter. If I were compelled to give up either, I would give up the men. It is the women among the Indians as among us who give shape and direction to the well-being of the family, and indirectly to the social development of the whole community. The greatest obstacle which the educated Indian finds in the reservation is not the conservatism of the men, but the conservatism of the women. The Indian mother must be taught by field matrons how to receive these returned educated boys and girls in the way in which they should be received, to help them make use of all they bring back with them. The appropriation for field matrons by Congress should be extended tenfold at least. I hope you will bring this about. The Indian Office has shown its appreciation of motherhood in its educational work. The matron's position has been lifted within two years to a higher place of dignity. On every occasion it

has asked Congress for more field-matrons. More good results right at the heart of the work will flow from this coming in of the motherly influence than from anything else that can be done. Compared with that, all else is external; for that is at the heart of things. I would ask you not to forget that upon you rests largely the responsibility of securing this great boon for the Indian educational work. The people look largely to you for guidance and direction.

The following address was given :—

THE RELATION OF SCHOOL EDUCATION TO THE WORK OF CIVILIZING OTHER RACES.

BY W. T. HARRIS, LL.D.

I promised to say a few words to you this evening on the subject of the relation which education in general bears to missionary efforts at educating other races than our own.

In the first place, I ask you to consider for a moment what school education is doing for our nation. In our time we have established a free democracy, and a free democracy can only rest on concerted action on the part of the people. It must be a community governed by public opinion. You cannot have a large people governed by public opinion, unless you can have the same topics, the same questions, the same subjects, appealing to their minds daily. They must all consider these questions, understand the reasons and arguments, pro and con, urged in the case of each. This, you see, implies a newspaper civilization. It is impossible to have a large, free democracy without a newspaper civilization. You can have a small one—an Athens or Rome or New York or Boston—without telegraphs, railroads or steamships. Any metropolitan city could be a democracy, having a public opinion to govern it. The ideal of one class of the citizens could be communicated readily to the other classes in such a city, so there would be relatively the same progress on the part of all classes in the formation of opinions leading to action. But you cannot have a large nation, settled over a wide extent of territory, a democracy, unless you have a newspaper civilization.

Seeing this necessity of general education to a free government, we look over this country to the North and to the South, and ask ourselves: Are all the people that form this nation coming within the influence of a newspaper civilization? Are they learning to read? and what do they read after they have learned how? Is the newspaper reaching these people? We find, taking the statistics of the whole nation, that the average amount of schooling which each

individual gets is four and three-tenths years of two hundred days each. As four years is the amount of the primary education in the large cities, four and three-tenth years of two hundred days as the average education of the whole population is little more than a primary education. That is the average of the schooling of the whole United States. This is barely sufficient to bring the population within the influence of the newspaper and its versions of public opinion, so that they can discuss the facts on which public opinion is based. An ability to read and write, a smattering of geography and arithmetic, constitute the meagre outfit furnished by the schools; but even this is sufficient to make the newspaper available, and, once the habit of daily reading is formed, the individual is at school for the rest of his life, and will continue his growth, although it be not rapid.

The paper is re-enforced by the book and the magazine, but I use the word "newspaper" to include all forms of the printed page.

Now, we are getting this small period of schooling; and we are pretty well satisfied with the fact that all sections of the United States are getting so much of education. This average amount of schooling—counting all the schools, public and private—comes nearly as low as two years in the States having only rural populations and as high as six years in the States with the most urban populations. Massachusetts alone has nearly seven years of two hundred days each, as the average quota for each. Of the colored people and the white people of the South, twenty-two per cent., or more than one-fifth of the whole population, visit schools within the year; but the average attendance is not so long as in the North, not so long in the rural districts as in the urban. As the urban districts increase, the length of the school session increases. But the South is doing wonderful work in that line, in giving its children the ability to read and write, and to make them interested in the doings of the nations of the world,—interested in knowing every morning what the daily newspaper says about such doings, and in knowing what is thought about those doings at the South and at the North, and what is thought of those things further off,—in Great Britain and in the civilized world of to-day. They are holding up a mirror to the whole world by means of the newspaper. That mirror shows what movements are going on. They know what is in the world-mind by the time they have finished breakfast, and they take this world-view with them to the daily work. It forms the staple of conversation instead of that village gossip which once monopolized their attention. World-gossip forms the topic of conversation of this people as they meet at their places of work.

So there goes on this great process of forming public opinion for the whole nation, on the part of each community and on the part of each school district. This is the generation and diffusion of public opinion. This is what education in general is doing,—bringing the person into a position to see the world processes, or into the epical view of life.

The Indian, if there is any people that might be called *epical*, is an

epical person. He trains himself for war. He has no occupation except hunting, and that is something that will make for his training as a soldier. The Indian woman cheerfully consents to be the person who looks after the family and the industries of civil society. She has charge of the diverse occupations of preparing food, clothing, and shelter. She has a little help from the old men and from the children, but very little from the male children, because she wishes her sons to grow up warriors, and not drudges. A son should not be a person that knows anything about industry. The Indian warrior is an epical individual, dealing only with the institution of the State, the function of the preservation of the social whole, the nation, and not allowing the individual welfare or the interests of the family or of productive industry to claim his daily care; and the great task of our missionary education is to bring him where we stand now in social evolution. We went through that tribal stage once, when all men were interested in carrying on war. It is necessary that a population should have at all times an epical function, a care for the nation and for world affairs; but the advance in our race has been from the stage when the men were all epical and the women were anti-epical, or mere household drudges, to the epoch wherein we are all epical in our daily lives. The person who reads the daily newspaper, who sees before him the whole world in its process of development, who discusses the movement of nations instead of village gossip, he is epical enough, and more than enough, to make up for the loss of that emphasis laid by the savage man on the epical vocations of hunting and war which he follows in the patriarchal State. This point is to be kept in mind in dealing with the races that belong to lower stadia of civilization.

When we began in this Christian movement, this missionary movement, twenty centuries ago, there was proclaimed with trumpets to the world that new ideal,—that all men are of one blood, all men made by God, and made with infinitely important souls; that men are not mere brains, not mere physical organizations, not even nerves, but they are souls, and souls worth saving, and to be helped to grow into the image of God. Through this the idea of human progress came into the world. With it grew philanthropy, the feeling that, if all other people besides ourselves have souls, we must help to save those souls, we must bring them to our ideal and to our civilization. But that is a very slow matter,—this growth of the new humanity, this change from old to new ideals. There was not a change in the essence of philanthropy, because it was that same altruistic ideal from the beginning; but there was great difference in methods of work. At first it was believed that, if we could only get the bare idea of Christianity into the soul, it would save it. It is true that it will save in the long run, but it will not save this generation: it may save a whole generation ten generations hence. The progress in the development of Christian and civilizing means or methods is a progress from doing the thing in a lump—a mere teaching of the abstract idea—toward a more concrete method, the taking of the idea and working it out in all departments of life, thus saving this generation instead of the

tenth generation from this. Instead of leaving the savage to work out his salvation from the abstract formula of Christianity, we find it better according to new methods to transform his industries, his fashions of clothing, his buildings, his dietary. We teach him to read, and give him literature that will fill his mind with the thoughts and observations and feelings that our civilized white people harbor in their minds.

We have listened this evening to an interesting account from Dr. Hailmann of the means by which civilization and education are being brought to the Indian to save him in this generation, not ten generations hence. It is seeking not to destroy, but to save, the whole Indian race. It is trying to educate it, so that even this generation will be of some use to us, and so that the red people will move on with us toward civilization. This, in brief, is the progress that education and philanthropy have made in two thousand years.

The new philanthropy keeps its eye fixed on self-help, and is not going to interfere unless it can help a person to help himself. This is the philanthropy which we can claim to be right. It is the most egotistic attitude in the world,—this assumption of ours that we have a superior civilization,—unless we have an ultimate and indubitable basis for it. Only on this condition have we the right to take the red and yellow and black races, and bring them to our standard and put them on our pedestal of civilization. What is our ultimate ground for this? We define our position by affirming that that is the highest civilization which produces a great social whole, and at the same time produces in the individual within it a conscious possession of it all. The whole shall re-enforce the self-help of each. It is not sufficient to have a great social whole which does not give to each individual freedom. Our civilization as it has grown in cities has grown into this idea of making a Nation or State which demands that the individual citizen shall be educated. But our civilization has come to this point where we are forced to say, as I have done just now, that we could not continue this civilization of ours unless we educate the individual up to the point of being influenced by, and influencing himself, public opinion. We have come to that point wherein the good of the whole, the strength of the whole, depend on the elevation of the individual.

Is your Indian at that point? No, he is at the tribal stage. He is at the patriarchal stage. Civilization below the patriarchal stage would not be above the brutes. Above that comes the village community, and many who believe in socialism would like to have us go back to that. Above the village community comes feudalism, wherein the individual is ground into subordination, so that division of labor can be established. No yellow race has passed through it. The black race has not passed through it except as it has come into the house of bondage. The nations of Europe and America have passed through it. It is a great thing to go through these stages. But shall we say to the tribal people that they shall not come to these higher things unless they pass through all the intermediate stages, or can we teach them directly these higher things, and save

them from the slow progress of the ages? In the light of Christian civilization we say there is a method of rapid progress. Education has become of great potency in our hands, and we believe that we can now vicariously save them very much that the white race has had to go through. Look at feudalism. Look at the village community stage. Look at it as it still exists in the Russian mir. We have been through these things. We have had our tribulation with them. But we say to lower races: We can help you out of these things. We can help you to avoid the imperfect stages that follow them on the way to our level. Give us your children, and we will educate them in the kindergarten and in the schools. We will give them letters, and make them acquainted with the printed page. With these comes emancipation from mere personal authority, from the authority of the master, from the authority of the overseer and the oracle. With these comes the great emancipation, and the school shall give you that. We know that you are an epical race, but we must destroy your ideals in that respect. There are to be no more beautiful tribal relations. You will need not only education in letters, which has such significance, but you have to correct also your tribal notions of industry. The Indian woman must see to it that it is desirable that her child shall learn some manual industry, and not feel her old-time horror if her child shall not be a warrior.

A friend of mine living in the Indian Territory told me of an Indian woman, somewhat feeble, who had to go nearly half a mile to get a bucket of water; and on one occasion he had said to her with some wrath, "Why don't you make that lazy boy [a boy of about twelve] go and draw your water for you?" She drew herself up proudly, and said, "Do you suppose I would let my son do such things as that?" She wanted him to be a warrior. You see what radical changes in social ideas these people have to make. You have to educate them in the matter of civil society and in the industries as well as in letters, and that is precisely what is being done. We must give them industries, we must give them laws.

But also into industry comes Christianity, which is not merely a religion, but an ideal of life penetrating the whole social structure. There is a Christian ideal of the family that no other religion ever had. There is an ideal of civil society. It took us many hundred years to adjust our civil society to the Christian ideal. We have got very nearly to it in our industries. When we sit down at our table and eat things that come from all parts of the world, that is a veritable sacrament. We come into conscious relation with all peoples.

No other religion could possibly have the Christian ideal of civil society. In the Christian ideal of the relation of each man to his fellow-man, each one does work for the world-market, and accepts mankind's contribution in return in food, clothing, and shelter. He takes all that he wears and eats from his fellows, and gives to them through the world-market his little mite toward the feeding and clothing of others.

In dealing with the lower races,—we call them lower races, let us say lower civilizations,—we must see to it that the family ideal is a

Christian ideal, and that the industries are based on that, too, so that the individual gives to and receives from the world-market.

We must bring not only agriculture, manufactures, and commerce into the life of the Indian, we must throw open every side of civilization, the urban side as well as the rural side, and impress on them the fact that man has conquered nature, and does not need to give ninety-nine per cent. of his labor to the soil. He can give fifty per cent. to agriculture, and have fifty per cent. devoted to manufactures and commerce and intercommunication and culture. By machinery in the next century it will take only ten per cent. to procure the raw material; and ninety per cent. of industry will go to the elaboration of these things,—to turning them into comfort and means of spiritual insight and communication with our fellow-men. That is the trend of civilization.

Then natural science is also a Christian thing. The Hindu could not make natural science, because his absolute principle (Brahm) is a formless being; and any consciousness or self-knowledge is to him disease. He thinks we should get rid of the consciousness of self: all nature is to him an illusion. All things that he sees are an illusion. So he does not inventory them.

You come next in your education of the Indian to the idea of the State,—that the individual shall not only belong to the State, but shall have his own individual identity left intact as free political opinion and as independent citizen. We have to bring the Indian into that consciousness. If we want to elevate lower civilizations into our own standard, they must be brought in in this way: the Christian idea of the family, of society, of the State, and of the church, must become theirs by adoption; for the Christian idea is the idea that rests at the bottom of all our secular life. But that fundamental idea has to be organized into manifold educational processes, and the new philanthropy and the new education are trying to accomplish all this. The old philanthropy was correct in principle, but it did not know how to invent methods. Look at the history of the missions of the Jesuits. They took their lives in their hands in Asia and America bearing the cross of Christ to savage peoples, showing their zeal, showing wonderful zeal and piety. We must all respect and honor them from the bottom of our hearts for their earnestness and self-sacrifice, even if we do not respect their methods. What became of the Indians whom they converted? They vanished from the planet. Or at least they have made little or no contribution to civilization, because they have not entered into the process of world commerce. They held them up while they had them on their hands, but they did not help them to help themselves. A civilization that will help people to help themselves is what we want.

Men are not saved by communities, by congregations, by peoples. They are saved individually. Each individual is a centre of self-activity, to grow eternally into the image of God and into the holiness of God, or wither and go the other way.

Rev. Lyman Abbott, who had been requested by the Business

Committee to prepare a minute respecting those members of the Conference who had died during the year, presented the following paper, accompanying it with a few remarks in honor of those mentioned in it:—

We, members of the Lake Mohonk Conference, here record our profound appreciation of the character and services of those Christian philanthropists who during the past year have been called from their work with us to the larger work wherewith God rewards those of his children who have been faithful in his service on earth. Their presence with us was an encouragement, their example remains as an inspiration, and their vacant places call us to greater fidelity and greater enthusiasm in the service which they have left.

Professor Charles C. Painter for many years represented at Washington the opinions of philanthropic and Christian coworkers in the cause of the Indian, and fulfilled his always difficult and often thankless task with keen vigilance, tireless energy, good judgment, and unfailing tact. The generally cordial co-operation between governmental and voluntary agencies in behalf of the Indian has been largely due to him.

Judge William Strong brought to the solution of our difficult problems a wide and varied legal learning and a judicial temper ripened by years of experience on the bench. But, more than that, his singular purity of character endowed him with an illuminating intellect, so that he enabled us to see the eternal principles of justice which underlie, but often seem obscured by, legal precedents. Thus he threw upon the future a clear and true, because divine, light from the experience of the past.

In Henry O. Houghton's New England character the sentiment of philanthropy became a principle of life which was united with great business sagacity. His clear and unselfish judgment often guided this Conference to just and wise conclusions, and made him, although his public participation in its deliberations was not frequent, one of our most trusted counsellors.

We record, also, our appreciation of the services of three earnest and efficient women,—Mrs. Cornelia De Witt Plummer, Mrs. Mary Amanda Greene, and Mrs. Elizabeth Eliot Bullard,—whose co-operation, rendered chiefly in fields outside this Conference, have contributed more than we realize to the success already achieved in the cause of Indian emancipation.

Rev. Dr. T. S. HAMLIN, as pastor of Judge Strong, was introduced by Dr. Gates, and spoke as follows: It is a great pleasure to be able to say a word about one concerning whom it is possible to speak unreservedly, without fear either of doing violence to one's sense of exact truthfulness on the one hand or, on the other hand, of saying that which might be pronounced fulsome praise. We are all interested in what has been said concerning Justice Strong as a member of this Conference, as a friend of the Indian, and as a philanthropist in every service. No man can be all these apart from his general character, apart from the totality of his life. It has been one of my greatest privileges to be intimately associated with Justice Strong for the past nine years. Of his legal talents and attainments others are more competent to speak. Of his great learning in other fields, especially in the field of theology, in which lawyers, as a rule, do not widely enter, I can speak from personal knowledge. Justice Strong was as eminent a theologian, though not so distinguished, as he was a jurist. I have known few, even in that profession which calls upon men to make the Bible their constant study, so familiar not only with all its great principles, but with all its history, and with its very language. I have often said that, the

more intimate my knowledge of him became, the more I felt that he was as nearly flawless as it is possible for a human being to become. You may regard that as strong language; but I use it deliberately, and believe every syllable to be true. Many of you remember his singularly beautiful face, his majestic bearing, his most cordial and hearty manner; and these were true outward indications of the inner man. He was all that he looked. A more humble, more simple-minded, more transparently truthful character it would be impossible, I am sure, anywhere to find. A more simple faith in the Lord Jesus Christ and a more profound conviction of the power of Christ's grace to save the human soul, whether the soul of the savage or the soul of the man who has reached the higher degree of civilization, I have never met, and never expect to meet. In every relation in life, as husband and father, as friend and neighbor, as officer of the Christian Church, as filling one of the highest positions in the gift of a great nation, in political life, as a member of society at the national capital, Justice Strong stood pre-eminent. It was this combination of splendid characteristics, this grouping of such great qualities, that made him here at this Conference, as it made him everywhere, the force that you knew him to be, the dropping out of which is so distinct and so great a loss to us at the national capital, and to the total force of Christian thought, purpose, and action in this land. At the head of such great organizations as the American Tract Society and the American Sunday School Union, without the slightest tinge of sectarianism, without the slightest show of sectionalism, Justice Strong worked quietly, faithfully, indefatigably, up almost to the last hours of that unusually long life. And while we at the national capital felt that it was a hardship that he must die away from home, still, if that must be so, I know of no place whence his spirit might more fitly take its flight than from the summit of these mountains, rising majestic from the surrounding valleys, even as his character towered above the characters of common men. He has gone to an ampler place and a greater service, to his eternal reward. May we be able to follow him as he followed Christ!

The minutes presented by Dr. Abbott were then unanimously adopted. Adjourned at 10.15 P.M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 10.

After prayer and singing the morning session was called to order by President Gates, who introduced Hon. D. M. Browning, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in the following words:—

The teaching of our divine Master turns upon family life! No wonder that those who have studied this Indian life most thoughtfully for ten or twelve years feel that the Indians must have homes. It is no wonder that we think it worth while to fight, and to fight with some energy, for the breaking up of the tribal idea and the setting up of the home. The legislation that was secured for that end has been tested for some years. We were not foolish enough to believe that it was perfectly wise. Our Business Committee has deemed it best to discuss the severalty law, what it has done for the Indian, and what we need still to do to remedy its defects, and to meet any evils which may have been made patent by its operation.

The committee has invited the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Browning, to open the discussion. It is a source of great satisfaction to us all that Commissioner Browning is with us, and will address us.

THE OBSTACLES IN THE WAY.

AN ADDRESS BY COMMISSIONER BROWNING.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—After the beautiful opening exercises that we have had, it is the more embarrassing to me to present, as I have been requested to do, the obstacles in the way of allotment of lands in severalty, because I would rather present the bright side of things.

Before taking up that subject, I wish briefly to make one or two explanations. Mr. Smiley has made an admirable report as to the condition of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River Indians, and the injustice that would be done these Indians if their present condition should be changed by such legislation as has been proposed. I have taken that excellent report, and improved the tone of my annual report by incorporating that into it. It appears not as an appendix, but as a quotation; and the attention of Congress is called to it as

showing the condition of those Indians, in case there should be an attempt to revive the legislation proposed.

Mr. Harvey, who presented well what he ascertained among the Navajoes, made some reference to the needs of the field matron who is engaged in the work there. The field-matron work has been appreciated by the Indian Bureau and the Department, and we have insisted upon increased appropriations to carry on that work. Until the first of July we had the meagre sum of \$5,000 for this entire work. Now we have \$10,000, and we are asking for another increase.

The expenditure of this money is practically supervised by a good woman in my office, whom many of you know, Miss Cook; and I believe that it is being well expended for the civilization of the Indians. But Miss Cook has said to the ladies who are interested in the Indians, "You should help our field matron"; and the association of which Mrs. Quinton is president and the auxiliary associations and some of the church associations have been allowed to select practically the women who should be appointed field matrons. Last year to select eight field matrons and pay them their salaries was all that we could do with the appropriation allowed. It would not permit buying horses and buggies, medicines, and other things. If we had done that, we could have had only three or four field matrons. These associations have therefore supplied these things, and I believe it is a good work. In most instances they have responded cheerfully. It has been suggested that money should be placed in the hands of the field matrons for these necessities. That we would gladly do, but it is impossible with the appropriations we have. Moreover, unless a field matron was a disbursing officer under bonds, government funds could not be placed in her hands for distribution. That must be the work of the agent.

Coming now to this question, of the allotment of land in severalty, it is an important question, and one in which you are much interested. While there are obstacles in the way of consummating what you expected would result at once from the breaking up of tribal relations and having the Indians become citizens and relieved from agency supervision, there are no obstacles that prevent us from continuing the work. Those who believed it could be accomplished at once are doubtless disappointed. Some further legislation is needed, but the allotments have gone on. The reservations must be gradually broken up and tribal relations disrupted.

During the past year allotments have been completed among the Nez Percés, the Yanktons of South Dakota, the Kickapoos in the South-west, the Siletz Indians in Oregon, and among some of the Chippewas in Wisconsin and Michigan. The work of allotment has progressed on other reservations.

Some of the obstacles in the way of accomplishing what was desired I will state briefly. Much of the land that has been set aside for the Indians is not good agricultural land, suited for farming purposes. In the Dakotas it is good grazing land, but not suited to the raising of corn. While the soil would raise wheat if they had rains,

yet about one crop in three or four is as much as can be expected; and these Indians must be made self-supporting by raising cattle. They are making progress in this, even though the lands have not been allotted.

Another obstacle has been alluded to by Dr. Riggs; and that is, when the lands are allotted to the Indians and they become citizens, under the law the lands are not taxable for twenty-five years, and, while they are made citizens and entitled to the protection of the courts, with a right to sue and to have school privileges, these things have been denied them by their fellow-citizens. They have said, "We cannot give you court privileges or schooling, for the reason that we get no taxes from you." The law is ample to protect them in this regard; but it takes an extraordinary effort to secure these rights and privileges, because public sentiment is in opposition to the law. This might be remedied by legislation. Where lands are allotted to a tribe of Indians, and there are surplus lands to be sold, have the money arising from the sale placed in the treasury, and such portion of it taken and paid to the municipalities as would be equivalent to the money that would have been raised by taxation.

It would not do to tax the lands of the Indian. If you did, they would soon lose their homes. But with some degree of right the people round them say, We have to establish our schools and to pay the teachers and other expenses; and, if the Indians are to come in, we ought to get some assistance in doing it.

Now, there is more shadow of right in this, because a reservation may cover several townships and almost a county, and the expenses must be carried on. I am of opinion that, if the government from trust funds or other funds would pay a sum equivalent to the amount that would be received from taxation, it would be but just to the people, and would secure to the Indians the rights that they are entitled to.

The supervision of an agent over Indians after they have received their allotments in some cases is absolutely necessary. Some have supposed that, after allotments were made and the Indians became citizens, the agents should be taken away. But the Indian has been sustained by the government until he is like a child; and just when he is being placed on his feet as an independent citizen is the time that he most needs the assistance of the department. We have found that at such a time we need to increase the number of farmers and assistant farmers, so that the Indians can be helped to put in their corn, fix their fences, build their houses, etc., and that this should be carried on for three or four years or even longer, till they learn how to stand without assistance.

The leasing question comes up in this connection. At the last session of Congress the law was changed as to the leasing of land; and it was provided that land might be leased through the department where an Indian allottee, because of age, disability, or inability, could not personally and with benefit to himself cultivate it, etc. While this enlarges the class of allottees who may lease, the indiscriminate leasing of lands has not been permitted for the reason

that it would defeat the purpose of the act providing for allotments ; that is, to make a home for the Indians.

Two and a half years ago, when Captain Beck was assigned to the duties of agent for the Omahas and Winnebagoes, he found that the lands belonging to the Indians had been leased by a company without regard to the department, and that fifty thousand acres of very valuable land had been secured by promising to give the Indians a small amount per acre, and that this company sublet it at a dollar and a half, or two dollars and a half an acre in some cases, so that it was a very fruitful source of revenue to the company, and the Indians were being deprived of the use of their lands. Captain Beck gave these men notice that they could not remain ; that the Indians, though citizens, could not sell their land, and therefore could not encumber it with leases, unless those leases were made in the regular way, under the agent and with the approval of the department. This was contested by the company ; and it has been in the courts most of the time since, though the decisions have been in favor of the department, and many of the lessees have been removed. It is hoped that in a little while they will all be removed, and the land restored to the Indians, and that, where leases are made, they will be made through the department.

Senator Dawes, who is the father of the Severalty Act, has no doubt had it said to him that the act has not worked well, and that it is almost a failure because of the failure of allotments to improve the condition of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. It has been said to me that their lands were allotted before the Cheyennes and Arapahoes were prepared, that the Indians did not go on their allotments, and that they were really in worse condition than they were before allotments were made. I do not know whether they knew where their allotments were. It was found necessary to continue issuing them rations, and an appropriation was made by Congress to assist them.

But that condition is rapidly changing, and those Indians are in better condition now than ever before. Captain Woodson, acting agent, has said to them, "None of you can have a money payment unless you go on your allotment and make a home" ; but he also agreed that, if they would do this, he would appoint carpenters to help build their houses, furnish lumber, help the farmers, and put them in a condition to be independent and self-supporting. This he has said with the approval of the department. He has done his work admirably. The improvement of the condition of these Indians over what it was three or four years ago is marked, and very gratifying, indeed. The Indian now talks about "my farm" and "my house," and he knows where he lives. The carpenters have assisted about building houses, and orchards are being put out ; and in three or four years they will no longer need to be under the control of the department. That was an exceptional case, but it has been the most difficult that we have had to deal with.

I will also say that among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes the amount allotted an Indian family makes a large farm. If the Indian has a wife and two or three children, he gets one hundred and sixty

acres, which makes a farm much larger than an ordinary white man could cultivate himself profitably. The land being rich, it was thought something should be done with it. So Captain Woodson has arranged it that the Indian shall take one allotment and arrange for a home there. The rest of the land that could not be cultivated he has leased to farmers. While the Indian must still work to make a living, in the course of three or four years he will have a well-improved farm to live upon. We have considered this a just thing to do, and to that extent those leases have been approved; and the work is going on in that way. Where there were surplus lands, we have had them leased; and payment has been in the way of improvements, so that after three or four years the Indian will have a good home and no excuse for not remaining on his land.

The most serious obstacle in the way of having Indians become independent and self-supporting is the advantage that has been taken of them by those who have lived round them and some so-called lawyers. They advised the Indian, when he has received his land in severalty, that the department has no control of him, and that the agent has no right to protect him; and they ask him to go up town and have a good time, and buy his goods there and get his whiskey when he wants it.

I will call attention to the legislation that has been proposed upon the subject of the sale of whiskey to Indians. A bill which was passed by the House at its last session, but failed of action in the Senate, provides that the penal statute prohibiting the sale of whiskey to Indians shall apply to all Indians, including mixed bloods, over whom the government, through its departments, exercises its guardianship, etc. Some courts have held that an allottee, being a citizen, could purchase liquor. This legislation would prohibit such sales to Indian allottees. I think this legislation ought to be enacted; and, if it meets with your approval, I ask the aid of this Conference in recommending it to Congress.

If it could be done, I should advise that some legislation be secured that would give the department the supervising control over Indian allottees, until it may be determined that they do not further need this supervision. The only express authority that it now has over allottees is the control of lands and tribal property. If the Indian has personal property, there is no one to protect him. In some places the people living near want to get his property, and the Indian does not know how to secure his rights in the courts. Lawyers are often on the other side of the question. I feel, therefore, that there ought to be some one to advise him.

These are the only obstacles that I see in the way of carrying on this work, and they are being overcome. The only thing that I see that could be done by legislation is the enactment of this bill in regard to the sale of whiskey, and perhaps some provision that would authorize the department to have supervision over Indians, notwithstanding allotments, for such a length of time — not exceeding three or four or five years — as might be necessary to put them on their feet and in such condition that each one can earn a living.

There might be some system by which the government can pay to the States and counties the equivalent of the taxation that they would get if these lands were taxable. I am not sure but that would be a proper thing to do. It would make these people feel that they were getting something from the Indians in the way of taxes, and they would more readily accord them the rights of the courts and of attending schools. In a great many places they are deprived of these privileges because the people will not give them to them.

The allotment law is not a failure. The obstacles are not such that we cannot go on even without legislation. We propose to give the Indians all the assistance we can in becoming self-sustaining citizens, and we have accomplished it in some places. I thank you for your attention.

LAND IN SEVERALTY.

BY REV. H. B. FRISSELL.

In discussing the possibility of land in severalty for the Indian, it is necessary that we remember that the education of the white is quite as important as that of the Indian. Much of barbarism remains in the white race. Last Sunday, as I met our Hampton congregation of about one thousand at its afternoon service,—the Negro, the Indian, and the white man together,—I told them that we had there one of the greatest problems which confront this whole country,—that of learning how men of different races can live together in peace and mutual helpfulness. The white people of this country have not yet learned how to live with those of other races who have not had the same opportunities that have been granted to them. I have the greatest confidence in the Dawes Bill, and believe in urging the Indian on to citizenship as fast as he can go. When the ballot was given to the Negro, many doubted its wisdom. Those of us who labor in the South feel that the common school, now as firmly established in Virginia as in Massachusetts, would never have been possible except for the fact that the Negro was given the privilege of voting; and, although he has at times been deprived of this privilege, the knowledge on his part, and on the part of the white man, that he had the right to vote, has made legislation possible in the South, which would otherwise have been utterly impossible. I think that some of the Western politicians pay more attention to the Indian question to-day than they would do if it were not understood that in a little while the Indians will become voters.

The Omaha tribe was one of the first to take up land in severalty, and it has frequently been brought before the country to show that land in severalty is a failure. But I feel that the trouble is not so much with these Indian people as it is with us in whose charge they have been placed. We have expected too much of them. We have not given them sufficient protection in this most trying period of their

history. The agent, you will remember, was taken away from them; and we all rejoiced at the thought that the agency system was about to disappear, for it collected the Indians about a certain spot, caused them to waste much of their time away from their homes, and was, in many ways, most harmful to them. But the difficulty was, that, when the agent was taken away, nothing was given in his stead. The old tribal system had previously been broken up, and neither the State nor the county extended the arm of the law over these people.

I remember going on to the reservation the first Fourth of July after the Dawes Bill was passed, and meeting some of the old chiefs. A flag was raised, and one after another rose and spoke; and, pointing to the land they said: "This is our country." We sang together "My Country, 'tis of thee"; and everything seemed most hopeful and bright at that time. Unfortunately, after that the ladies' association, which had started a hospital, was obliged to give it up, and turn it over to the Presbyterian Church. The mission was burned down, and the Presbyterians were obliged to give up a part of their work. So these poor Indians were left without any one to care for them or advise them. We thought that the people of Nebraska would step in, and look after them. Some of them have stepped in, but not in a helpful way. Around the reservation have settled men who call themselves grocers, but they are really liquor-sellers and saloon-keepers. They have deliberately set themselves to work to corrupt the Indians, and to get hold of their land as fast as possible; and they have succeeded to a great degree. In the town of Pender, on a certain afternoon, after the Indians had received some money, there were so many of them intoxicated that they had to be carried off in cartloads. This is not strange. The Indians, by the reservation system, have been made mere children. They have looked to the white man for counsel and help. They still go to him. They go to these very men who are trying to corrupt them and to get their land. Altogether there has come about a condition of things that is most unfortunate. Women are unsafe on the reservation. Dance-houses have increased in number. But I think I see, even at this darkest moment, a change for the better; and I feel that their present condition is not so much the fault of the Indians themselves as it is our fault. I wish I could make an appeal to the Presbyterians. The missionary on the Omaha Reservation is a good man, but he is able to do very little. The Presbyterian Church should see that the Omaha Reservation has more help just at this time when the Indian needs help so much, especially the help that the Church can give.

Reference has been made by the Commissioner to the law against the sale of liquor. The temperance problem is perhaps just now the most important. Unless we can give the Indian strength to resist the temptation of liquor, the whole race will be exterminated.

As I went over to the Sioux Reservation where Dr. Riggs has improved the condition of things so much, I found that he had a justice of the peace in his own school; and, although the Santees had been going through the same transition period as the Omahas, it has been

accomplished much more satisfactorily because of the influence which Dr. Riggs and his helpers have had upon the Sioux tribe. When the agent is removed, there ought to be some one appointed in his place who shall look after the Indians. It seems to me strange that they have done as well as they have, when we consider that they have been utterly without law.

THE SEVERALTY LAW.

BY HON. H. L. DAWES.

The severalty law was both a necessity and an experiment. The Indian was upon his sick-bed, and his friends about him were like the physicians about the sick-bed of some man nigh unto death whom nothing could save but heroic treatment; and that might kill him. He took the risk of the severalty law, and he has survived in spite of all the adverse conditions which have surrounded him. The severalty law followed the experiment of educating the Indian. Congress had begun the experiment of trying for the first time in the history of the government to take money out of its own treasury to educate the Indian. They found, however, that something more than mere education was necessary. The Indian could not be civilized or Christianized by mere intellectual training. If he was to become a Christian, self-supporting citizen of the United States, he must have a home. You may train him as much as you please. If he has no home, the more intellectual training you give such a tramp, the worse off and the greater nuisance he will be in the community. The home is the centre of all the civilizing and Christianizing forces by which he can be lifted up out of his barbarism into self-supporting Christian citizenship. Accordingly, this medicine that was given him was the furnishing him with a home alongside of and supplementary to the attempt of the United States to enlighten and educate and train him for the duties and obligations of citizenship. But it was a dangerous experiment. The President who signed that bill said to its friends before he put his signature to it: "This is a dangerous experiment. I do not know but it is a necessity. I have my doubts. I am willing, however, to try it. If the friends of the Indian will stand round him during this experimental period, and hold up his hands, and enlighten him and encourage him, I will sign this bill. But I propose, at first, to select one single reservation of the best quality and of the best kind of Indians; and I will try this experiment on that, and, as it shall work, so will I be guided."

This was in March. I happened to be at a meeting of your Conference at the Riggs House in Washington the next day, and told you there what the President said; and I told you, by way of caution and exhortation to a greater zeal, what, in my opinion, were the obligations that that law rolled upon your shoulders and required at your

hands. I went home, and was abused by every friend of that law for decrying it in the presence of the public.

Now, what is the matter with the law? Is it not enough to say to any Indian: You may have a hundred and sixty acres of land for your home? The government shall hold for you the title to it for twenty-five years. It will covenant to hold it for you and for your use, and for nobody's else use; and no contract that you can make, no tax that any locality can impose upon it, no lease, mortgage, or lien whatever during that twenty-five years, shall have the slightest effect on it. Is not that enough? We all thought so. We thought we had enacted civilization on to the Indian. We were like the Dutchmen at Manhattan in the olden time. When they saw English war-ships sailing up the bay, they met in council, and solemnly resolved that the English ought to be, and the same hereby are, conquered, and then went off and lighted their pipes and folded their arms. That is what we did. Now, what is the matter with this severalty law? It has fallen among thieves, and there have not been enough good Samaritans around to take care of it. Why do I say that it has fallen among thieves? It was necessary to put into that law this clause: that, after allotments shall be made upon the reservation, the government is hereby authorized to sell what shall be left of these reservations. The men who buy land of the Indians, just as the Commissioner showed you, saw at once their opportunity. If you can get the Indian set out in severalty, the white men will get the rest of it; and they will not have anything to do but see to it that the rest of it is the best part of the reservation.

Instead of trying the experiment upon one single reservation, as the President supposed it would be, when we came to Washington in December, seven reservations were in process of being allotted; and the poor Indians were crowded out into the poorest part of the land, and the white men were gathering around them, as the eagles round a carcass, waiting for the opportunity to get the best lands. When the attention of the President was called to that fact, he ordered a halt; and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of that day said, Why, he supposed that the object of the law was to set out in severalty all the Indians, and sell at once the rest of their land. We have often heard the question discussed here, How soon would you abolish the reservation? We had heard it urged here that we should abolish the reservation first and then take care of the Indian afterward. Others wanted to take care of the Indian first and abolish the reservation afterward, and not follow the example of the school district in Massachusetts, which resolved that it would build a new school-house on the spot of the old one, and then resolved to occupy the old one until the new one was built. That was the condition here. When that administration passed out of power and the next one came in, it was the boast and pride of the Secretary of the Interior of that administration that he had succeeded in opening to the white men more reservations of the Indians than all his predecessors put together. He sent down to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes and Wichitas, and made a treaty with them; and the stipulations of the

treaty were that they should give to the United States all of their land that was left after putting them out in severalty. When he allotted them in severalty, as the Commissioner said, I do not suppose that any one of them ever saw his home or knew what the word meant. Why was that done there? It is but a few weeks since I have been inside of that country. I have heard the story. They were allotted lands which a great many of them never saw; and you could not find their allotments to-day without a surveyor, and they were blanket Indians that could no more have been kept in a solitary home than you could keep the eagles of the air without a cage.

How did he do it? He gave them a large sum of money, a million and a half dollars I have heard, for what was left; and he distributed it per capita among them, and now the administration which succeeded him has waked up to the necessity of taking out of the treasury a good deal of money to keep them from starving. That is the way the thieves got hold of this law.

Now take these Omahas. How much rosy expectation there was in this assembly, and all around, from the prospect of the Omahas having land allotted to them! And the allotments were made with so much skill and patience and work by Miss Fletcher. When it was done, we turned our backs upon them. They had fifty thousand acres of spare land. They had \$90,000 in the treasury, paying six per cent. interest, and we went off and left them; and the white people built a little town on the edge of their reservation, so as to have the advantages of trade with these men. Then a company was formed to take leases of their land which was allotted them for homes. Why, an allottee has not any title in his land,—not a particle. The United States is the owner of the land, and the United States covenants to keep that land for his sole use and benefit. You do not want to give him any courts to enforce his rights. You want to make the United States do its duty. He could not sue a man for taking possession of his land because he does not own his land. It is the United States land, and the United States is bound by a solemn covenant to keep it for his sole use. If the United States will do its duty in the courts of the districts of Nebraska, they will put every one of those intruders off from that land, and put these men back in possession of it. That is what they must do. It is the fault of the administration of Indian affairs from beginning to end. I am not criticising government officials. I think there has been more fault in that administration with which I have more affinity than I have with this, and I am glad to hear such encouraging things from this administration. I believe it is honestly trying to get back to the place from which it ought never to have departed. It should have held to the idea that the severalty act was only an open door to make a home, and that the home was to be built thereafter and by the same processes by which you are educating the Indians, and with the same care and solicitude; that he should be followed hour by hour until the time of his probation, as specified in the allotment bill, shall have expired, and then pray, as well you

may, that he will not fall after that. You will have just as much as you can do at the end of that time. Why, twelve of the twenty-five years of probation for the Omahas are already passed; and to-day they are in a worse condition than they were when they were allotted. You may say what you please about it. I have been there. The poor fellows have lost their land to these land-grabbers, who have paid them only just enough to supply them with whiskey; and that is all they get for it. They know no more about the duties and obligations and work of a civilized citizen to-day than they did when they began. But a few years ago there came to Washington a delegation of ten, headed by one Daniel Webster, and they came to the Congress of the United States, and asked it to undo this act; and I asked Daniel Webster, the chairman of that delegation, what in the world he meant. I asked him if he had no desire to be a citizen of the United States, and have a home and live in the ways of white men. Oh, well, he said, it was a good deal of trouble. It was a great deal easier for the United States to take care of them than it was for them to take care of themselves, and so he begged us to undo it. Do you think the people who feel an obligation to do something to civilize and Christianize the Indian have done their duty toward these people?

Now, there are difficulties in the severalty law. One we have talked of a good deal here. Take that county of Nebraska in which this reservation is situated. The Omaha Reservation constitutes a county by itself in Nebraska. It is all peopled by Indians. Under the severalty law the whole county is exempt from taxation; and yet the State of Nebraska is obliged to build their roads, their school-houses, their court-houses, and support their courts. Not a dollar can be got out of the real estate there. If they can catch an allottee with a pony or something of that kind, they will tax him for it a great deal more than the pony is worth. That is the condition of things. It cannot exist long. You cannot expect that Nebraska will have anything but a cold shoulder for such a condition of things. That was not foreseen in the severalty law, because the severalty law treated of individuals, and expected to take land here and there only as fast as they turned out to be competent men, and to put them in allotments. They never anticipated taking a whole county, and spreading over it the protection of the United States against all these expenditures. Something must be done to remedy that evil, or the allottee in the State will never receive anything but unfriendly legislation. Either the United States must take out of its treasury an equivalent in lieu of this taxation or the funds that the tribes have in the treasury must be devoted to this purpose. I believe that the Omahas had \$90,000. They came up to Congress after they had been permitted to lease their lands, and made such a presentation of their destitute condition that Congress gave them per capita one-half of that sum, and promised them the next year the other half.

Now, there are a good many ways to relieve this severalty law of this burden. Take the Cheyennes and Arapahoes and Wichitas.

Instead of distributing \$1,500,000 among them, suppose that money had been put into the United States treasury, and the income used for the civilization of those Indians. Would it not have been far better for them? But the policy of that administration that was to glory in having stripped the Indians of more of their heritage than any other administration was to make contracts and divide the purchase money per capita. You can buy all lands of the Indians in the United States if you will distribute per capita the money consideration. Within the last few years \$18,000,000 has been voted out of the treasury to the five civilized tribes, and a large portion of it distributed per capita among the five nations, for land, by the United States. I have myself written into appropriation bills much of this large sum, and they are poorer to-day than they were before the money was distributed.

Capt. PRATT.—I call your attention to the fact that every phase of this question that has been touched upon seems full of insurmountable difficulties. Perhaps no man in the country feels it more than I do, stationed as I am at Carlisle, and dealing with children from more than fifty tribes. I realize what is going on in the fullest sense. To me the Indian question does not centre in lands in severalty. It does not centre in any of the other phases that have been discussed here. It is a question of individualizing, of getting the Indian to stand with us shoulder to shoulder, and to take care of himself, and not to be dependent upon a department whose particular quality is a perpetuation of itself. I feel that the Indian can be made just as capable of taking care of his individual affairs as the rest of us. You do not need any department to look after Dr. Eastman or Dr. Montezuma or Mr. Marsden. They will take care of themselves. But I ask you to point out to me a single Indian throughout the length and breadth of the land that has been made capable as these men are by any of the methods that we are dealing with here. I mean outside of Carlisle and Hampton and some of the other training schools, so called.

We have not got at the life and the purpose and the necessity of the situation at all. You hang a hundred and sixty acres on the Sioux Reservation about the neck of Dr. Eastman, and tell him he must stay in the mass of ignorance that he has described, and he would become just what he says you or any white man would become if surrounded by those conditions for three years. I have demanded from the start an opportunity for these men to get out, and find out what citizenship was by association with citizens. But no, the department will not be perpetuated if you do that. And so we have gone on in the same old lines.

Senator Dawes has been showing us that the civilized tribes—civilized! what a lot they are!—have more crime than anywhere in the United States, according to the population,—more vileness; and they want to perpetuate that vileness, and all they want is more money to do it.

I said years ago that land was a small part of the question. I

never owned an acre of land, and never expect to; and, if it costs other people as much trouble as it does these Indians, I think it a dreadful curse. It is a dreadful curse; and, the more money you pour into these reservations, the worse they are for it. We have pictures presented here that are not true.

Last fall \$50,000 was distributed among the Cheyennes and the Arapahoes; and it was contrived that it should be disbursed at a particular time, when there was to be a county fair. It was advertised all over the surrounding country that the Indians were to be there. There were to be horse races in which they were to take part. The \$50,000 was paid out in checks,—no check upon letting it go for bad uses. There were four or five banks in Reno that would cash them. Gamblers and the vilest men to be found in that vile region were there in multitude. My own boys and girls were there. I have talked with them about it. I know. The Indians were brought together from a hundred miles away, and were kept there a week. They abandoned their farms, and brought their ponies, dogs, and tepees, received and squandered their money, and got nothing but harm from it. It is so always. Giving them money in this way enriches the neighboring white man and destroys the Indian. What we have got to do is to make capable individual men out of them,—men who will stand up, contend, and compete like other men; and we can only do this by getting them out among the men we desire them to imitate.

REV. ALBERT RIGGS.—Senator Dawes has shown clearly that the Severalty Act was an opportunity simply, but we have not improved the opportunity. The only unquestioned right which an Indian has to-day—that is, barring minor matters—is the right to be hanged. But the protection of the home, that law which develops the life of a man, is generally lacking. The experiment with the Omahas has been spoken of by several, and it is certainly a case in point; and, being neighbor to them, I can testify to the truth of what has been said in that regard. There is a state of chaos there. There is an utter lack of law, of all things that make home and life desirable. The causes that have worked this lamentable condition of affairs are not difficult to find. There have never been any courts established having jurisdiction over those people. There were some officers elected, but they never qualified. One difficulty has been the lack of means by which the expenses of the courts could be met. Most of all there has been a lack of that sympathetic advice and continued counsel and leading by which they might have been brought into other relations with citizen life. The very first step was a grave one,—the government abandoned them.

I am glad that I can speak about another field. The same operation began in about the same time at Santee, and we tried to go at it in a different way. We tried to prepare the Indians for their new responsibilities by instruction, and to bring the neighboring community into sympathy with this new order of things. Then we saw to the local organization of the local justice courts at our agency, in

order to meet a point which has been spoken of here,—the lack of means by which these legal processes could be carried out. We organized a committee of justice to look into the cases that needed attention, that we might find out their rights in the courts of the country; and we were assessed to meet the expense of these efforts. So we have measurably succeeded; and I am glad to say that there is very good prospect that, if the work shall be carried on in that line, we shall be able to report complete success, so far as bringing the Indians into proper civil relations. Our experience there gives us the right to say what is necessary as a practical measure. One thing is necessary: a government representative on the ground who should be an agent. Let us abolish the Indian agent entirely, and have a promoter of justice, an agent of civilization. His business should be to establish these people under law, to lead them into the responsibility of citizenship, whereas the perpetuation of the old agency would only defeat our efforts in that line. It takes about six months to convert an Indian agent, and make him understand what he can and what he cannot do. It would be better if he came with fuller instructions from the department, so that he might understand that it was his duty to lead these people into possession of their rights. I believe there is ground for hope; but we must have good, practical common sense, and things must be done step by step. If we are only patient, much can be accomplished.

President MESERVE.—We ought to heartily commend the action of the Indian Office for the stand it has taken in regard to whiskey. If I were asked what, from my observation, I regard as the greatest single curse of the Indians, I should say the corn-juice of the Western States and the moonshiners' "mountain dew" of the Carolinas.

I was gratified last night to hear what Dr. Hailmann had to say about the desire for electricity for Indian schools. During the four years I was in charge at Haskell Institute I was amused at the way the recommendation for electric lighting was met.

Dr. Hailmann also referred to the need of helping the returned students on the reservations. There is a league in existence with that for its object. Dr. Abbott is the president, Miss Sparhawk is secretary, and Mrs. Fiske is the treasurer. Any one who wants to help the returned students can do it through this Industrial League.

I was pleased at the reference of Dr. Jackson to the use of the word "native" instead of Indian, in Alaska. Some one said to me that it was a beautiful conceit, when Commissioner Morgan once said that Indian nature was human nature bound in red. There is no conceit or fancy about it. It is true. I am getting tired of hearing about the Indian problem and the Negro problem. Let us come down to the homely term of the problem of humanity; for that is what it is,—the great, broad problem of humanity.

Senator Dawes, in his excellent address, said that many of the Indians do not know where their allotments are. I was in the office of the Indian agent at Oklahoma a short time ago, after the allotting was completed. The agent had a plan spread on the table, and he

was trying to show White Antelope where his location was. When you find a white man or an agent finding fault with an allotting agent, you make up your mind that you have a pretty good allotting agent. The allotting agent here had acted wisely. The people found fault with him that the Indians were getting the best lands. That was reversing the ordinary method.

I have here a letter from the present superintendent of Haskell Institute, which I would like to read :—

HASKELL INSTITUTE, LAWRENCE, KAN.,
Sept. 24, 1895.

Hon. C. F. MESERVE, President Shaw University, Raleigh, N.C.

Dear Mr. Meserve,— You no doubt remember that I made a trip through that country in the fall of 1891, and returned to Haskell very much discouraged. My trip this fall was over the same territory and among the same people; but the contrast was so great that I could scarcely believe either the country or the people to be the same. By the way of contrast, I will give a general description of the two trips, and then a more detailed account of this year's trip.

In 1891 I found nearly all the members of both tribes camped in a place about five miles from the agency, engaged in the ghost-dance. This fall I found them living in small camps of two to ten families each, near their allotments, in all parts of the country, nearly all engaged in making hay. In 1891 nearly all wore the blanket or ghostly sheet. In 1895 nearly all of the old people and all, with two exceptions, of the returned students whom I visited wore citizens' clothes. The two were ashamed when caught dressed in blankets, and immediately disappeared, to return soon, dressed in neat black clothing. In 1891 the drift of the conversation among these tribes was, What next will the government do for us? In 1895 the conversation was about "my allotment," "my farm." And so I might go on making contrasts, but I think you will be more interested in learning about my trip in detail.

I attended the Indian Workers' Convention at El Reno, and met while there a number of Indian young men and women who have been given positions in the service, and are succeeding admirably.

Among those met were Philip Cook, Deforest Antelope, and James Hamilton, former students of Haskell Institute, and Paul Good Bear and Mr. Cornelius of Carlisle, all employed at the Cheyenne School. After the convention closed, I visited Captain Woodson, United States Indian agent for the Cheyenne and Arapahoes, and made arrangements for an extended trip.

Captain Woodson informed me that, since the Indians had taken their land in severalty, it had been his foremost thought and his greatest effort to get them to live on their allotments.

In order to accomplish this, the old custom of having them go to the agency every two weeks, to get their rations, had to be broken up, as that kept them on the road a great portion of the time, and prevented them from doing any work on their farms, if they wished to. Therefore, issue stations have been established in different sections of the country, thus enabling them to get their rations nearer home, and leaving time for them to do some work on their farms.

This having been accomplished, it was found necessary to have some one to teach the Indians how to farm. Therefore, the country was divided into eleven districts, and a white farmer and an Indian assistant appointed for each district.

These district farmers and assistants are expected to teach the Indians of their respective districts how to farm, and assist them in every possible way in improving their farms.

Having gotten this information from the agent, I started on my way to the different districts, visiting first the Indians along the South Canadian. As before stated, I found these Indians very much scattered, a great many of them living on their allotments, others living in small camps near their allotments.

For instance, four families were quite often found camped together on the adjoining corners of their land. A great deal of hay was being harvested, and nearly all of the able-bodied Indians were assisting in some way.

We next visited the Seger Colony Indians. We first went to the Seger School, where we found Mr. Seger as busy as ever, sacrificing for the poor Lo. This school is very popular among the Indians, and the building which is just erected is in great demand. When I visited Seger Colony in 1891, Mr. Seger was just completing the plans for the buildings now in use; and, although it has been but four years, a very great change has taken place.

At that time you might visit the camps and be among the Indians for days, and hear but few words of English, except from boys and girls who had been away from the reservation to attend school; and even they were afraid to speak English in the presence of their parents and friends. My experience was entirely different this year. I did not visit a single camp in which I could not find a great many children who could and would talk pretty good English; and the parents and friends seemed to be proud of the boys and girls who could talk to me, and then tell what I had said. Even old Chief Big Jake, the most non-progressive Indian among the Cheyennes, said, "My children talk white man heap good." The school right in the midst of the tribe is an object-lesson; and, as the children attend and learn to speak English and to do all kinds of work, public sentiment in the tribe changes.

Of course, this little reservation school can give the children only a start on the road to civilization and citizenship, and a stronger and more lasting force must be applied by the non-reservation school and its auxiliaries,—intelligent, Christian people, the church, the school, and all of those civilizing influences which are found in a community like that in which the non-reservation schools are situated: but, certainly, Seger School has done very much in four years in the way of educating the Indians to appreciate education.

Mr. Seger and I visited nearly all of the families in that section of the country, and found the majority of them on or near their allotments, doing considerable work.

While on this trip with Mr. Seger, we visited the most interesting Indian family that I ever met. When we drove into the camp, Prairie Chief, the head of the family, came out to greet us, and was followed by the members of his family, the wife and three daughters, who were all dressed in the camp garment, to be sure, but were absolutely clean.

Everything about the camp was clean and tidy; and, although I was a stranger, I was as warmly welcomed as I ever was by a white family. The father and mother were unable to speak English; but the girls talked for them, and we were soon having a pleasant conversation. Prairie Chief told me that he had planted and cultivated thirty-five acres of corn, had harvested ten acres of wheat, and was now making hay, and that he had not made his women do the work, either. He seemed very proud of having done so much, and prouder still that he had not made his wife and children help. Mr. Seger told me a very interesting incident about Prairie Chief, which illustrates how their ideas in regard to marriage are changing. Mr. Seger had talked with Prairie Chief concerning the marriage of his daughters, and advised him to let the girls choose their own husbands, and then to be married like white ladies. Meanwhile a buck came along, and offered Prairie Chief a good team of mules, worth about two hundred dollars, and a team of horses, worth about as much, for one of his daughters.

This, of course, was a great temptation for Prairie Chief; and he went to his Indian friends for advice. They immediately advised him to accept the offer. Prairie Chief almost yielded; but he said, "Every time he was about to say yes he imagined he could see Mr. Seger peeping over a hill at him, and saying no."

Finally, he decided he would not sell his daughters for any number of horses and mules, and said, "My daughter he choose own man, and be happy."

I could write a great deal of interest about this family, but want to take you hurriedly over the remainder of my trip.

I next visited what is known as the Red Moon Indian band, which is located about one hundred and ten miles from the agency.

Red Moon was one of the leaders of the Cheyennes when they went on the war-path the last time through Kansas. There are about one hundred and eighty-five Indians in this band; and they have been looked upon as the wildest, most uncivilized band of the Cheyennes, and until a few years ago have not done any work that amounted to anything at all. A farmer has been sent to teach them. An

issue station and a blacksmith's shop have been established in their district. This year they have raised about three hundred and fifty acres of corn, have harvested considerable wheat, have broken, on the average, two and a half acres apiece of new land, and made several hundred tons of hay.

There is no school in the district, but during several months last year a day school was established, and was conducted in a tent or lodge; and the children attended quite regularly.

Captain Woodson hopes he may get an appropriation during the year for a school building for the people. There are only two children in the band that have ever attended school. Of course, these people cling to many of their barbarous customs, such as the sun-dance; but the progress made by them in the last four years has been wonderful.

Even among these, the most non-progressive band of Cheyennes, as I suppose, I saw but very few blankets being worn.

I also visited the Watonga Issue Station and the Indians in that district. At this place I found two of the Haskell Institute students employed and giving good satisfaction. Peter Antoine is the blacksmith, and John D. Miles the assistant farmer. Mr. Coleman, the farmer, says Peter is a better smith than nine out of ten white men, and is a better man than the tenth white man. Therefore, he does not want any change.

I found Chief White Antelope, the father of Deforest and Fenton Antelope, in this district; and I do not believe there ever was a father who was prouder of his son than he is of Deforest, who graduated at Haskell Institute last June. As stated in the beginning of the letter, Deforest is employed at the Cheyenne School. White Antelope shows his appreciation of school opportunities by taking his daughter to the public school in Watonga.

He took her almost every day last winter, and says he will do so again this year. He lives about three miles from the school, and has to cross the river every day; but those who live near him say he scarcely ever allows his daughter to lose a day of school, no matter how stormy the weather may be. I visited the King Fisher Indians, and among them found Moore Van Horn and his two brothers, Max and John, all working in the hay field, cutting, hauling, and stacking hay, as would white boys.

One of the improvements I noted in the administration of affairs on the reservation was the mode of issuing beef. The cattle are now taken to the issue station to be butchered in the corral instead of turning them loose to be shot down like wild buffalo.

Then, again, the Indians go to the issue station, which is located in their districts, get their rations, and return to their homes. They do not spend their time as they used to in lounging around the agency, waiting for ration day, and then dancing until the rations are eaten. The dance is disappearing rapidly.

It is never or seldom engaged in without the consent of the agent. The Indians being so scattered, and being under immediate control of the district farmers, the dance question is comparatively easily controlled. The ghost-dance is never allowed; and only in rare cases, in the outlying districts and among the wilder bands, do they engage in anything but some religious dance. The whole trip was one of encouragement for me, especially so as I attribute a great deal of the progress to the influence of the returned students.

The old Indians seem to be losing their grip very fast, and the educated young people are assuming control. As they settle on their allotments, the knowledge gained by the young people, while in school, is in demand; and the old people recognize the value of education.

Captain Woodson is doing a great service for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes by compelling them, as far as possible, to live on their allotments. I think it is time now for the individual Indians to be given their money for the improvement of their homes. Of course, the money should be expended according to instruction given by proper authority, and only for the improvement of the homes; but it seems to me that, were this done carefully, the influence of a few well-improved homes would be very great. This letter is being written by a pupil of the commercial class, the new department organized this year. The department gives promise of being a popular one, and very important as a means of fitting young men and women for future usefulness in the world. We have twenty-one taking

typewriting, thirteen shorthand, and ten the full commercial course. Our normal students are doing splendid work, and will, I believe, when they have completed the course, be a credit to the Indian service as teachers. Rose Dougherty entered the normal class to-day. Wishing you a pleasant year's work, I remain,

Sincerely,

H. B. PEAIRS.

[The address of Mr. Austin Abbott, who followed Mr. Meserve, will be found in the *last* session.]

Fourth Session.

Thursday Night, October 10.

The Conference was called to order at eight o'clock. President Gates read the following letter from Bishop Whipple to Mr. Smiley:—

FARIBAULT, MINN., Sept. 12, 1895.

My beloved Friend,—It is a very great sorrow that I cannot be at the Mohonk Indian Conference. The General Council of our Church meets in Minneapolis October 2, and will continue most of the month. As the bishop of the diocese, I cannot be absent. There are many, many things about which I longed to confer with my brothers.

Is it right or just for us to attempt to relieve our consciences of the guilt of past neglect by thrusting the Indian into citizenship, and say, "Sink or swim"?

2. Is there any possible way to protect these poor brown brothers from the curse of the fire-water, which is worse than ever before?

3. Ought not Congress to provide for administration of law or reserve by making the agent or some one a stipendiary magistrate?

4. Is there any remedy for the leasing of Indian land to perpetuate the old curse of heathen pauperism?

5. Is it not a solemn duty we owe to them to prevent the alienation of their land?

I have recently visited our Indian missions at White Earth and at Birch Centre, and saw much to make me thank our heavenly Father. Many of these Indians show in their lives that "God is no respecter of persons,"—that the gospel is for them, as for us, the good news of God. I send you a tract which I published thirty-two years ago. With love.

Yours faithfully,

H. B. WHIPPLE.

A. K. SMILEY, Esq.

The following message from Bishop Whipple was also read:—

HOUSE OF BISHOPS, MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 7, 1895.

May our Father guide all your deliberations for his wandering brown children. Much blessed work has brought rich rewards. There is no mission work of any branch of the Church of Christ which has had a more blessed harvest. It has brought richer rewards to those who have labored for their brother-man. The passion for humanity is the only passion worthy of us; and, when we find Christ, we must find our brother also. "Ye shall not see my face except ye bring your brother also." Pardon me if I say it,—I fear that we are approaching a grave crisis,—that this untutored child of nature needs, and must have, not only the hand of Christian brothers, he must have the strong arm of the government to protect him. In the past, unscrupulous men have used the Indian as a key to unlock and rob the public treasury. Now they will, by evil influences, by the deadly fire-water, by selfish greed, rob him of all which makes life dear. I made a few suggestions of topics for your consideration to our dear friend Mr. Smiley.

With a heart full of love for you, my brothers and sisters, and sending you my loving greetings, I am always, in the bonds of loving work for our Master, your friend and brother,

H. B. WHIPPLE,

Bishop of Minnesota.

TO THE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

A telegram was received from the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Hoke Smith, saying: "Have hoped to attend the Conference. Regret very much to find that it is impossible for me to do so."

President Gates invited Mr. Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia, to address the meeting.

THE HOPEFUL FEATURES OF OUR WORK.

BY HERBERT WELSH.

I deem it a great privilege to have the opportunity of speaking a few words to you upon a question which has occupied the greater part of my time during the last thirteen years; and I want, if I can, to emphasize some of the hopeful phases of this problem,—of the work which we of the Mohonk Conference, a body of people representing various churches and various lines of work, have undertaken to do. I wish to preface my remarks by this thought.

My first interest in this question was created by what I saw with my own eyes, what I heard with my own ears, among the Indian people of Dakota. I, for one, would never have dared to throw myself into this work, as I have done, excepting for one strong belief. I saw before me men and women and children who by the power of the gospel of Jesus Christ had been lifted out from the very heart of barbarism, and had wrought in them that greatest of all miracles, the creation of a new and holy character. I know that many who have been so appealed to have failed to hear and receive that message, that many who have begun to walk in that new way have fallen from it; but, notwithstanding, there remained at that time, and there remains to-day, the one great fundamental ground upon which a true man or woman can build in this work,—the actual knowledge that individual character, the individual soul of the Indian, has been redeemed by the power of Christian civilization. I care not if all other experiments for improving his welfare be abolished. Provided that one great fact of the essential part of him being redeemed by that power remain, it is sufficient warrant for every one of us to continue in this work and to put in the very best efforts we are capable of making. In no way can we more truly strengthen ourselves for our long, difficult, and as yet half-completed task than by looking at this crystalline truth that character has been redeemed by the power of civilization and the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Now, if we look at every phase of this question, I think that we shall receive an encouragement capable of appealing to any intelligent man. One of the great purposes of this Conference was to take the mechanism of the government which was charged with the duty of dealing with the Indian, and put to it the purest principle of administration which it was capable of receiving. We found the Indian bureau controlled by that false principle the danger of which

many great statesmen of this land, of whatever political party they might be, have clearly discerned,—the disintegrating principle of spoils as the motive of action rather than the true American principle of merit and love for the country. We found that the spoils policy in appointment to office had seriously affected our Indian service. I shall not waste time by referring to details: you know the main facts. You know that with every change in administration there was a change of the men and women who were to do the work of civilizing the Indians. You know what chaos and loss of valuable experience this method of appointment wrought. But thanks to the work of this Conference, thanks to the aroused spirit of the people of the United States, our appeals have been heard. In the Indian service at least the strength of the spoils system has been broken; and I think we may thank God, and take courage.

To-day there are seven hundred places which by act of President Harrison were removed from the grip of spoilsmen, and placed under the merit system by having the civil service rules extended to them. How great a victory was gained you can imagine, or of it you can convince yourselves if you look into the facts. Think what it means to have established in the service that merit proved by some reasonable test shall be the means of admission and by which places shall be kept rather than that a political pull—favoritism—shall put a man in.

If you look back over past years, you will see that that great principle has steadily advanced; and with it have come substantial blessings to the Indian service. It has been my duty as a member of the Indian Rights Association to act often in a critical spirit in reference to each administration. Blaming officers of the government where removals or appointments were made in violation of the merit system, I was obliged to state the facts; and I think, therefore, it is a matter of especial congratulation that we see how great is our present point of advance. General Morgan was ardently enlisted in this civil service reform as opportunities opened to him, and he remained firmly convinced of its importance. Him we can thank for the great influence for good he exerted upon the Indian service. He gave a tremendous impulse to the cause of Indian education. He prepared the way for Dr. Hailmann's work, which has been in the same direction. Who could but admire that humane philosophy which ran through Dr. Hailmann's address, to which we have just listened, so tender and so true,—the philosophy which consists not simply in theorizing, but which is being carried out in actual fact, making of the boarding-school matron not an ordinary routine officer, but a tender and open-hearted mother to the children under her care? I choose that only as an illustration. You could see how that humane spirit which characterizes him is running through the Indian school service, and is blessing it.

Then look at the Indian Commissioner's work. I am in a position to know something of it. I have not failed to criticise when criticism was necessary; but who could have heard Mr. Browning's statement, and not feel the sincerity of his interest in the Indian

work? Who could fail to see that in depicting difficulties facing us, which we all acknowledge and regret, as the question of leases, of liquor, of citizenship, of taxes which the Indians should pay, by some means, for the privileges of courts and other elements of civilization,—who, I ask, could fail to see that Commissioner Browning was looking in the statesman's spirit, which proposes remedies fitted to bring relief, at the work before him? It is a great gain when we have an Indian administration, an Indian bureau, which is coming into actual contact and sympathy with the people of whom we are the representatives. Do you not appreciate what an advance there is in this? And, after listening to Dr. Abbott's lucid description of the slow way in which any true advance is made in the progress of law, do you not feel rather encouraged than discouraged by the slowness of the advance? It is slow, but there is always advance.

Let us take the darkest spot which seems to face us,—the apparent failure among the Omahas. That has taught us a lesson. We have seen that it is possible to make the step out of barbarism into the new life too quickly, that there has been a serious loss among the Omahas; and I think, if you look at the Omaha question by the experience we have acquired, you will be ready to say that the failure consists in our failure to build up moral and Christian character among these Indians by which to meet the great strain which has proved so fatal. I do not see any difficulty for which there is not a possible remedy. I see the best ground for a feeling of encouragement on our part. Not only does Mr. Browning show that he looks on this question not as a partisan, but as an American citizen, but the Secretary of the Interior, also, whose acts I have had an opportunity to follow, has steadily adhered to the merit idea. This characterizes his policy. During the past year there have been changes in the position of agent at four of the agencies. Two military agents were removed, one because he desired it, the other because satisfactory work had not been done. In these cases the changes that have been made have been made in accordance with the merit system of appointment. In two instances, sub-agents were advanced to the superior position of agent; and in two cases former agents—as I understand it, one a Republican, the other a Democrat—were appointed. I ask if those facts do not show a solid ground gained.

It is true that we have to face a merciless greed on the part of men, even in the Senate of the United States,—men who will consent to become the agents of scamps who would rob the Indians. We have to face the iniquitous greed of men who would destroy the Indians by whiskey, which the Delaware Indians so significantly called the "devil's blood." How are we to accomplish our purpose? Not by taking one means of civilization alone, but by taking them all,—taking the work which Captain Pratt is doing, that which the missionaries are doing so nobly in the field, taking the work of these faithful women who have labored to create an Industries League to meet the wants of the Indian for remunerative occupation, and particularly to care for and guide the young Indian men

and women brought back into the field after their school work is over, and so on through the whole chapter. Take all these lines of work, and never lose courage, never fail to believe that Christ is the great power in the world, that he is using them all for his purpose. It means the inspiration of all our civilization with the Christian idea, the pouring of the water of life through all agencies open to us, physical, intellectual, and spiritual. This is what we have to remember to do. As there may be dark spots appear, which dim the brightness of our hope, we should not allow them to discourage us. They should only fire us with new zeal and hope. Past failures should only make us more wise to meet the difficulties of the future. For, after all, there remains to us the grand work of going out to seek these sheep who have wandered wide and far upon the mountain, in the spirit of the Master seeking to find them and bring them back into the fold. I think that the different principles that have been presented can be harmonized. Some have told us that the reservations must be abolished, that they are bad. That is true. But we cannot press that with undue haste. Let us abolish them by education, by selling the land unnecessary for the Indians' use. Let us press forward that great idea; but let us guard and help the Indian at every step, just as we should, as parents, guard our growing children from the temptations of the world, until they are strong enough to stand against them by their own power and by the dignity and weight of their own character.

I beg you to feel no sense of discouragement. This question is intended to bring out the truest part of our nature, to lift us to a higher plane of self-sacrifice, a nobler intellectual atmosphere. Remember that the civilized Indian must be composed of a redeemed body, a redeemed spirit, and a redeemed intellect. We ought to appeal to him in all these ways, and by every holy, true, and wise agency, not disputing too much among ourselves as to which method is best. Let us recognize Christ as the great head and power of all, Christ the inspiring spirit; and, as we lose sight of ourselves, going into the wilderness, pray, as he did, for the rescue of these brown brothers who have wandered into it, and are lost.

Miss Angel Dacora was introduced as an art student from Smith College. Her remarks were mainly confined to answering questions. The following is the substance of what she said:—

MISS DACORA.—I feel very grateful for the kind resolutions that you have passed here with reference to my people. I have been asked where I secured my education. I went first to the reservation school, but I must confess that I spent a good deal of my time there running away. If they had taught me drawing, I do not think I should have run away. Afterwards I went to Hampton, where I was very contented. For three years I have been studying art at Smith College. When I get through, I mean to teach wherever I can get a position, either East or West, among Indians or whites. My

course at Smith College has been drawing from the antique casts, still-life studies, oil and portrait painting. I prefer landscape painting. I have found pleasant associates and kindness in college.

Mr. Edward Marsden, of Alaska, was invited to speak.

Mr. Marsden prefaced his remarks with a sketch of Mr. Duncan's work in Metlakahtla. As the story has been previously told in the Mohonk Conference, it is omitted here. Mr. Marsden continued :—

In 1887 we left the region of country formerly occupied by us, and came into Alaska for the sake of freedom and an opportunity to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. Since coming into Alaska, we have been recognized as citizens of the republic. The first thing that we did was to take the oath of allegiance to the United States government. The 7th of August is our Fourth of July. Mr. Duncan, who was in the United States, notified us of his coming. I was then a steamboat engineer, and took charge of the steamer that carried us back and forth to our new home. On the 7th of August a ship came from the south, bringing Mr. Duncan and many American passengers. He told us to put up a flag-staff. We did, and gathered around it. In a few words he told us of his work in the United States and of your sympathy. He was followed by Mr. Dawson, the Commissioner of Education. He was patriotic in his speech; and I can remember how our people cheered, and, though it was in Alaska, the thermometer of the race went up to two or three hundred degrees. A new spirit was put into our people. Then the stars and stripes were unfolded, and were slowly drawn to the top of the mast. The flag was given us by friends in Philadelphia. It was one that had been used in the Independence Hall of that city. While it was going up, Mr. Duncan said: "Stars and stripes,—stars for the friends, stripes for the enemies. Wherever this flag floats, the powerful arm of the American government can reach those under that flag." Then we all joined in three tremendous cheers to the flag. Thus our exodus was made in 1887. The great principles that we contended for were like those of the Pilgrim Fathers who left their homes in England and came to this side of the ocean for the sake of liberty and freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences.

So we left our old homes, our church, our hall, our industrial establishments, and began life in a new place; but the things that we gathered together were not enough to protect us. A number of us had to live in tents in an Alaska winter. We had to endure a great deal of hardship. But, in spite of all these things, we have been very proud to be American citizens. When, in May, 1894, I stood in Marietta, Ohio, and took my final oath of allegiance to support the Constitution of the United States and stand by the laws of the country, and, if necessary, to protect the Constitution under the flag, I was proud to be an American.

This, then, is the way my people came to be in the United States

of America. I have been requested, since I belong to the full-blooded sons of America, to give to you what I consider the things that would help to solve the Indian problem.

1. The Indians are not *one* people. They are really fifty or sixty different tribes. What you do for one tribe may not work in another. How do you solve the heathen problem? One must be a Christian himself before he can go to make Christians. Take this in the industrial world. If you wish to teach any one about a steamboat engine, you yourself must be an engineer before your teaching can be trustworthy. If I want to convert others, I must first myself be a Christian. Too many incompetent workers have sometimes disgraced Christian work.

2. The only way by which you can reach those who are below you is to take hold of them, and pull them up. The majority of the heathen are way down. You cannot reach them unless you go down where they are. Take hold of them there, but do not yourself lose the Christian principles that you have received. Take hold of the principles with one hand, and hold the heathen up with the other. Compel them to come in, the Bible says.

3. Preach the gospel in its purity and simplicity. We do not want theological discussions. They are far from us, though they may be right enough when we get to your level.

4. Do works of charity; but, let me warn you, be careful. The same loaf of bread that might help one person might pauperize another. Be careful, exercise thought, put on your thinking-cap when you take an old coat or a sack of potatoes and go out to do a work of charity. The same thing that might help one might degrade another. The works of charity are a great thing, but they must be done carefully.

5. Education. Let me distinguish here between education and Christianity. Christianize the adult heathen first, and then afterward educate them. With the children do the reverse: educate them first, and then Christianize them. But here, again, let me warn you to think. Education is a great thing, if done in a right spirit, in the right way, and by the right means; but without these it may make people go back to the old blanket.

6. Give them industries, the kind that will lift them up. I am proud of being a steamboat engineer, and that I can also turn my hand to many difficult things; for I have some knowledge of eighteen different trades. Give my people, then, industries.

7. Give them pure, social enjoyment.

8. Give them law. It is a small word; but under God it governs the universe, and under the government it governs the nation. The government of the United States is for the people, of the people, and by the people. But the people is made up of individuals. Each one must learn to be self-governed. Let the teachers teach the Constitution of the United States, and that the laws of the United States must be obeyed. But, when I have the law in myself, I am much better protected than when Congress passes special laws to protect me. Make them, then, self-governing. The simple knowledge of

the laws of the United States would help a great deal in keeping our Indians orderly and industrious.

President GATES.—We have no men truer to the Constitution than are some of our full-blooded American citizens.

Dr. Eastman was asked to speak of his special work.

Dr. EASTMAN.—A little over a year ago, I was in my office, busy with professional work, when somebody knocked. I opened the door, and a gentleman entered, a representative of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association. He said that he had come for my advice in a special work for the Indians that was going to be undertaken by the International Committee. When he had told his plan, I said: "By all means do it, do it. I know something of the Young Men's Christian Association among white young men, and I know it is work that will be helpful to the young men of my own race." Before he went away he asked me if I would undertake this work. I reminded him that I had a profession, a wife and family, and that it did not seem best for me to undertake it, and that I could not do it anyway unless my wife would consent. He went away; but, after three months' thinking and studying, it seemed best to undertake it, for I believed it was peculiarly adapted to our young men. I felt that we could reach one young man through another, and so finally arouse a strong sympathy among the Indians with one another,—a healthy kind of sympathy. We could also awaken the old idea that no man can be a man without sound muscle, that no warrior can be a warrior, no hunter can be properly a hunter, without good, sound muscle. That was the idea of the old days. We can revive that. It has all gone from us. I have not found such a man in all my travels. Their muscles are flabby. Their nervous system is in such a state that they cannot do any sort of physical work, nor can they do mental work. Their excessive use of tobacco and their drinking and carousing, their nights of sleeplessness,—these have conspired to wreck their bodies.

Now here is an association in which a young man can be brought to realize that he should respect his own body. He must realize that every muscle in his body is his, and he can use it to great advantage if he knows something about it, and that, if he injures one of these muscles, he is going to suffer, and feel the result sooner or later. Body, mind, and soul are closely related; and here is an avenue by which we can touch his heart.

The Indian is godly, superstitious if you please to call it. He believes in his muscle. He believes God gave him that above all things. He does not think much about the quality of his brain; but in the old days a good stomach and a strong heart were thought necessary, and there is a good deal of truth in that nowadays, too.

I have been moving about among the young men of the Sioux in several places in Canada and the Indian Territory, and have talked with the young men where I could get them together. There have been some associations among the Sioux, among the Presbyterians

and Congregationalists ; but they have been closely connected with their denominations, and they have been local in character. There have been plenty of St. Andrew Societies among the Episcopalians, but they are attached to that particular church. These different young men's societies do not sympathize with one another.

My method is to meet the young men, and call their attention to Bible study, and try to arouse their sympathy for one another. I also talk simply of their bodies,— how to keep them clean, pure, and to take care of them so as to make the most of them, warning them of all the evils that they blindly go into, which destroy their bodies as well as mind and soul. I tell them that they must each one not only be a member of this association, but each is responsible for the conduct of his brother. I teach them that it is their duty to get young men to join the society, and increase their number and work.

Last winter I arranged my dates far ahead, sometimes two months ; and on one occasion I found that, to keep my appointment in February, I had to ride twenty-seven miles. It was severe weather at that time, and it seemed almost impossible for me. There were dark clouds, and the snow was falling, and it looked like a blizzard. But I trusted in the fact that I was engaged in good work, and started. I took a young man with me, who was supposed to know the roads. It was very cold. The snow was drifting, and we had a hard struggle to reach our destination. We came an hour behind time to the little log house ; but there I found thirty-five young men waiting for me, and singing to try to keep up their spirits. They knew that I was not going to disappoint them. Some of my best preaching has been about going to bed early, but it was rather late that night before we parted. I told them that they had been faithful, and I was strengthened by their faith, and I enjoyed that meeting. When we came out of the log house, the blizzard was worse ; and many of these young men had to go from one to four miles to get home. This shows that they are interested in this kind of work.

We have now somewhere about forty-two associations, and many of these are in active work. My purpose is to keep each young man strong in his own church, whatever that church may be ; but in our association he must not recognize any denomination. He must not think of one brother as Baptist, another as Methodist, but all must be simply brothers.

I might refer here to an address that was made to the Indians by one of their number, who said that in the old times, when the snow was three or four feet deep, they used to travel on foot for miles to kill somebody, maybe a poor woman, maybe an innocent child. They endured the severest cold, rains, everything. "Now," he asked, "why should we not go twenty-five miles to kill one of the devil's attributes if we can?" That shows something of the ideas which the people have. All the evidences are in favor of these associations. The Indians themselves see that they are not only for the welfare of their bodies, but that they lead to higher things. So we find the work growing. It may be made an effective, practical influence in civilizing the Indian ; but it must be carried on carefully.

We must make it just as simple, practical, and pure as possible. The Indians must learn that they can be Christian in play as well as Christian in church on Sunday.

The International Committee forced me into this work, and they have told me that I must come East and help in raising the money for it. If I fail to raise the necessary means, the work has to be dropped.

Dr. Carlos Montezuma was introduced by the President as having been found on a battlefield when a baby, and bought for a pony by a photographer. He was educated in Chicago and the East, and is now resident physician at the Carlisle School.

Dr. MONTEZUMA.—It is my belief that you may pour out many millions of dollars on the reservation, at the expense of the government, and still not be able to civilize the Indian. You may build day-schools on the reservations, and keep the Indian from outside enlightenment; but you will never have him civilized like yourself. Nor can you give him a patch of land, a hundred and sixty acres, more or less, and separate him from the law within the State, and within the United States, and civilize him. I never was aided by the government one cent. I never was in a government school. Since I was ten years old, I have had to make my own way. Captain Pratt has not loaded me to come here and fire at you. He knows that I stand independent. If you want to civilize Indians, I believe the fundamental idea is to have them with you, side by side. Do not say that it will take years and years to bring them up beside you; for Dr. Harris has told you that you have made a bridge which they can cross, and stand side by side with your own sons and daughters. You give a savage, ignorant, uncivilized Indian a hundred and sixty acres of land, and protect him for twenty-five years! You had better protect the white man instead of the Indian, or at the end of that time the Indian will be minus the land. Land was allotted in Wisconsin years ago; but you find the Indian houses occupied now by the white man, and the Indian is in the woods. It is absurd to give him a patch of land and hide him, and expect him to carry on that land like yourself. You must place my daughters and sons with your sons and daughters. As long as you hide them, they can never be civilized like you.

It is natural that whiskey should come into the reservation. You cannot help that. You cannot help it in your own States. What can you do, then, on a reservation? When I am on a reservation gathering children, the employees tell me that they do not expect to make Indian children into doctors or lawyers. I tell them that the object of Carlisle is not to make doctors or lawyers, but to prepare them for any future. The only way of salvation for the Indians at the present time is to come in vital contact with white Christian civilized people.

Rev. Thomas Riggs was introduced.

Mr. RIGGS.—I have lived all my life among the Indians, and I believe that we can grow men among the Indians as well as anywhere else. I believe it, because they have grown up there through the influence of the gospel. It seems to me there is no reason for discouragement in any Indian work. I have always felt that it was a grand good thing to be an optimist, and I believe that the pessimist has no business in Indian work or anywhere else. Within the last twenty-five years we have made a wonderful advance. When I went out there twenty-three years ago, one of my Indian friends said to me, "When your hair gets longer, we will carry it off to the Black Hills, and dance round it all over the country." I had many such friends at that time, and they all wore the blanket and painted. To-day you will find a wonderful change. Take my word for it or go yourself. What business, then, have we to be discouraged?

It has always seemed to me that there were two things to look to carefully in this matter. One is the building of character, bringing out the individual. Build into the man *the man*. The other thing is to back him up with a friendly, sympathetic backing. In the experiments that have been made in the matter of allotted land in severalty, one of our failures has been along this line. We have not backed the Indian up sympathetically.

A little more than twenty years ago there was an attempt of this kind made with the Santee Sioux. They received land, and went off to live independently. They occupied those lands; and, would you believe it, they did not have one encouraging voice,—not one. I almost question whether our missionaries encouraged them. I was a mere "kid" then, not able to give much encouragement to those Sioux. It was seriously proposed that they should be brought back by force. But the government commenced to help and to overdo the help. A few years later, twelve years ago, there was an effort made on the part of the Missouri River Indians to take land in severalty and become homesteaders; and I took two men to have them naturalized, and they took out naturalization papers. That seemed to be the only way. They must come in as if they had come through the custom house at New York. The movement went on, and quite a number of families took homesteads; and, would you believe it again, not one word of encouragement was given to them, not one particle of sympathetic support was given by our government officials. The department did everything possible, but no one on the ground representing the government took any sympathetic interest in the matter.

Only a few years ago a number of families were settled on Bad River on ceded lands, by the action of the department, a special officer being sent out to locate them one hundred miles from the agency. They made a petition that they might have a sub-agent. A sub-agency was finally established; and, when he went out there, he asked whether they did not want to have a money annuity given instead of rations, and they pow-wow'd over it. Finally, they were told that it would be better for them to leave their allotments, that the best thing they could do would be to go back on to the

reservation. That was said to these men who had made a step up. They were told that, if they would go back on to the reservation, they would have wagons, horses, and everything necessary given to them. This sort of business has been going on. We have not given them a sympathetic backing when they have tried to make a step forward. They have a hard time in becoming citizens. The communities have been loath to accept them. I have gone to the police authorities with Indian voters again and again, and sworn in those voters. I am glad to say that persistency has triumphed. In one township there is no question but the Indian can go to vote if he is properly registered. A small proportion vote so far. I regard the success as very good under the conditions.

QUESTION.—Is the sentiment against the Indians in your community?

Dr. RIGGS.—Not as a rule. They want to make as much out of them as they can, as they do out of everybody else.

QUESTION.—Are they building more houses?

Dr. RIGGS.—Not in our locality.

QUESTION.—Have you had to shut children out of your schools for lack of appropriations?

Dr. RIGGS.—Yes. We have had to cut down about one-half for lack of support.

Mr. LYON.—I once went into a bank out West, and saw a number of Indians there in the bank. I asked the officers if they loaned money to these Indians, and gave them credit. "Oh, yes," they replied, "we lend as quick to them as we would to white men, perhaps a little quicker. They always pay." I went into a store, and asked, "Do you trust these Indians?" "Yes," was the reply, "as readily as we trust a white man." I went over the reservation with Dr. Eastman. It was about harvest time, and I was delighted to see the stacks of grain and the improvements in the farms. I think farming is a very good thing. Indians from twenty-five to fifty years of age do not like to go to school, but they should be entitled to instruction in industry. Now, does Dr. Riggs think that the Indians would be more willing to take land in severalty if they had somebody to teach them?

Dr. RIGGS.—Yes.

Mr. LYON.—It is my impression that we ought to have more farmers and fifty times as many field matrons. I have never heard of any civilization that maintained an Indian that did not have an industrial and agricultural foundation to rest upon. It is almost impossible to find degradation where the hammer and the plough are constantly used.

Mr. DAVIS.—Have the Flandreau Indians received their titles for their lands?

Dr. RIGGS.—I think they have. It took some time, for you know the mills of the gods grind slowly.

Gen. O. O. Howard was asked to speak about the Bannocks.

Gen. O. O. HOWARD.—I have visited the reservation of those

Bannock Indians two or three times. They had some difficulty on their reservation; and they broke away from it, and killed many people. They stirred up the Piutes, and carried on war including them for almost a year. I rode after them that summer about two thousand miles, and carried on the war until it ended. They were at last conquered, and placed upon the Yakima Reservation. Most of the Bannocks who took the field were destroyed. Some few got back to their old reservation, and have been there since. As a rule, they, the remnant, are peaceable and well disposed, but not far advanced in civilization. We must take under consideration what is presented here in this case; that is, the antagonism between the United States treaties and the local authorities of Wyoming. It is a thing that may come up again and again. If the agent in command had been requested to send an escort into the country while they went on their hunting expedition, there would have been no trouble, because those people would not antagonize the United States so directly; but they would do it indirectly, by bothering the Indians. We have been told that the disposition of the white men in the vicinity of the Indians is bad, wicked. That is not quite fair. There is hostile sentiment, and there are men who are ready to get anything they can either from the white men or from Indians. When I was going through New Mexico, I found people very hostile to the Apaches. General Grant wanted to have peace made, and I was sent for the sake of securing peace. It was my second attempt with Cochise's band. I got hold of the only white man, before that visit, spared by that tribe. I found that the existing sentiment was a disposition to kill the Indians that I had with me. But, I met the people, talked with them, and reasoned with them about it. I said, "Give us an opportunity to try the 'peace policy.'" They still denounced it. I said: "It is the work of the President of the United States. I come with full authority. Give us a chance to try it." When I went away, they treated me better than when I came; and they did not hurt my two Indians. Later I recall a single incident. I came across a party of prospectors, some of whose friends had been killed by the Indians. One of them swore he would kill my Indians. I stepped between them, and said, "All right: shoot me first"; and he turned away with a hot oath, and we went on. Those two Indians were so bound to me, and had so much affection for me before we got to the reservation, that they were a protection to me when I needed it.

In 1875 I went to Alaska, and visited seven tribes of Indians after I passed our own border. I think in every single tribe the Indians entreated me for teachers. Western Christians combined with Eastern to send them. How came they to know about teachers? They knew the work at Metlakahtla. Mr. Duncan began his work by the conversion of a few men. They were thieving, drunken, wicked; but they were all converted and all civilized. We visited the Indians at Fort Simpson, near Metlakahtla. One woman from Fort Simpson was converted, having fallen into good hands in Victoria. When she went back, she could not rest until they had sent a missionary there, a Mr. Crosby. Nearly all the Indians were led out of darkness

into light. When I came here yesterday, I spoke with a young man who shook me by the hand. "Who are you?" I asked. He replied: "I am an Alaska Indian. I have heard you speak there." It struck me with astonishment. Was it possible that an Alaska Indian such as I saw could talk to me in my own tongue? It delighted me. It shows that work is going on in the right direction. What we need is to change the purposes of a man, to change them radically. What has been said with reference to young people and old people is true. Bishop Whipple would tell you the same thing. With the old you want to change their nature, to preach the gospel of peace in the simplest way; but with the young you want to take the opposite process,—educate them, increase their intelligence, and bring them as we bring our own children out of darkness into light. We must get the children into the right way, and give them right purposes, whether they belong to one race or another.

The Indians have intrinsically, naturally, many good qualities. They keep faith. If they say they will do a thing, they do it. That is a good basis on which to build religion. There are three distinct peoples represented in this meeting. There is an Apache from the South-west, an Alaskan from way up in the North-west, and here is a man from the interior; and they all show us the results of Christianity. These things may be multiplied by the thousand. How? Increase their contact more and more with good people. There are very few of our Christian people who are self-sacrificing enough to take an Indian boy and make him an equal with their own children, but that is the way to do. That young Indian lady who is here from Smith College is in the midst of Christian society and influence, and she is a woman among women. That shows what can be done. Do it more and more until we multiply such children by the thousand; but do not give up the little that you can do on the reservations, for that also is essential. There is something for us all to do,—to be more unselfish, to give more means, more influence, to the right side. The government begins to work hard for the Indians. Let us go farther.

Adjourned at 10.40.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 11.

The Conference was called to order after morning prayers, conducted by Rev. Addison P. Foster.

President GATES.—We are to listen this morning to a paper prepared by a man who for fifteen years has stood at the centre of the educational and missionary management of these matters, one who is greeted with loving welcome here where he has been a leading spirit from the first, Rev. Dr. Strieby.

SCOTCH HIGHLANDERS AND AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY REV. M. E. STRIEBY.

Macaulay in his brilliant History of England has occasion to draw a picture of the Highlanders of Scotland as they were before their sudden transformation into a civilized people. The sketch is drawn in vivid colors; and yet what is most remarkable is that every line and lineament, the light colors as well as the dark, set forth an exact likeness of our North American Indians as they were in their native condition. Macaulay also points out the few and yet effective measures which, in the course of a little more than a single generation, made a radical change in the Highlanders,—a change that transformed the people that had been described as filthy and ignorant, as savages, thieves, robbers, and cut-throats, into intelligent, industrious, and virtuous citizens,—a change so great that their rugged mountains and narrow vales, which once a stranger could have traversed only at the risk of life, soon became the safe and coveted resort of artists, poets, and pleasure-seekers.

I propose to trace out the resemblance between the Highlanders and our Indians, with the hope of gathering some suggestions bearing on the civilization of our native tribes. Macaulay's description of the Highlanders is too long to be quoted here; and, as I am not willing to spoil it by attempting to summarize it, I will select the most salient features of the picture, and give them in Macaulay's own words:—

Idle Men and Toiling Women.—Macaulay says, "An observer among these Highlanders at that time would have been struck by

the spectacle of athletic men basking in the sun, angling for salmon or taking aim at grouse, while their aged mothers, their pregnant wives, their tender daughters, were reaping the scanty harvest of oats. Nor did the women repine at their hard lot. In their view, it was quite fit that a man, especially if he assumed an aristocratic title and adorned his bonnet with the eagle's feather, should take his ease, except when he was fighting, hunting, or marauding."

Revenge, Robbery, Murder.—These traits of the Highlanders Macaulay thus describes: "A traveller among them would have learned that a stab in the back or a shot from behind a fragment of rock were approved modes of taking satisfaction for insults. He would have heard men relate boastfully how they or their fathers had wreaked on hereditary enemies in a neighboring valley such vengeance as would have made old soldiers of the 'Thirty Years' War shudder. He would have found that robbery was held to be a calling not merely innocent, but honorable. When the Highlander drove before him the herds of the Lowland farmers up the pass which led to his native glen, he would have considered himself not as a thief, but as a warrior seizing the lawful prize of war."

Can we deny that if, so far, the Indian had sat for the portrait, the picture would have been very much the same in these savage lineaments? But both the Indian and the Highlander had nobler traits.

Dignity, Courtesy, Eloquence.—These Macaulay describes in regard to the Highlander: "It was true that the Highlander had few scruples about shedding the blood of an enemy, but it was not less true that he had high notions of the duty of observing faith to allies and hospitality to guests."

Then, again: "There was no other part of the island where men had in such a degree the better qualities of an aristocracy,—grace and dignity of manner, self-respect, and that noble sensibility which makes dishonor more terrible than death. A gentleman of this sort, whose clothes were begrimed with the accumulated filth of years and whose hovel smelt worse than an English hog-stye, would often do the honors of that hovel with a lofty courtesy worthy of the splendid circle of Versailles."

Once again: "It is probable that in the Highland councils men who would not have been qualified for the duty of parish clerks sometimes argued questions of peace and war, of tribute and homage, with ability worthy of Halifax and Caermarthen."

The resemblance between these Highlanders and our native Indians is so striking as to render it unnecessary to point it out in detail. If there is any difference, it is in favor of the Indian, who seems at least to be the cleaner and nobler man of the two. But this only makes the fact more remarkable that the ruder Highlanders became so much more rapidly and permanently a civilized race. The difference in this regard is immense. With the Highlander, as we have before said, the change took place almost within a single generation; while with the Indian the process has gone on with indifferent success for nearly two hundred years.

I. Let us first trace the progress and methods for the civilizing of these Highlanders.

A brief explanation is necessary. These Highland tribes had been for ages at war with each other, and with their neighbors in the Lowlands. Moreover, they had several times attempted to overthrow the ruling dynasty in Great Britain, in order to restore the house of Stuart to the throne. The last and most formidable of these attempts was made in 1745, under the chivalrous lead of Prince Charles Edward. The government was aroused; and, as Macaulay has so strongly put it, the Highlanders were "subjugated rapidly, completely, and forever." The government followed up this victory by taking effective steps to break up the wild savage life in the Highlands, and introduce the order and industries of civilized life. Some of these measures were:—

1. The opening of good roads, thus facilitating the movement of troops, and also furnishing the means of travel and transportation.

2. But a much more effective measure was the abrogation of the hereditary power of the chiefs. Each chief was a king in his own domain, and gathered around him as many as possible of his kith and name, thus adding to his own dignity and furnishing soldiers for his raids and warfares. There was not work in honest industries for half of these followers, and their great employment was marauding and stealing. It was thus they and their chief obtained their living. But, when this hereditary power of the chief was taken from him and courts of justice were substituted, which made thieving and raiding criminal offences, a large share of the population must either migrate or starve; and hence a vast number of people emigrated to Canada, the United States, and the West Indies.

No people have ever loved their native land better than these Highlanders loved the glens and hills where they were born, and the scenes at their removal were often heart-rending. But they submitted manfully; and, instead of becoming paupers or drunkards or criminals, they crossed the ocean to become the most useful colonists and citizens wherever they made their new homes.

One more thing needs to be said. The genius of Pitt saw the value of these men as soldiers, and for a hundred years the eight Highland regiments have been among the best soldiers in the British army.

3. The third great step taken in this transformation was the introduction into the Highlands of the school and the church. How soon John Knox's idea of a school-house in every parish was carried out in this new movement I cannot tell, but the effort was rapidly pushed forward by government and missionary organizations, thus completing the great change. Here, then, to summarize: In a few years the lawless Highlanders became either the best colonists abroad or the best soldiers in the army, and those that remained at home became industrious and law-abiding.

II. If we now turn to the Indians, we have a very different view before us. After nearly two hundred years of effort they are not all civilized, and their future is a source of anxiety to the friends of humanity. Some are civilized, and others who appear to be are yet far below it. Those (*e.g.*) in the Indian Territory are by distinction

called the "Civilized Tribes," and are not usually numbered with the rest of the Indians. They have governments, legislatures, courts, judges, schools and churches, and large wealth. But what seems so fair is discovered to be so unsound that Congress has appointed a committee to inquire into the facts, which seem to be alarming. The lands are not held in severalty, and frauds and violence and murders are rampant. The Government Census Report thus describes one of these tribes, perhaps an average specimen: "Their present condition is a language without literature; a government with no authority; a code of laws with no force; millions of acres of land, and not a foot of it that any man can call his own."

Then, too, there are the six nations in the State of New York, once the proud Iroquois, with Red Jacket and other warriors and orators, — the model tribe of the Indian races. But now they are scattered in different groups. Some of the tribes are still on reservations, with lands not held in severalty; and the majority of three of the tribes are pagans. The most satisfactory groups of civilized Indians are found scattered among the different tribes containing a greater or less number of families who own their lands, cultivate their farms, and are good citizens. But probably, though no definite figures can be given, from one-third to one-half of all the Indians are still uncivilized, in any adequate sense of that term. On a large comparison with the Scotch Highlanders, the Indians have not made good colonists nor been successful when enlisted as soldiers.

Much has been done to help, and much to hinder, the Indians. One great hindrance has been their frequent removals, enforced by the greed of the white man to secure their lands; but the same was true of the Highlanders. The Indians have been in frequent and bitter warfare among themselves and with their neighbors. So also were the Highlanders. On the other hand, the Indians have had comparatively greater help. When removed, they have usually, though not always, been located on good lands. They have received large sums of money from the government, and have been supplied with millions of dollars' worth of tools, farm implements, and cattle. The issue of rations has been greatly curtailed of late, and yet one-fourth of the whole number are still reported as receiving rations from the government. From the earliest days of John Eliot down the gospel has been preached to them by self-denying and godly ministers, and schools have been provided for their children. During the last nineteen years government has appropriated for schools the magnificent sum of nearly \$20,000,000, and schools have also been furnished by aid of the Christian churches.

The question naturally arises, "Why, with all these helps, have the Indians made such slow progress in civilization; and why do they stand in such marked contrast to the Highlanders, once seemingly more rude than they?" It may be said that we ought to pursue the same radical plan as that enforced among the Highlanders in 1745; that is, assign to them their lands in severalty, break up their tribal relations, deprive their chiefs of power, and compel them all to come under obedience to law. In other words, compel them to

take care of themselves or bear the consequences, or, as it is said in Western phrase, more forcible than elegant, "Root hog, or die." We find, indeed, that this policy has a strong hold upon the popular feeling. Men are tired of this everlasting Indian problem. They look with horror upon the "century of dishonor," and with impatience at the more recent Modoc and Custer massacres, and at the seemingly endless perplexities growing out of difficulties with this little handful of people, not so numerous as the inhabitants of a tenth-rate city.

But it is against this mode of settling the question that I most earnestly protest; and, with a view to combat it, this paper is written. I believe that this policy rapidly applied would impel the still fierce and hostile tribes to enter upon a series of massacres of which the Custer slaughter is but a specimen; while, on the other hand, the more timid and listless tribes would swiftly degenerate into paupers, drunkards, and criminals.

The methods to be adopted in dealing with these Indian tribes are to be decided by their history, their character, and their condition. It is pertinent to ask again why the Highlanders came at a single step into civilized life, while the Indians came into it so slowly and so reluctantly. I frankly say that I think the difference is in the people themselves. The Highlanders, though apparently so rude and uncultured, were, as the event shows, a mature race. Their intellects were developed, and they were quick to grasp and act upon new ideas. They could easily escape from their heredity and throw off their environment. A great change suddenly enforced upon them found them neither so ignorant as not to comprehend it nor so imbecile as to sink under it. They were full-grown men, not children.

On the other hand, the Indians are immature and undeveloped. They do not readily grasp ideas beyond the range of their old habits. Heredity has fast hold upon them, and they are stubborn in resisting a change in their environments. By this contrast I do not mean to intimate that they are an inferior race. It is no disparagement to the essential manhood of the Indian that he is still in his youth-period in the process of civilization. It does not argue that the boy is of an inferior race to his father because at fourteen he cannot grasp and achieve what his father does at forty. The Indians are in their nonage, and deserve a treatment at our hands adapted to their condition. That treatment should be paternal, kind, wise, and not rash or cruel. The Old Testament gives us that beautiful figure of the eagle stirring up her nest, spreading abroad her wings, and bearing her young upon them. The eagle makes no mistake, and is too wise a parent to allow the eaglets to stay in the nest when they are fit to fly or to thrust them out before they are ready for it; and, when she does send them forth, she does it gently, helpfully, bearing them on her wings. Such should be our treatment of these children of the forest.

Then, too, as in the human family, there are oftentimes boys of different ages that need training accordingly. So is it with the

Indian tribes. Those who have reached the manhood-period, and are prepared to enter upon a course of civilization, should be urged and aided forward as rapidly as is consistent with safety to take their lands in severalty, and to assume the responsibilities and duties of citizenship, the utmost care being taken to guard the titles to their lands against infringement, and, where they choose to become farmers, to be allowed the choice of good land, with houses, cattle, and tools provided; and, where individual Indians of such tribes choose some other employment, provision should be made for training and occupation in that employment.

Law and law courts should be extended as rapidly as possible over these Indians, and made accessible to them. Necessary costs should not be assessed on the county in which the Indians chance to live, thus irritating to hostility their immediate neighbors.

To the tribes not as yet prepared for the change the parental help given should be such as will aid most effectually in securing that preparation; and, of all the help, none is more important than education, industrial, intellectual, and religious. No influences are so powerful as those that reach the brain and the heart, and develop the man himself.

In recent years we have had two potential factors in the work of civilizing the Indians,—a peace policy established by General Grant and a Mohonk Conference inaugurated by Mr. Smiley, both peace men and both generals. The Conference has done much to indicate advanced steps in the process, and to arouse public attention to their importance. Most of the measures advocated have been accepted in principle and are being carried out in practice; and among some of these measures—as, for example, the settling of the Indians on lands in severalty—there is not so much need now of urging more rapid advance as there is a call for more care in carrying them out. There needs now the uplifting wing and the guiding pinion rather than the undue stirring up of the nest.

The Indians once roamed over these broad lands. They had no right to more than their share; but the white man has crowded them out, often by fraud and sometimes with violence. The Indian has retaliated, and the blood of both races has watered the mountain and the valley. The Indians are now few. They will come into the stream of American life, not in a strong current, marking its progress by a separate tinge in the waters; but they will come rather as the rain-drops fall on the surface, to be absorbed and lost to sight, or, as the poet has said, “like the snow-fall in the river, a moment white, then melts forever.”

The Indian will be lost in the man. When the last Indian—there will be a last one—stands on the banks of the stream and looks over the hills and valleys of the land once the home of his race, we hope he will be able to say: “The white man has been cruel. He is now strong, and at the last he has done justly and kindly by the remnant of our race.”

On motion it was voted that the time-limit for speakers should be strictly observed.

The remainder of the meeting was given to brief addresses by different persons. The first speaker was Mr. O. E. Boyd, who, instead of making an address, read the following extracts from letters which he had received on this subject : —

Rev. M. F. Trippe, Salamanca, N.Y., reports : This field comprises four reservations, three of them in New York State and one in Pennsylvania, with an area of over seventy square miles. On these reserves there is an Indian population of 2,088, and of whites over 5,000. There are 531 Indian families and 548 children of school age, but with school accommodations for only 425 people. Five fully organized Presbyterian churches have a membership of 289. There are also three Baptist churches and one small class of Methodists. There are at least 1,000 Indians of age to discern good and evil who are outside these churches, and for whom Christian work should be prosecuted. The Presbyterian Church supports on this field one white missionary and four native helpers, with one interpreter. It can be seen at once that one white missionary cannot spread himself over all these reservations so widely scattered, and do very effective work. Nevertheless, I am enabled to report progress.

At Tuscarora a new church building has been finished and dedicated. More than usual interest is manifested in church and Sunday-school work. A Christian Endeavor Society has been organized and is prospering.

On the Tonawanda Reservation the work has been signally blessed by the presence of the Holy Spirit. During the week of prayer special services were held with excellent results. Fourteen were received into the church, and a marked impetus was given his work. The Rev. J. K. Griffis, of our church in Akron, goes to the reservation twice a month, preaching on Sabbath afternoons. Because of the particularly friendly relations existing between our church and the so-called pagans, the work is very interesting, and warrants outlay of labor and money.

At Allegheny we have two church organizations.

The Jamestown parish is about twenty miles long, and has in its limits three or four sub-stations where work ought to be pushed.

Oldtown has three sub-stations, and is a parish about fifteen miles long. One of these sub-stations is Cold Spring, the centre of pagan influence in this reservation. A significant fact, one that tells of progress among these Indians, is the call from that darkened community for regular services on the Lord's Day. A petition to that effect from the people to presbytery is in preparation. At Oldtown and Omville (sub-station) the work has been aided by the sympathy and interest of neighboring whites.

Cornplanter in Pennsylvania is the smallest of these reservations, and the population is almost entirely Christian and Presbyterian. The year past is marked by the death of Rev. William Hall, who for so many years had been missionary to the Indians at Allegheny and Cornplanter. He loved the Indians for whom he lived and died. The hindrances to his work I need not mention, except to say that intemperance and licentiousness, whose chief promoters are the wretched whites, continue to pollute and destroy my people. To meet these twin evils, we have the gospel of the kingdom and the prayers and sympathy of the noblest of God's children. Therefore, we are not discouraged.

Rev. J. P. Williamson, D.D., Greenwood, So. Dak., reports the Presbyterian Church was the first body of Christians to engage in missionary work for the Sioux, or Dakota, Indians, who are the largest tribe of aborigines in the United States, numbering about 25,000. They are not only the largest, but one of the most warlike and pagan tribes on the continent, for many years persecuting to the death the converts to Christianity. It was these two traits combined that caused the frightful war known as the Minnesota Massacre in 1862. The power of the gospel of Christ to subdue the hardened heart is seen in the fact that from among such a people have been gathered nineteen Presbyterian churches, with over twelve hundred communicants; and a body of native workers has been raised up, consisting of fourteen Indian preachers, fifty-seven elders, twenty-seven deacons, besides Sunday-school teachers and other helpers. Four white missionaries are guiding the work; and, as a feeder for the working force, we have the flourishing educational institution known as Good Will Mission School, which is sup-

ported by our Board of Home Missions. The leading service in all of the nineteen churches of this presbytery is in the Indian language. At each of the churches where the white missionaries are located a second service is conducted in the English language: the other churches have no regular service in English. As yet not over one-tenth of our church members understand English. The number, however, is rapidly increasing; and, if our government continues and develops the very commendable effort now made to educate the Indians, it will not be long before vernacular preaching will be entirely displaced by English among the Dakota Indians. The greatness of the change from the wild, savage state of the Indian to the purified life of the independent, civilized Christian is feebly comprehended by most people. It is not, as many suppose, to be accomplished by a half-dozen years of instruction in childhood: it is rather a work of generations. The gradual development of all ancient nations,—the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, the Gauls, the Anglo-Saxons,—all bear witness to this fact.

The means now being employed to civilize the aborigines of this country are, I have no doubt, superior to anything man has ever brought to bear on any other race. Whether they are superior to the means used by the Almighty in other cases, future historians may tell. We trust, under God, they may be. Certain it is, our American Indians are now changing very rapidly. We can hardly believe they are the same people who were engaged in deadly war and rapine thirty years ago. Then roaming, blood-thirsty savages, now externally, as to food, clothing, and houses, adopted children of civilization, with a mild and gentle demeanor. Then worshippers of the sun and all created objects, now Christianity the most prominent religion. It is to be acknowledged that a good deal of their worship is formal, but it is a wonderful change. Where thirty years ago men who could stand up and be shot at without flinching could not stand up and bear the odium of being called a Christian, now no man is ashamed to say in public, "I am a Christian"; but, rather, men are found apologizing because they are still heathen. These changes were never so evident to me as they have been the past year, and they manifest the glory of God.

A missionary among the Omahas in Nebraska reports: The Omaha Indians are not as civilized as many seem to think. Many of the women wear no hats or bonnets, and wear moccasins on their feet. Where the hair is parted, the scalp in the part is often painted red. Many of the girls are having blue spots put on their foreheads and stars on their hands and various figures on their breasts. They use India ink. Many of the young men wear a slender braid of hair from the crowns of their heads, tied with a long ribbon, which they sometimes let fly in the wind as they ride. Marriage is a business agreement between the girl's parents and the young man. A girl can be had, by an Indian man of equal caste, for so many ponies, whether the girl wants to marry or not. If the compensation is sufficient, the parents will compel the girl to go with a man whom she dislikes, as, for example, when a beautiful and well-behaved girl was recently compelled to become wife number two.

Yes, polygamy is practised here in Nebraska within twenty miles of Omaha. One of the chiefs has, as wives, two women who are aunt and niece to each other. Both have children, both live in the same house, and both go with him where he goes.

These people have been given equal political privileges with the whites. They vote and are voted for. A member of this tribe is county judge. A full-blood Omaha called on the missionary a few days ago in the capacity of township assessor. This fact, that they are citizens, shields the men who sell them whiskey. They claim that to an Omaha Indian whiskey can be sold wherever it can lawfully (in the eyes of the civil courts) be sold to a white man. Thus the Omahas are burning up their homes, their families, their bodies and souls, with "fire-water."

One of the things that hinders our work very much is the fact that the Omahas have no written language. So all the information, pleasure, and profit we get from literature they are deprived of. They group together and talk of neighborhood news, and plan for dances and feasts. During the last few months four new dance buildings have been built. One built of lumber with shingled roof, eight-sided in shape, has over the entrance these words, "Fire Chief Lodge." Here they waste many an hour which otherwise could be spent in tilling the soil and making their homes comfortable.

Some progress is being made in home life. Several new spring wagons and

buggies have been purchased by them. Some few have sewing-machines. Some sleep on beds, but most of them sleep on the floor without removing their clothing. Several have had wells dug near their houses, which will greatly lessen the work of the women.

From the Pimas and Papagoes in Arizona we hear that the Tucson School has lately entered into a contract with the authorities to keep the streets of the city clean. They have given entire satisfaction thus far. One of the former pupils is a teacher in the government school; and two are now native evangelists, working with good results. There is a church of a hundred and ninety-one members.

Among the Southern Utes in Colorado we have had a missionary laboring for the past two years. A church has lately been organized. One old Indian, being asked, upon his examination for membership, how many Gods there were, answered, "I have heard of a good many gods, but have never known of but one that did any good."

The Nez Percés are just now in great peril on account of the influx of white men who seek to dispossess them of their lands, upon which very valuable gold mines have been discovered. They need our special care and prayers. A little incident will portray a trait of their character. The presbytery was making a request of all the white churches to give thirty cents per member to foreign missions, and one cent per member was asked from the Indians, at which they became quite indignant, and insisted upon being assessed at thirty cents per member also, the same as the white members.

Mr. BOYD.—I have prepared a statistical statement of our work, which I will not read,—only give the totals, and ask that it may be printed in the report.

Tribes in	White Missionaries.	Native Helpers.	Church Members.	Sunday-school Members.	Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.	Gifts to Self- help.	Gifts to Missions.
New York,	2	9	469	364				\$500	\$50
Washington,	1	9	898	349				525	75
Oregon,		1	66					50	
Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, & Montana,	4	19	1,249	862	4	28	210	1,956	2,077
Indian Territory,	17	11	1,144	700	16	88	1,554	648	350
Omaha,	1	1	86	30				12	5
Winnebagoes,	1		14	100				5	77
Stockbridge,	1		15	38					
Chippewas,			37						
Pimas and Papagoes,	1	2	151	193	1	16	175	50	80
Pueblos,	1		11	50	3	8	120	9	55
Alaska,	6	1	821	750	8	37	431		
Total,	35	53	4,961	3,436	32	177	2,490	\$3,755	\$2,769

Dr. JACKSON.—So many of you have called upon me for news from the reindeer that I will start upon this branch of Indian edu-

cation, which has been a complete success from the first to the present. There has not been a set-back and no failure of misjudgment. The herds are increasing, and doing better in Alaska than in Siberia where they came from. We purchased a few more in Siberia, but they were not as good as those on the Alaska side. Our pasturage is far better than in Siberia, which has been eaten closely through generations of grazing. At first, because we could do no better, we brought over Siberian herders to be teachers to the Eskimo young men; but their civilization was no higher than that of the Eskimo, only they had had experience with the reindeer. Their teaching was imperfect. A year ago a Norwegian was sent to Lapland to get Lapps as teachers, as the Lapp nation have made the greatest intellectual progress among those who have charge of reindeer. With higher education and a higher class of men we have better methods of managing the reindeer, and for the Eskimo young men we wanted the best instructors. We wanted them to commence at the present experience of the world in the management of reindeer, and the results have been successful. We brought over sixteen Lapps, seven men and their families. They were taken to Northern Alaska, and the better management of the herd will more than repay all the expense of transporting these people. Last year we commenced a limited distribution. We gave to the American Missionary Association at Cape Prince of Wales about a hundred head, and I think the missionary who was allowed to come and select what he chose was like Jacob dealing with his father-in-law. He took the very choicest. From that one hundred there were sixty-eight births of fawns. But he was outdone by the natives. Some traders had tried to poison the minds of the natives by telling them that they would never have any benefits from the herd. It was creating disaffection among them. So, to forestall any further difficulty, we concluded that we would give some of the natives a herd. Not that they were prepared for it,—they had not served an apprenticeship to make them acquainted with the management; but we thought we would run a little risk. We took four of the more industrious apprentices, and said to them: "We will loan you a hundred head for five years. You can go where you choose with them; but at the end of five years we expect you to return a hundred head, and you can have the increase." They were sharper even than the Congregationalist minister, for from their hundred head there were eighty-nine fawns born this spring.

Now there comes to the American people the question, Shall we go on this slow method? The government has given us an appropriation to get from a hundred and twenty to a hundred and sixty yearly from Siberia. We have doubled what we bought by birth. But, remember, there are twelve thousand people on the verge of starvation in Alaska. The reindeer movement has been going on six years; and we have only a thousand head, and we do not dare let them kill a single animal except the males. Only four young men out of all those thousands have the loan of a herd. You cannot carry out this work on an appropriation of \$7,500. It is a question whether we are to take twenty-five or thirty years to introduce rein-

deer in sufficient numbers or whether the government will increase the appropriation, and enable us to do at once all that is necessary. We have proved that it is a success.

Our educational policy has from the beginning been non-partisan in reference to our teachers. I have stood as superintendent through four administrations; and I doubt whether any of the four Presidents know whether I am a Democrat, a Populist, or a Republican. If they should ask us how the teachers stand, there is not a person connected with the office in Washington who could give an answer to that question. It is never raised. We require efficiency in our teachers, not politics; and we require religion. So far as I know, there is not a teacher in the public schools in Alaska that is not a Christian. In sending to the native races, the gospel must be the foundation.

A good many have said, with regard to Mr. Duncan's industrial movement, Give them industries. But Mr. Duncan himself preached Jesus Christ seven years before he talked about a carpenter's shop or a shoe shop. He gave them the gospel first. Then he had the foundation on which to build the industries. These have made Metlakahla what it is. So, though we cannot talk sectarianism, we can put consecrated men and women as teachers among them. Thousands of tourists come to Alaska, and many of them say, Your schools do not show fruit; but I can give hundreds of instances of practical fruit.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIAN.

BY REV. JOSEPH NEWTON HALLOCK.

Having witnessed phases of Indian life in nearly every part of the United States during the past fifteen years, I may not, perhaps, be presuming too much in attempting to delineate some of their traits, especially as they have an important relation to the subject before us, which is the education and civilization of the Indian.

Every one remembers how generally and how severely the well-known and delightful author of "The Pioneer," "The Red Rover," "Last of the Mohicans," etc., was criticised for his eulogies on the "Noble Red men of the Forest." Not only backwoodsmen, and those of our people living on the frontiers, but nearly all others who were then supposed to know anything about the Indian, declared that Cooper was mistaken, and that there was positively nothing good or noble in him. In fact, the Indian has almost invariably been represented as being vindictive, quick to resent an injury, real or supposed, insolent to superiors, and last, but not least, most intolerably lazy; and these characteristics are popularly supposed to render him unfit for the highest duties of citizenship. Let us see if these charges will bear the clear search-light of truth.

As "laziness" is the last and most important one, I will take that

first. We were repeatedly and truthfully told upon this platform yesterday that the reason the severalty bill does not work better is because the Indian will not work. Because he has not been educated to till the soil, he will not do it, and we call him lazy and good-for-nothing; while the trouble arises simply from lack of education, which always supplies the motive for action. The time is coming when this will be better understood. Among our Puritan ancestors laziness was considered, if not a crime, at least one of the unpardonable sins. No worse stigma could attach to a boy than to call him "lazy." The epithet "good-for-nothing" generally went along with it. I passed my boyhood and entered college life with this idea, but there learned that, while laziness may be inherited, it is not necessarily an inherent or an absolute trait. It appeared that what many called "laziness" was often, if not usually, caused by not presenting a sufficient motive for action. I used to think, without exception, the two laziest members of our class were in my own division. I was accustomed to see more or less of them every day, — generally more. Many a time one or the other would come sauntering along to my room in Old South Middle; and, while I was racking my brains over some mysterious Greek root or trying to solve an impossible problem in political economy, he would gently stretch out at full length on the lounge, and commence telling some comical story. Those two lazy boys seemed to get along just about as well as the rest of us at recitations, and a good deal better at the prize debates. Finally, they became lawyers, and settled in New York City. One is General Wager Swayne, who stands to-day at the head of his profession; and the name of the other is Chauncey M. Depew!

What motive has the Indian had for work? He suffers to-morrow to take care of itself. His theory and his practice coincide with the injunction, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." And yet we, who pretend to believe the Scriptures and to be governed by their precepts, find fault with the Indian, while fretting and worrying ourselves to death over impossible occurrences of the distant future.

Lazy, is he? Start the chase, and where has his laziness gone? Let the pale face or a hostile tribe invade, and where is our lazy Indian then? Day after day, without food or shelter, he will pursue with relentless energy, and amid such privations and hardships as no white man is willing to endure. And, having at last subdued his enemy, he dances all night around his scalp.

But it is said the Indian is not only lazy, he is vindictive and insolent. On this account the Indian has been unfavorably compared even with the Chinaman, who, we are told, has a good disposition, and makes an excellent servant. But why does a Chinaman make an excellent servant? Simply because he is a machine. And the more of a machine he is, provided he has enough of intellect and individuality to do what he is told, the better servant he makes. But how about the man himself? What of his manhood? For generation after generation he has had no will of his own. Dozens and hundreds have been crowded together, obliged to subsist in a space less than one-tenth of them ought to occupy. And this is a natural

result; for till lately he had been hemmed in from the outside world for centuries by a high wall, which shut him out from all improvement, till almost every spark of manhood and individuality has been smothered, and till he scarcely knows whether his soul is his own or belongs, like his will, to another.

Now, I ask, what is it that differentiates the Indian from the Mongolian but the very spirit of freedom and love of liberty that influenced our Pilgrim forefathers in their resistance to the British crown and their assertion of independence? And why, of all men and of all nations, should we not rejoice to find these same traits in our predecessor, the Indian? Is it not ungenerous and unjust to hold him less of a man, and less deserving of our sympathy on this account? Born and reared amid the rugged mountains or on the trackless prairie, he is a child of nature. He has been supreme lord of the forests for generations, and hence inherited to a greater degree than any other race of living men the inherent idea of absolute liberty. He has known no other will than his own, and acknowledged no superior but the Great Spirit above him. I have no sympathy whatever with the class of pessimists who believe every Indian essentially vicious. Those who have had the most experience assure me that they have found them no more subject to the vicious passions and appetites than abundance of white men who have been born and bred under the full light of civilization.

It is said that he is vindictive, and never fails to repay an injury. Can we expect more of his civilization than of ours? When William Tell shot the apple on the head of his son, Gessler noticed a second arrow drop from the folds of his vest. In thunder tones he cried, "Slave, why hast thou concealed that arrow?" Quick as lightning came the proud response, "To shoot thee, tyrant, had I slain my child." And all the world applauded the sentiment.

Why is it that we deny the redskin chief of the West the praise we so freely accord the paleskin chief of the East? I contend that this love of liberty, implanted deep in every Indian heart, so far from being a detriment, is of immense advantage, and will eventually make him a better and more patriotic citizen of the Commonwealth, although it is this very trait which makes him now so objectionable and offensive to our frontiers. The redskin chief has had possession of his happy hunting-grounds so long that, whether rightly or otherwise, he considers them his by right of occupancy. And, when he sees the paleface intruder approaching, his sense of injustice and his inherent love of freedom are instantly aroused; and he sounds the war-cry. I have seen these old chiefs more than once exhorting their kindred, and in a manner that has sometimes made me shudder. I could almost fancy they were putting into Indian dialect the impassioned words of our own eloquent Patrick Henry, and calling to their redskin comrades in thunder tones: "Why stand we here idle? What is it we wish? What would we have? Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased [of the paleface] at the price of chains and slavery?" And I fancy that many an old chief, with his supreme contempt of death and his in-

tense love of liberty, closes his peroration substantially with the same idea, "As for me (and mine), give me liberty or give me death." Meanwhile we, like Pilate of old, have stood idly by, washing our hands in innocent blood, and forgetting that we have not given him time to adjust himself to his unaccustomed environment. With the blundering but accommodating spirit of our American civilization, we have given him death every time !

Captain Pratt was invited to speak : —

ADDRESS OF CAPTAIN PRATT.

Something has been said about Indians being lazy. I will give you one reason why they are lazy. A treaty made with a certain tribe provided that these Indians should, if they would give up part of the lands over which they roamed, have houses, agricultural implements, wagons, harness, cows, etc. Another provision of the treaty was that they were to receive rations and support until they were able to support themselves. The treaty commission said to them repeatedly : "You are all men of judgment, you know what the making of a treaty with the United States government means ; and we ask you to give this matter your serious consideration. The ration is a large one, and it goes on till you are perfectly able to take care of yourselves. The provision requires that these rations shall be given *as long as you and your children need them.*" "And," said the eager commissioners, "this means rations, not for five years, but for five hundred years, if necessary." For eighteen years these Indians have cost the government over a million and a half of dollars annually for support. Do you wonder that they are lazy ?

We have worked on all the Indians along these lines all the time, always feeding, always giving, never enforcing that God-given, manhood-elevating, first decree,— "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."

One of the gentlemen talked about the benefits of the influx of the whites among the Indians. I would turn the sentiment round, and expatiate on the greater advantages of the influx of Indians among the whites. That ends the problem. The other prolongs it. There is constant talk here at Mohonk about what is being done among the Indians ; but seldom ever do we hear of turning the Indians out among the whites, where they can have a real chance to learn and become quickly civilized.

I did not come here to make a speech. All I would say is concentrated in a brief article you will find in the little picture book I brought here and distributed. It is the quintessence of my thought on this subject. You can see in the pictures and in what I say the

practical results of getting Indians among the whites.* It civilizes them quickly. They take on industry, and become productive members of our communities; and, if we are only wise enough to allow them to remain, it will succeed in keeping them so altogether. Why should these two hundred and fifty thousand people be forever shoved out and away from us in communities by themselves?

I was glad to hear Senator Dawes say that the government of the United States still owns even the allotted land. I hope it will own it forever, it is so much bother, such a hindrance.

After taking allotments and on the sale of their unallotted lands, recently the Nez Percés were paid over three hundred dollars per capita. Hell itself could not contrive more bad influences than gathered around those poor Indians when they received that money. It was a picture of perdition. It is so everywhere and every time, and always was so where Indians receive per capita payments.

Some here talk about Indian parents not being willing to have their children come East. One reason is, if the children are absent from the reservation, the father does not receive their allowance of money, rations, etc.; but, if the children are in the agency school or the mission school at the agency, the parents receive their portions. And that is a very great reason why they do not want the children to go away. If the children go away to school, the government says it will take care of their money and let them have it later; and it goes to the treasury, and waits until the children are old enough to claim it.

At some of the agencies, if the children go to the agency schools, the parents get rations for the children the same as though the children were at home, and at the same time the children are fed at such agency schools. But, if they go to Carlisle or some other school off the reservation, the extra and surplus rations to parents stop. This of course has large influence in creating prejudice against non-reservation schools.

I want to say something on another line. Mohonk continually gives indorsement to civil service. On a former occasion I wanted to speak of the disadvantages of civil service, and the chairman of this meeting asked me not to do it. At the next meeting of the board, a few months later in Washington, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, the grand mogul of civil service, was to speak; and I said to the chairman, "Do you now object to my saying something on civil service?" He replied, "Captain, take my advice, and let civil service alone, or it will prove to be a car of Juggernaut to you, and grind you to powder."

I sat in the back part of the room with Commissioner Browning; and, when Mr. Roosevelt was through, I said, "Judge, you ought to answer that: if you don't, I will." The Commissioner said, "Sit still: we are not before this court." And I let it go. An edict goes out every year from here about civil service, based on *ex-parte* testimony. If I stay to vote this year, you will unequivocally count my vote against any proclamation that civil service is a benefit to the Indian service. It is a great centralizer of power, susceptible

* Report of the Carlisle school.

of no less injury to the service and oppression to those in office than the old methods; and the claim that favoritism and political influence have less sway is not true. I am responsible for the school at Carlisle, having suggested and built it up during the last sixteen years. I am not now allowed to know anything of the character or qualities of the persons sent to help me, until they arrive at the school. One official in Washington can weaken and tear down all my work, and make success impossible by sending me unfit employees, and employees inimical to my work. I once said to President Gates, "You would not manage Amherst College on civil service principles." He replied, "No, neither would I on the spoils system." The records will show that some of those who continually champion civil service here recommend more people for the Indian service and assume to know better who should be Secretaries of the Interior, Commissioners of Indian Affairs, Indian agents, superintendents of schools, etc., than any others in the country. The records will also show that their selections are not less faulty than those made by members of Congress and other officials elected by the people to attend to their business. I never joined this "Indian Rights Association"!

Mr. SMILEY.—You had better do it.

Capt. PRATT.—No, I am not in sympathy with their methods; and I can stand alone.

I was present at a meeting of superintendents in Lawrence, Kan., where there were thirty-six Indian Department officials together. General Morgan was there. They were disposed to think well of themselves; and I warned them that a change of administration would come soon, and we would then find ourselves to be a most worthless lot of fellows, and none of us would be wanted. I can count to-day only four of those men in the service. And this notwithstanding the alleged protection of civil service!

President GATES.—Civil service would have made that impossible.

Capt. PRATT.—These oustings were made under civil service. It is easy to bear down, and make people tired. Civil service does not prevent a great many things being done to annoy the most efficient officials into a disgust with their places. Indeed, in itself it is calculated to do just that. Why not have the Civil Service Commission select the President's cabinet officers, and then the President also? This seems the only logical outcome. It is to me a dangerous principle for America, in that character, force, and experience stand no chance as against books. It says the nation wants no more Lincolns. In my humble judgment, no better qualified and safer servants to the republic can be found among those able to pass the test of civil service examinations than can be found among those who would fail in such examinations.

Land in severalty comes up here constantly. If every Indian could take care of his own rights to the land allotted, there would be no trouble. Captain Beck, agent for the Omahas and Winnebagoes, has been mentioned. We belong to the same regiment, and

have known each other for twenty-eight years. He has made a manly fight. Captain Beck writes that it is a matter of impossibility to keep track of the allotments. The people are ignorant, and can't do it themselves. So the agent must look after and protect the rights of each allottee. The difficulties are innumerable; and he begins to think the best way will be to wipe the allotments all out, and begin over again.

President GATES.—I cannot pass unnoticed any implication that I had ever lost my faith in civil service reform. I stand by its principles, and say to Captain Pratt: "If we could always have such men as you, we should not need civil service reform. We should trust you to choose your own teachers; but, if we let one do it, we must let all, and that has proved most disastrous."

Mrs. A. S. QUINTON.—I did not expect to speak on the topic of the morning, yet all that our Association has done for Indians is in one sense educational. I am sure that all present applaud and give thanks for the great work which has been done by Captain Pratt. No doubt we also think that other workers have been divinely called to their individual work.

I am to refer to a trip of several months in California, the Pacific and North-western States; but, of course, it must be a mere reference. At Potrero, near Banning in South California, and at Coahuilla, where two earnest women are at work, one as a government teacher and the other as a field matron, I saw marked changes and improvements since my visit four years ago. A new spirit of industry was present, new varieties of work were on hand, and a general desire to get on in the world contrasted encouragingly with the apathy seen at the former date. We found new homes, and the best and neatest of them all was one built at Potrero from loan funds from our Association. The small farm was under fence, well tilled, with a garden and orchards and even ornamental trees about the comfortable red-roofed cottage; and the best of all was that the loan is nearly all returned to our treasury. The young farmer, José McGill, was a thrifty, ambitious man; and he and others there showed a new sense of manhood and responsibility. We found, too, that the missionary spirit had arisen in their hearts; for it was the influence of one or more of these men, accompanying the occasional preaching of our missionary, Mr. Weinland, which had moved the Indians of the desert beyond to ask for a missionary family to live and labor among themselves. The visit to those desert people was one of unique interest. The glaring sand, the parching heat, the absence of all that to us makes life pleasant, presented a scene of poverty and need I had not before met; and we hope soon to be enabled to open a mission among them.

There was progress also at Agua Caliente. The first thing I noted there was a row of trees planted through the centre of the village,—a clear proof of thought for the future and for the good of other people. The houses, too, had new glass windows, plank floors instead of earth, and other improvements. There were evidences of new thought and spirit, and especially was this seen in the leaders

of the village. Some had more than begun to think for themselves. One said, "I used to think I must obey in everything: now I find I can do my own thinking." Mr. Smiley, Mr. Weinland, Miss Hoppock of Redlands, and I made a trip among the government schools of South California; and nearly everywhere we saw evidence of progress, and even the most conservative showed signs of change. So we are all optimists. As Christians, we *must* be so; for the great Head of the Church has foretold and foreordained the millennium; and there is, therefore, no place for pessimism. Among the significant changes seen in this last visit was the presence of a mill, obtained and introduced by Miss French, the field matron, and Dr. Hallowell, at Agua Caliente, for grinding acorns, by which in twenty minutes the laborious work of two whole days, by the old process, could be done. And this mill suggested another improvement. The grinding was found to be heavy for the women; and so the men volunteered to become the millers of the community, as with us. The divine blessing is on all the civilizing work, as well as upon that called mission work; and we must be broad enough in spirit to applaud all good work. It is possibly right to glorify our own portion of the Master's vineyard, if we feel divinely called to it; but we should always pause just before we decry the fields and work of other laborers who toil for him, since "he hath set every member in the body as pleased him." All work that helps humanity is sacred work, is God's work.

There are difficult questions in Indian service, and one is the drink question; and on that we can all help Commissioner Browning's plans for securing new safeguards for Indians. Another serious obstacle in the way of Indians is the old fiesta, still going forward in many tribes,—a scene of evil gaming, often of vice and debauchery; and such scenes are a vast hindrance to all right progress.

Our Greenville School in Upper California has outgrown our financial ability, having now eighty-one pupils; and we have transferred it to government care and support, with the hope that its enlargement will before very long provide for the three hundred or more children in the five villages adjacent. The visit to the Spokane Indians of Washington was a joyful one. General Howard procured for them their reservation a few years ago; and our Rhode Island auxiliary last year opened a mission school there, which now has more than fifty pupils. The teacher is most efficient, a Scotch Canadian, Helen W. Clark; and Chief Lot says of her practical genius, "She comes in with a board under her arm, and presently it is a nice table." She herself made the stairs to the attic of our cottage and those into the cellar; and she, largely, plastered the house. Her pupils advance rapidly. Forty-eight of the fifty-six have this year learned to read, write, sing, and speak fairly well in easy English. Commissioner Browning said here that we women have helped the Indian Office not only by nominating field matrons, but by giving these needed helps on the field, and that much has been accomplished by them. Yet, despite all proof of progress, some still moan, "Where is the good?" Such need to have their expectations converted. How can we expect a more rapid rise of people who but a few years ago were at the

very bottom of civilization? And they yet lack some radical and indispensable helps. They have, it is true, a standing before the law; but they must have a practical standing in some court, as I saw at every point visited. Till white men have fair minds toward these people, this right will not be granted them. This is the great trouble with the Seminoles of Florida. Yet there is progress even there. When we began work there, they would have nothing whatever to do with the United States government. They would not even step on government soil. "It would burn our feet," they said. Yet recently at our mission some of these helped to run up our flag, and joined in the shouts and genuine hurrahs. This was the result of the winning kindness of our workers among them. Such Christian love is indispensable, and cannot be put aside. The greatest want everywhere now among Indians is for fit workers, permanence in office, and real, not merely nominal, Christianity in every part of the Indian service.

Some of the workers are bringing in their sheaves. Some this year have passed over the river into the better land. Our Association has had a summer of deep bereavement. We must find new helpers. Will you not share our work? Though we have had the joy of opening thirty-seven new mission stations in twelve years, there are still thirty tribes without the gospel in this Christian land.

Mrs. C. B. Fisk was invited to speak.

Mrs. C. B. FISK.—I suppose you want to hear a word from the mission whose servant I am,—the Woman's Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church. I will speak only of our school in Alaska. I might say of it as the old colored woman said of herself, "Sometimes I'se up, sometimes I'se down, sing glory hallelujah!" But it is our work, and I rejoice to tell you that there is in process of erection a new building for our school there. An evangelist, lately started round the world, said that he had the intention of having all the missionaries that he met write their names on the American flag that he carried; and the first name that he secured was that of one of our women going to Unalaska. I asked the secretary of the Bureau of Indian Work in Cincinnati what I should tell the friends about the work under her care. She said, "Tell them that it is progressing, that we are going forward." The hard times of the last two years have hindered our progress; but God be thanked for the souls that have been converted! We suffer from the liquor question more than you can appreciate. Liquor is brought in there under cover. It is put into kegs; and the kegs are put into barrels packed with something else and wrongly marked, and we suffer from that. I wish to God it could be extirpated from the land,—this liquor business. There are men enough in this Conference who, if they would set their faces as flint on that subject, could settle it for the country. But we never know how much we can accomplish by trying. Many years ago my husband spoke at a meeting, and advocated as strongly as he could the re-establishment of the family altar. When we

reached our own home, he said, "I do not believe I ever spoke with so little effect." I said to him, "You have spoken as best you could: leave the results with God." From that meeting there grew up a revival, as we Methodists say, and a re-establishment of family altars. Do not let any of us be discouraged. Let us do whatever we find to do, and let us do it with our might; and let God add his blessing for his name's sake.

Miss Ives.—I should like to tell you a little about our organization of young people. It is called the "Young People's Department of the Woman's National Indian Association." The idea has been to instill in the young minds that the Indian is a brother, and that he can learn to work and labor and take his own part in life's struggle, and to ask their help through this crisis. The object is to form a public opinion for the future. Different methods have been employed through the press and through magazines and through addressing meetings of young people in different parts of the country. We work through existing organizations,—King's Daughters, Christian Endeavor Societies, Epworth Leagues, etc. We have forty-four States and Territories enlisted. Many of the young people are studying Indian history, and thousands of them have become interested in this way. We have incidentally raised about \$3,000 in five years. Two years ago I started the idea of Christmas boxes, not with the idea so much of helping the Indians as of interesting the white people; but I found that it was a great inspiration to the Indians that people so far off should think of them. It seemed to touch their hearts. Last year I began preparations in August for Christmas, working up to Christmas time. I appealed in the different religious weeklies; and I hope to extend the work to distant day-schools, and to reach at least six thousand scholars this year.

Mrs. Charles A. Eastman, formerly Miss Elaine Goodale, was invited to speak.

ADDRESS OF MRS. EASTMAN.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen.—My friends sometimes ask whether I am still in the Indian work. I believe in marriage as a vocation; and I am not now in the Indian work, as I was for seven years, but only as a wife may help her husband. My children are my sufficient occupation. What I like about the Indian woman is that she is so womanly. I hope it will be a long time before she becomes so advanced as to desire any better career than that which culminates in motherhood, but it must be an enlightened motherhood. A scientific housekeeping which is to come up to the measure of the possibility of the women of to-day, and the best education she can get, are none too good for her own special work. The Indian woman is intensely feminine, but she develops the character-

istics of her sex in three quite distinct stages of her life. She begins as a butterfly, she goes on as a loving drudge, and she ends as a feminine autocrat. The Indian young girl is not expected to do much work. She is expected only to adorn herself, and enjoy the brief summer of her life. When she becomes, as she usually does at an early age, a wife and mother, the conditions of her life are reversed. She is then the last served at the table of life. She thinks of husband, children, guests, of every one before herself. She is a most devoted, self-effacing, but not always wise mother.

The third period is that of old age. The grandmother is the tyrant of the Indian community,—sharp, shrill-voiced, and determined always to have the last word; and, if that last word is not for progress, but, as it usually is, for the old-time thought, she becomes a barrier, a real hindrance and obstacle in the way of civilization. It is the grandmother who almost invariably predicts an early death for the child who goes to school, and who prophesies every misfortune for those who accept the new way. She is invariably suspicious of the white man, and takes no pains to hide her dislike of him. She revives some of the worst features of the old Indian life in her songs, her death-dirges and songs upon every possible occasion.

Indian women are beginning already to feel the value of organization. Although they are conservative, as we perhaps are as a sex, still they are approachable and receptive. The work of the field matron among them is in the right direction. It is the same kind of work that has been done for many years to a limited extent by women missionaries who have gone among the Indian women. The value of it depends upon the character of the woman; and, unless she is wisely chosen, she is worse than useless. In the churches nearly all the Indian women with whom I am best acquainted are organized into women's societies connected with their churches. They meet regularly, and by the labor of their hands they raise the great bulk of the funds given by native churches for the support of their pastors and for charitable purposes. They raise hundreds and thousands of dollars—these poor, ignorant women—by their own work, denying themselves even the necessities of life to give to their ministers and to foreign missions.

There is one other class of the Indian community which must be reached if the great work of transforming the social and moral life is to go on. I think this Conference fully realizes the necessity of working at the Indian question from the inside, and of developing the Indian—what is best in him—rather than by putting him into something from without. It is through the women that we can reach the heart of the people; and it is also through a most important class of the community,—the young men, the young men of an age not to be gathered into the schools, and those whom the churches find it most difficult to reach, not only among Indians, but among our own race. They seem to need a distinctive work for themselves. It seemed to me when I lived among them, as I did for several years, that it was most pitiable to see the lack of ambition and of action among these young men; and yet there was a real longing for some-

thing better. The blanket Indian would be seen leaning against the fence without moving for half an hour at a time, perhaps ogling a girl through a hole in his blanket. The returned student would be smoking a cigarette in the trader's store, hanging over the counter. Yet young men over thirty years of age repeatedly asked to be taught English, and would ask news from the world outside. They were hungry for something to feed them, but they did not know what to eat. And those who had been to school felt perhaps even more intensely the need of education.

For these young men the Young Men's Christian Associations are doing a work which no other organization has done or can do. Some of the important points I will emphasize as I think of them.

First. It is a work which the Indian young men can do for themselves. It is not something which somebody else has to do for them. They are to be started in the way of self-reliant manhood. They are to organize, and to realize their strength by organization. They are to learn both mutual helpfulness and to stand alone.

Second. The work is one which appeals to the Indian peculiarly, because it is more in the line of his own thought and capabilities than many other phases of work. In a general way we realize that our civilization is alien to Indian thought. In many phases it is positively repulsive to him; and it takes a long, long time to overcome that. But, if we can make it appeal to him by showing how it answers to certain phases of his own past which were admirable in themselves, and bring out certain characteristics in him which are good, is not that so much gain? The Young Men's Christian Associations can do these things in the Indian community. The old Indian community was divided into classes,—the young men and the old men, the young women and the old women. They were distinct classes, and were all served apart. The young men are a class by themselves, and in treating them by themselves much can be done. It appeals to them, and they like it.

Third. Physical culture is made a strong feature of the Indian work, and nothing is more needed.

Fourth. It is broadening to them in every way. It swallows up those petty sectarian divisions into one great Christian evangelical thought. It is broadening because it includes in one organization the members of different tribes of Indians, and a good many have been included already. It is broadening because, best of all, it includes them in the great body of young men who belong to these associations, because the Indian Young Men's Christian Association is a branch of the International Young Men's Christian Association; and they feel that they are one with the other young men of this and of every country.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

BY HON. H. L. DAWES.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The question concerning the Indian Territory is one of the most interesting that ever claimed any portion of the time of this Convention. It is one which is going to force itself on your attention for the most *serious* consideration.

The Indian Territory is a tract of country now as large as the State of Indiana. It was until within a few years twice that size; but Oklahoma, a new Territory, has been taken off from its western side, and is hurrying on to be a State of this Union as fast as it can. The Indian Territory is five times the size of the State in which I live. It is richer in all the prospects of a State than any other tract of equal size which it has been my fortune to know about in this country.

I wish I had time to explain its political status to you. It is just as if a single county of this State—Oneida, for instance—was a government by itself, independent of the State of New York and of the United States, with authority to elect its own chief magistrate, its own members of the legislature, set up its own judiciary, enact its own laws, govern itself as if there were no State of New York all around it, no United States over it, or any other flag but its own representing its power. Not only that, but suppose four other counties right about it had the same authority, each one of them an independent power, maintaining its own government in all details, and having no dependence either on the government of New York, the government of the United States, or upon each other,—five independent kingdoms, with no dividing line, only an imaginary one, separating them from the State of New York, from each other, or from the government of the United States.

In the centre of the United States there are five independent kingdoms lying close together, each of these governments owning all the soil within the borders, but without one of the people who live there having the slightest title in fee to a single foot of the Territory. Add to this the fact that they stand in such relation to the United States as to be not under the slightest obligation to return to the United States any criminal who shall take refuge within their borders, and that there can go out from within this Territory any brigand who has found shelter there, to prey upon the peace, person, and property of any individual outside the borders. That is the political status of the Indian Territory to-day; and, if there were no other consideration, if there were no other reasons that could be piled up back of all this, I have only to ask you, sensible, reasonable citizens of this common country, if you understand what all that means. I ask you, How long can such a condition of things stand? There can be but one answer. It must end. It is not necessary to bring a single argument beyond that which describes the political status of this Territory, and its relation to the United States, to secure the answer, that such a condition of things *cannot* last.

How best can such an anomaly in the United States be done away with? It is a condition of things that the United States itself created. The United States granted to the Cherokee Nation first, and to the other four so-called civilized tribes, the power to govern themselves without interference or control on the part of the United States; and there has grown up since that grant the condition of things which I have tried to point out to you. I have spoken just as I might have spoken if those who people that Territory were the best citizens that could be found in this broad land. That would not alter these considerations of which I have been speaking. It would be just as certain, if they were law-abiding citizens within those borders, that such a condition of things must pass away,—that there can be but one general government for the multiplied States of this Union wherever the flag floats.

But I am sorry to say that this cannot stand upon these abstract terms. A concrete condition of things in this Territory has, alas! grown up, built up by this anomalous condition of government, such as to demand of itself that all the law-abiding and peace-loving and Christian people of this land should rise up, and say that it must cease.

Others can tell you—to whom I must yield—better than I can, perhaps better than I could if I had not been there, and better than I can under any circumstances, because they can command a power before you that I do not possess, the most deplorable condition of things that by degrees has been springing up there under the idea which governed the United States sixty years ago, that the best way to civilize the Indian was to absolutely isolate him. That was the fundamental idea that controlled the United States when it set up these five kingdoms away out there upon the border. With a disposition to make atonement for its own outrages upon the Cherokees when they were driven out from Georgia, they covenanted with that people that they should be set out in this place, and permitted to govern themselves forever. The United States covenanted with them that every white man should be kept out of their borders, that their hands should be kept off from them, and that there, in absolute isolation, they might show the world that the Indian could develop a civilization that would be a pattern to us. That is the rhetoric of the record that produced this condition of things.

We have no occasion to criticise our fathers for what they did in this regard seventy years ago. They were bound to give these people at that time the best government then existing conditions made possible. But this is a continuing obligation, and we are under just as much obligation to-day to give them the best government present conditions make possible. Their government is of our creation, and derives all its authority from us; and we are responsible for its character and administration. Now present conditions not only make a better government possible, but make the continuance of the present state of affairs no longer possible. We cannot escape the obligation to give them a better government than they now have.

A short time ago I saw down in that Territory a venerable, white-

headed old lady, the daughter of that Rev. Samuel Worcester who was sent to the penitentiary for teaching Indian children to read the Bible; and she told me that, when the United States opened up this country to the Indians, she and her father and other families were some forty days, I think, on the journey from Georgia to the Indian Territory. Now I can reach that point in forty-eight hours from my home, which is four times the distance. Then there were no people within hundreds of miles of that part of the country. Now it is surrounded by great States, and the emigration from the four States around them pours in upon them like four great floods; and there is no power or law or government that can resist it. Although we have covenanted with those Indians that no white man shall come into that country, there are to-day 300,000 white residents in that Territory against 54,000 Indians of all classes. More than four-fifths of these have come in by invitation of the Indians themselves. About one-fifth are called intruders. All the rest have come in there, first, because the Indians could not help their coming in, and, second, because they could not get along without them. There are, as I say, 300,000 white people there without title in a single foot of the soil, without the slightest right to enter any of their courts, or to appeal to any of their laws for protection. There are 30,000 white children of school age, excluded by law, lock, and key from the door of every one of their school-houses; and they are unable to get education except by private contribution. These white people have come in there, however, and brought in thousands and millions of dollars of capital, and built up towns. The churches have come in there with their missionary work. The Presbyterians, the Baptists, the Congregationalists, the Catholics with their seminaries, have all come in, and built up churches on some one's else land. They can stay there so long, no longer, as those who command the soil say they may. The town there in which I lived for six months, a town of 2,500 inhabitants, has no town government, has no police officers, has no town organization at all; but it has warehouses and stores, and an accumulation of capital of immense value. And this Indian government can extend over the white people who built the town no power, control, or protection. A riot might break out there to-night, and there would be no power to prevent its sweeping over the place like a conflagration that would blot the town out of existence.

A town of 5,000 inhabitants has sprung up in the cotton district, with a cotton mart. It is of the utmost importance in trade, but those who built up the town are there with no other title but permission.

I will not talk to you in detail about the manner in which the laws are administered. Let me say, however, that, of the 54,000 people who go by the name of Indians, there are 34,000 or thereabout who are *real* Indians; and that is all. The others are mixed blood, white Indians, white people who, by marriage with Indians or by adoption, have become Indian citizens. And, by virtue of that superior knowledge and training which the white man has, they have possessed themselves of these five independent governments from which the

United States has withdrawn its power. *They* make the laws, *they* elect the officers; and the 34,000 *real* Indians are to-day no farther advanced than when their fathers left Georgia. Few of them can even speak the English language. They have no habitation among the people. They live off in the mountains in tents and tepees and hovels, gathering nuts and raising pigs from what they can gather under the trees in the fall of the year; while the white men and mixed bloods almost entirely keep in their possession everything in that Territory which is of value.

Let me give you a single instance of an Indian citizen. I said that there were immense resources there. There are no such coal fields in the United States; nor are there more valuable coal fields anywhere than those of the Indian Territory, upon which all that vast south-western country must sooner or later rely for its fuel. An Indian cannot work a coal field. Those of you who have seen the magnificent works in Pennsylvania will understand that it takes capital, skill, and experience to work successfully a coal mine. What is the process in the Indian Territory? These men have made a law that any Indian citizen who can discover a deposit of mineral or coal anywhere shall have the exclusive right to the occupation of a mile all around from that point, and shall be permitted to sublet it to any person he pleases. A white man whom I happen to know there, who married an Indian woman, a man who is no more an Indian than I am, except that his wife is an Indian and mine isn't, resorted to Pennsylvania skill, got an expert, picked out a clear-headed Indian who is told by the expert where to discover coal. So the Indian discovers coal as directed, draws a circle a mile around the spot, and then lets it to the white man, who brings in capital and experience. They work the mine together; and the white man has nearly, if not quite, all the profits. That white Indian to-day, under a government which by law owns everything in common, and where he has no title to anything, still owns a whole town of some 3,000 inhabitants. The tenements in it are his, and the tenants pay him rent. He owns the richest coal mines there, and he pays the Indian whom he got to discover the mines a farthing or so; to the government of the Choctaws he pays another farthing, perhaps two or three of them; and then he gets the benefit of the whole of the rest. Moreover, he has put a barbed wire fence around some 30,000 acres of other land, in which he has no legal title at all. He is not a solitary instance.

The Creek nation has 3,000,000 acres of land, the title of which is in the nation, and is held for the use of each and every citizen Indian there is there. In 1892 this class of men passed a law that any Indian citizen could enclose as much of that land as he found unoccupied; and, by paying 5 cents an acre to the nation, he could have the permission to sublet it to whom he pleased. In 1894 I took from the records the names of 61 individuals and companies who had enclosed 1,100,000 of these 3,000,000 of acres, and had sublet the land to Texas cattle men for from 25 cents to \$1.50 per acre; and the poor, real, genuine, full-blooded Creek Indians are up on the mountains, wondering how that happened.

That is the condition of things that the President of the United States and Congress saw plainly could not continue; and they created a commission to send down there, that was instructed to go and reason with these men, the President feeling that the obligations of the treaty by which we granted this power to them were, if possible, to be observed, and that these men were to be persuaded to give up this land, and take 160 acres each in the place of those large tracts. This commission has been down there a year and a half, trying to persuade these people that it will be a good thing to make the change. When I went to this man who had 30,000 acres, and tried to persuade him to exchange them for 160 acres, he looked up, smiled, and said, "Don't you think I would be a fool to do it?"

That is the condition of things, and the time has come when the government of the United States must take this matter into its own hands; and you people who have the care of the Indians, as some have the care of the churches, on your hands, have 34,000 pure-blooded Indians down there on the mountains, crowded out of all their rights, destitute of all the privileges and advantages of civilization and Christianity. And they will continue to be in this condition unless *you* take hold of the matter.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

BY HON. T. J. MORGAN.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I approach the discussion of any phase of the Indian question with fear and trembling. It has baffled our best philosophy for a hundred years. It is a question involving the civilization of uncivilized people, the relation of a subject race to a conquering race, the mixing of races that are entirely unlike, the relation of the government to its subjects, so that it is a complex problem not to be solved by declamation or by the wisdom of school-boys. It is a question to be solved by the wisdom of the nation. Each of the Indian reservations presents its own problem: no two are alike. It is impossible for us to legislate or theorize satisfactorily as to "what we shall do with the Indians," unless we take up each tribe and reservation separately, and discuss the situation as we find it there.

The question now is, What shall we do with the Indians in the Indian Territory? I can only indicate my thought in the ten minutes which I am expected to occupy. I agree with the conclusion of Senator Dawes, that the United States government must take this matter in hand. I had the honor to recommend the appointment of this Commission to the Indian Territory, and made the suggestion that Senator Dawes, who has been interested in this question for many years, should be at the head of it; but I do not know how far my suggestion had weight.

The Indian Territory presents an anomalous condition that must be grappled with heroically. We are met by the statement that we are under treaty obligations with these people to preserve their independence. The answer to that is that the conditions under which that treaty was made, more than fifty years ago, have so totally changed that the provisions made by the treaty are scarcely applicable to-day. But we are told that these people are nations, having the rights of nations. I think that that very statement is its own answer. There can be but one nation within the territory of the United States. There is no philosophy, no philanthropy, no sentimentalism, that can justify the maintenance of the anomalous condition of the five "nations," with the right to declare war, to make peace, to erect boundaries, to establish custom-houses, to maintain armies, to parade before us as nations with all the rights that pertain to nationality. It is an absurdity, and we may as well treat it as such. But it is said that these people have an autonomy of their own which they have built up, and that we should have respect for that. Yes; and yet the facts are that the autonomy of these five peoples does not meet the necessity of their own case. You say, then, Indian civilization is a failure? Partially so, at least. The fact that there are three hundred thousand white people within the limits of that Territory, without law, without any relation to the Indian government, and by that anomalous treaty without any relation to the United States government, is a tremendous factor that must be recognized. If you say the United States is under obligation to drive them out, the answer is twofold. A large number of these white people were invited by the Indians, and have acquired tribal rights with the nations; and, again, there are multitudes of young people born into that condition of things by which they have acquired certain rights that cannot be disregarded by the government of the United States. I tried to expel those intruders, but, after trial, I made up my mind that it could probably not be done; and so we must recognize this tremendous factor of three hundred thousand white people living within the Territory without the protection of the flag, and not subject to the laws of the country.

Because the condition of things is so anomalous that it is irreconcilable with any philosophy of our national life, and because the government of the Indians has proved inadequate to meet the necessities of the case, because the progress of these people cannot go on under the present condition, because the march of civilization and intercourse between Kansas on the north and Texas on the south, and between Arkansas on the east and the Territories on the west, is obstructed by the present condition of things, so that it is a check and hindrance to the development of our national life, the time has come, I think, when the solution of the problem *must* be reached. I would give them time, I would not be in a hurry; but I would set before them the advantages of Statehood in contrast to their present government, and, if they will not consent to make the change voluntarily, I see nothing left for us but to make the change in wisdom, in justice to all, in prudence, in patience, in kindliness, but to *make* it,

so that the Indian Territory shall eventually become a State, with all the rights and privileges of a State, so that the Indian children and the white children growing up shall have the advantages of education and the protection of law, so that they shall eventually take part in the administration of their own government, and shall become American citizens, sharing in all the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of citizenship. It is a hard and perplexing case. If this is done, it will excite criticism, and will give occasion for a great many reflections upon the willingness of the United States to make treaties only to break them. But, as far as I am able to study the problem from a distance, I am convinced that the time is speedily coming when for their sake, and for the sake of thousands about them, for the sake of the untold numbers who may find homes within the border of the Territory, for the sake of our own national credit,—the time, I say, is speedily coming when the present condition of things must pass away, and when there must be first a Territorial and then a State government for all the inhabitants of the Indian Territory.

Prof. MORSE.—Has not the treaty been virtually violated by the Indians themselves?

Mr. SMILEY.—Senator Dawes showed that it had been.

Prof. MORSE.—The treaty then has really been abrogated.

Adjourned at 1 P.M.

Sixth Session.

Friday Night, October 11.

The Conference was called to order at 8 P.M., after singing. Dr. Thompson was asked to speak.

ADDRESS OF REV. CHARLES L. THOMPSON, D.D.

Though not especially a worker on the Indian problem, I suppose I have a little right to enjoy the advantages of this Conference. I almost grew up among the Indians. As a little boy in Wisconsin, the Menominees and other Indians were right around us; and I knew them as shiftless, worthless, and lazy, and, thanks to the proximity of the white people, generally drunken. Later I followed the tracks of Marquette from Green Bay to the Portage, and from the Portage to the Mississippi, along that road where two hundred years before he, with the zeal of an apostle, had blazed his way through the untracked wilderness, to carry the gospel with a zeal that has hardly been surpassed since the days of the great apostle. But there is nothing left to tell of his labors save here and there a leaning or fallen crucifix, to show that once upon a time the steps of a missionary of Jesus Christ hallowed that wilderness where still ignorance and barbarism prevail, teaching us that even the enthusiasm of apostolic zeal is not sufficient to eradicate the habits of generations or build the new life of the Indian. Not many years ago I was travelling in the Indian Territory. I stayed one night at a comfortable house while waiting for trains. The parlor was carpeted. There were comfortable chairs, a cabinet organ, and a young lady who could play it,—all the signs of moderate education and domestic comfort. The people who thus took me in were Indians, who had been trained in Christian schools and by the ministry of Christian teachers. My experience from the days of my boyhood, when I was surrounded by uncivilized Menominees, through the wilderness of Wisconsin, where Marquette preached a gospel whose echoes were lost in the night of heathenism, to the day when I saw an educated Christian Indian family, taught me what has been emphasized in this Conference, what should always be emphasized in every conference of people working for the Indian or for the white, what took possession of Mr. Smiley when in this magnificent temple of God he conceived and sent out to the world the idea that, if you want to save the

Indian people of the United States, you must save them by reforming them, building symmetrically from the centre of their being, making them new men in Christ Jesus by the force of his gospel, and by Christian education along with the gospel. We must take the Bible in one hand and the spelling-book in the other, and go into the wilds as the incarnation of Jesus Christ. There is no other specific for solving the Indian problem. Is it obscure and difficult? Somewhat. There are lots of ways suggested for solving it. Give the Indians a hundred and sixty acres, and it is settled, say some; but that is not sufficient. Bring the Indians out, and put them down in Carlisle, and surround them with white people. That is another solution. It recalls an incident that once occurred in the life of Bishop Whipple, when, on leaving a wigwam for a brief excursion, he said to his Indian friend, "Will it be safe to leave my things here?" The Indian replied, "Perfectly: there isn't a white man within a hundred miles." Not one of these specifics alone solves the Indian problem. You must work from the heart of the Indian out. When Mohonk became the centre for a great moral propulsion, it became the centre for the solution of the Indian problem. Precisely as the idea has gained strength that it is a moral question, that it is a question affecting the rebuilding of the man, there has been success. When we have found men and women who, like Jesus, are willing to carry the gospel, men and women who are willing to open the school-house, then, and not till then, are we on the road for the hopeful solution of this problem. I say to you, Let not your hearts be discouraged about this final and glorious solution of the problem. If a personal reference may be excused, let me say that a man like Dr. Eastman shows us what a trained, disciplined Indian character can become by the gospel of Christ. The time is coming, and is not far off, when from the far-off, desolate field of Point Barrow in Alaska, without light, without warmth, without aspiration, without hope, down to the Everglades of Florida, we shall see not "tribes," but Christian men and women. And the time is coming when the anomaly of the Indian Territory will be blotted out, and Christian men and women in Christian citizenship shall enjoy there the immunities and rights of the Christian republic.

- President Julius D. Dreher, of Roanoke College, Salem, Va., who was next introduced, spoke substantially as follows:—

The work we have been doing at Roanoke College for some twenty-five years, for the higher education of Choctaws, to which President Gates has so kindly referred, would hardly entitle me to claim any of the valuable time of this Conference, attended, as it is, by so many veterans in the work of Indian education. But I have long felt a deep interest in this subject; and that interest has been quickened by a visit to the Indian Territory, by contact with the Choctaws at Roanoke College, and by attendance on two meetings of this Conference. I have been deeply impressed by the addresses and proceedings of the present meeting. The earnest spirit of

Christian consecration manifested has made a most favorable impression, as it did four years ago; and, as I think of the consecrated purpose of the workers, and of the matchless natural beauty of Mohonk, I cannot help feeling that, in a special sense, we are here basking in "the smile of the Great Spirit," as we discuss measures for the welfare of his children of the forest and the plain. While intensely interested in the discussions, highly gratified by the progress reported from various parts of the wide field, and greatly encouraged to hope for better things from the friendly attitude of the government, I confess to a sense of shame and humiliation in the reflection that the greatest hindrance to the elevation of the Indian is to be found in the dishonesty, greed, and rapacity of white men in dealing with our red brethren. As we listen to the stories of these wrongs, these robberies, it seems that, notwithstanding the multiplicity of societies in our day, we need one more,—a society for the encouragement of the homely virtue of common honesty. Some time last year I heard Dr. Daniel Dorchester, formerly Commissioner of Indian Schools, say in Boston that, so honest are the Indians in dealing with each other, even children in going to school will pass, day after day, melon patches, and never enter one to take a melon. More than that, they will not take a melon from a vine that has grown through an opening in the fence, and borne fruit almost in the public highway. These are the people we are trying to civilize. A missionary from Japan told us in Salem, Va., only last Sunday, that we have much to learn from the people of that enlightened nation, especially emphasizing their scrupulous honesty, and informing his audience that along the less frequented roads of Japan, where the travel is not sufficient to support inns, the farmers place by the roadside baskets of fruit and cakes, with little placards giving the price of each article, and a small box to receive the money of the passing travellers, who are trusted to pay for what they take, while others are trusted not to carry away basket and money. And these are the people we call heathen! In Africa we are told that a large company of native carriers may be trusted to transport on their shoulders packages of goods far into the interior; and, although different carriers need to be secured from each tribe whose territory must be crossed, and the line of carriers may be scattered for many miles, and that, too, without guards, the packages, nevertheless, are all finally delivered intact at their destination. And these are the people we call barbarians! Surely there is need of teaching our people honesty, especially in their dealings with their weaker brethren, the red men, who have not yet learned enough of our civilization to protect themselves against the dishonesty and rapacity of unprincipled white men.

This afternoon on Reservoir Hill some of us participated in a very simple but significant ceremony: simple, because it was only the naming of a resting-place by the roadside; significant, because in the opinion of Mr. Smiley, a "great friend" of the Indians, as well as in the opinion of a host of others here and throughout our country, the chief Executive of our great nation has been resolutely honest in discharging his duties to the wards of the government. If there

had. been any doubt of the President's honest purpose to deal fairly and magnanimously with the Indian question in all its phases, it is safe to say that there would not now be a "Cleveland Cottage" on Reservoir Hill. It is a matter for sincere congratulation and patriotic hope when a great nation has as its head one in whose unflinching honesty the people of all political parties have abiding confidence. Let us be thankful for the splendid example he has set to the young men of our country, impressing upon them, as it must, the great truth that, whatever politicians may say or do, the heart of the American people will always be loyal to one who honestly and fearlessly does what he conceives to be his duty, without regard to party interests or personal popularity. There is much in the present attitude of the government, in the reforms already instituted, and in wise plans adopted for the future, to encourage us to believe that the Indian is henceforth to have not only justice, but also all possible encouragement in his painful struggle toward a higher civilization.

Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT.—As chairman of the Business Committee, I will report to you the platform which is presented for adoption by this Conference; but, before presenting it, I will read two resolutions which are also proposed for the acceptance of the Conference:—

We note with satisfaction that the experiment of introducing reindeer into Alaska has proved a marked success. But the supply of reindeer is as yet totally inadequate for the needs of the natives. The sum hitherto appropriated has been but \$7,500 a year, sufficient only to purchase one hundred and fifty reindeer and pay the expenses of the herders. We, therefore, earnestly second the request of Commissioner Harris that the appropriation be increased, and that Congress set aside for this coming year for the purchase and maintenance of reindeer the sum of \$20,000.

Resolved, That we specially commend the work of the field matrons as productive of the best good of the Indian communities, through the instruction and elevation of the Indian women, and in that respect particularly necessary. We urge substantial additions to the appropriation for their support, and that their number may be largely increased.

On motion these two resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The platform was then read:—

LAKE MOHONK PLATFORM.

I. We, the members of the Lake Mohonk Conference, in this its thirteenth annual meeting, reaffirm its utterances of past years, and especially of last year. The reservation system is an insuperable obstacle to civilization, and should be abolished, the tribal organization destroyed, the lands allotted in severalty, the Indians intermingled with the whites, and the Indians treated as other men.

II. Until the Indian comes into complete ownership of his allotment, he should have the special protection of the federal government, special federal officers should be endowed with magisterial authority for the administration of local justice, the bureau should have

power and means to employ and assign counsel for the legal protection of his rights, he should be guarded by adequate legislation from the land robber, the gambler, and the liquor-dealer, he should not be allowed to sell or lease his lands except upon permission first obtained from a federal judge, and provision should be made for the secular and industrial education of all Indian children of school age in schools supported by and under the exclusive control of the government, State or federal.

III. It is unrepblican and un-American to permit the existence of any landed class in the community exempt from taxation. Such exemption is equally unjust to the taxed and to the untaxed. The taxes otherwise due on the allotment of the Indian citizen, so long as by a protected title his land is exempt, should be provided for out of Indian funds in the hands of the national government, or, if there are no such funds, out of the general treasury.

IV. No Indian tribe should be transferred from one reservation to another without its consent, and rarely, if ever, even with its consent. Rations should be given only where required by existing treaty stipulations or to avert imminent starvation, and should be done away with entirely as soon as practicable. Distribution of money per capita is often disastrous, and should be made with increased caution.

V. The nation possesses a supreme sovereignty over every foot of soil within its boundaries. Its legislative authority over its people it has neither right nor power to alienate. Its attempt to do so by Indian treaties in the past does not relieve it from the responsibility for the condition of government in the reservations and in the Indian Territory; and, despite those treaties, it is under a sacred obligation to exercise its sovereignty by extending over the three hundred thousand whites and fifty thousand so-called Indians in the Indian Territory the same restraints and protection of government which other parts of the country enjoy.

VI. The best of laws are useless unless they are faithfully and equitably enforced. Such enforcement through the Indian Department is impossible unless appointments are made only for merit, removals only for cause; and the tenure of administrative officials is to this extent made permanent. We congratulate the country upon the evidence which the history of the past year has afforded that it is the purpose of the department to administer the Indian Bureau upon this principle, and we call upon Congress to co-operate with the Executive in such measures as may be necessary to secure permanently the Indian Bureau from the fatal incursion of the spoils system.

VII. The government alone cannot solve the Indian problem. Our American civilization is founded upon Christianity. A pagan people cannot be fitted for citizenship without learning the principles and acquiring something of the spirit of a Christian people. The duty of the Church is increased, and the hopefulness of accomplishing it is made more reasonable, by every advance the government makes in providing protection and secular education for the Indian

race. The progress already made toward the dissolution of organic barbarism, the opening already afforded for free Christian work, eloquently summon Christian philanthropists to furnish that contribution which nothing but unofficial, voluntary, and Christian service can furnish toward the emancipation and elevation of the Indian.

Dr. Abbott followed with a brief address. He said :—

It seems to me that every time I come to Mohonk it is to make the same old speech: to reaffirm the absolute sovereignty of the American nation over every foot of American territory; to reassert the absolute responsibility of the American nation for the exercise of that authority; to claim that the American nation has not only the right, but the solemn duty, to exercise that sovereignty, to assert in the strongest manner possible that it can by no means rid itself of that responsibility, alienate that sovereignty, excuse itself from the crime of misgovernment in any part of the national territory. This is what I have tried to reiterate. We have made treaty after treaty by which we agreed that certain parts of the national territory should be exempted from the national government, that they should be forever given to barbaric tribes, and that we as a nation would exercise no authority in that portion of our domain. I do not stop to discuss the question whether, since the conditions are changed, we have not a right under international law to set those treaties aside. I do not stop to discuss the question whether these treaties have been violated by the other parties to the treaties, and thus have been practically set aside. I stand on the broad doctrine that the nation has no right whatever to alienate its sovereignty. That is something the nation cannot do. If that attempt has been made in the past, our duty is to repent of the national sin and reform the national wrong, and do it instantly.

There are certain inalienable rights, our Declaration of Independence says. There are also certain inalienable duties which in the Providence of God have been laid upon men and on the nation, and the men and the nation can by no means escape from them. A father has reposed upon him the duty of the care of his children. It is not possible for him, when his boys come to be sixteen or eighteen, to wash his hands of responsibility, and make a contract with them, and say, "You can go where you will and do what you please, and I have no longer any responsibility." If he attempts to do that, the courts will nevertheless hold him responsible for that duty which God and law have combined to put upon him. He cannot lay it aside if he would. The trustees of a college cannot make a contract with the boys of the college, and say: We will not be responsible for government, but will leave it in your hands. We will put the property of the college in your keeping, and you may do what you will with it. They may do it experimentally while they hold the authority; but, if as a result the property is destroyed and disorders take place and the town is injured, the courts will say to the trustees: You are responsible. You cannot transfer that responsibility. The trust is

a personal trust. They have said it again and again in like cases. If the municipal corporation of the city of New York should say to one ward, We will not exercise over that ward any authority, we will make a contract with that ward that we will not disturb or tax or repress anything there, we will leave houses of vice to flourish and liquor saloons to be unmolested, the State of New York would have something to say to that municipality. It would say: You cannot do this. The responsibility for the government of the whole city of New York rests upon the people of the city. It is a duty which they cannot relinquish, a responsibility which they cannot alienate.

God has put the responsibility of the direction and control of this continent in the hands of the American people; and, if Congress has in the past made treaties by which it is agreed to pass the responsibility of the Indian Territory into the hands of another power, Congress has done that which it has no right and no power to do; and we appeal from that act of Congress to the conscience of the great American people, and demand that the American nation shall resume the sovereignty which the American nation laid down and exercise the authority which the American Congress never had a right to alienate.

You remember the eloquent tribute which one of our Indian speakers made to the American flag. I wondered, when I heard Senator Dawes's description of the condition of affairs in the Indian Territory, that it did not bring the blush of shame to the cheek, and a feeling of remorse to the heart, that here was a Territory under our authority in which there were no stars and stripes, no stars to bring hope to the poor and oppressed and wronged and outlawed, and no stripes to be laid on the back of the criminal. Our first duty is to put the stars and stripes up again, and so to put them up that every star shall speak hope to the oppressed, every stripe shall speak warning to the oppressor.

When we come to the question of detail, it is a question of great difficulty. It is complicated. How you will deal with all the interests that have grown up under this misgovernment is the difficult question. It is not for us here to solve it. It certainly is not for me to attempt to throw light upon it. I stand simply for this one proposition, that the nation is responsible to God and humanity, and to the future, for every inch of national territory. It is responsible for the disgraceful scenes of barbarism and crime which are going on to-night in the Indian Territory. We are no more to go and ask the few men that are in control of the Indian Territory their permission to rectify the wrong than we are to go to the Mormons and ask their permission to abolish polygamy, and build up the civilization of the nation from East to West on the basis of a Christian home.

It has been said here that the Indian problem is very difficult. It seems to me that Dr. Strieby, in that extremely interesting paper which he read this morning, showed us very forcibly the solution, though, I confess, I did not follow him in the conclusion which he drew from his premises. England had her aborigines to deal with

in the clans of the Highlands. We have our aborigines to deal with in the red men of the West. The one, he told us, was perhaps as noble as the other. England opened good roads through the Highlands. We built a fence around the reservation, and have said to civilization, "Stop when you get to this fence." England said to her Highland clans, "You must work or starve." We kept our aborigines in idleness, and gave them rations. England said to her clans, "If you cannot find sources of industry, go elsewhere"; and they went, and became noble citizens in other communities. We said to the red man, "If you leave your reservation, you do it at the risk of imprisonment, if not at the risk of life." England enlisted her Highland clans in her army, and set them fighting for their native land. We gave arms to our red men to fight one another and to fight us. England abolished the Highland tribe and dethroned the Highland chieftain. We acknowledged the red man's tribe and upheld the red man in his chieftainship. England brought her tribes under the same law with the rest of her population. We have systematically denied law to the Indian, and then wondered that he was an outlaw. I believe the difference between the Highland clan and the North American Indian is due not to the difference of race, but to the difference between English statesmanship and American politics. I want to see the road of civilization carried through the reservation. I want to see the Indian told that he must work or he must starve. I want the Indian tribal organization destroyed and the Indian chieftain remanded to private individual citizenship. I want the Indian taught that this is his native land, and invited to protect that native land when his services are needed. I want to see him invited to come out from the reservation, and mingle with his fellow-citizens with the same freedom which you and I possess. I want him given his land in severalty, not because the land amounts to much, but because the home amounts to everything, and the individual allotment is the foundation for the home. I want to see the Indian made subject to the same law and receive the same protection of the same law that is accorded to every other man on this American continent. When we treat the red man as a man, when we trust in him and in his fellow-citizens, when we give to him the rights which we claim for ourselves,—the right to life, to liberty, to property, to home, to education,—then, and not till then, will the Indian problem be solved.

Discussion followed, in which General Morgan, General Howard, Mr. H. M. Jenkins, Mr. Smiley, and others took part. The platform was then adopted clause by clause, and finally as a whole.

LAW FOR THE INDIAN.

BY AUSTIN ABBOTT, LL.D.

I take it that the first thing to be done to improve the condition of affairs is to be not discouraged. You are undertaking to do in twenty-five years — I might almost say in the period necessary to make the allotments — that which in the history of mankind heretofore has always taken not only generations, but centuries.

The genesis of law has always been a slow, painful, and disheartening process, a burden to the souls who have undertaken to accomplish it. Let me illustrate a moment. Moses undertook the genesis of law among the Hebrew people. He had no army, no police force, no treasury, no resources whatever except the moral elevation of his character and the divine guidance vouchsafed to him, to meet the natural passions and vengefulness of the people whom he was to govern. "Surely," said the Psalmist, "the wrath of man shall praise thee; and the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain." The old form of justice was not merely an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. When the natural desire for revenge had sway, maiming was the punishment for insult, death the punishment for maiming, and the murder of the family was the punishment for taking the life of one person. It took at least four hundred years, according to the record of that people, before they reached the time when David came to the throne and declared for good government. The genesis of law is a slow and painful process.

Roman law took still longer to get upon its feet in the world. When Rome held military power over the world, it took four hundred years to bring the barbarians that were under that military power of Rome into a life under the regulations of law.

In Anglo-Saxon and English law the genesis was equally slow and painful. A thousand years ago, or about that time, private war was lawful in England. What does that mean? It means what public war means between nations. If an individual had something which another coveted, it was lawful to take it from him. If there were a feud, it was lawful for either to take the life of his enemy. The beginning of regulated life in England was so feeble that we first recognize it when in the ninth century, the king ventured to say, in substance: In my palace there shall be no private war. If you want to assail your enemy, if one of my dukes wants to kill his rival, he must not do it in the palace. He must go outside. That was the beginning of the king's peace. A few generations went on, and the king's peace was by slow degrees extended. Later it was proclaimed that every man's house was his castle, and private war upon a man in his own dwelling became unlawful. Afterward it was extended to the churches; but it took generations more before the rule could be effectively established that there should be peace in such spots, and that hostilities and robbery and murder must be committed elsewhere than in those places. Then robbery on the highways was

forbidden. Men might steal, rob, and murder, but on the king's highway the king's peace had been declared; and, while it was still not illegal to rob and murder in open fields or in the byways, hostilities could not lawfully take place on these great roads. And a highwayman was one who did not confine himself to private war when in the fields or lanes, but who dared to rob on the king's highway. Later still another law extended this to all ways.

After three or four hundred years by this slow and painful process the king's peace at last got itself declared throughout the length and breadth of the land; but that was only the beginning of English law.

Now, the American conception of law is different from that of an external force imposed on men by a superior power. It is a self-regulated life. What is law? It is only regulated life. Law is the effort of society by social forces to investigate and supply the deficiencies of individual self-restraint. Law is the stockade which society builds to protect the life within. It is the wall which encircles the city. It exists only for the sake of those within. Laws are the bandages and splints which the surgeon puts upon the broken arm, that the dislocated joints may be kept in place while the rebuilding process in life restores the normal, the ideal condition. It is a slow process and a never-finished process, because with the increasing skill, ingenuity, knowledge, and intellectual activity of civilization come increasing frauds, crimes, and offences which are the results of the ingenuity of man's devices.

Now, what are we attempting to do? The Indians, except the allotted Indians, are still outlaws. They are lawless because they are men without law. To say that the Indian is lawless is not necessarily a reproach to him any more than to say that a woman is an abandoned woman, without asking, Who abandoned her? Who made the Indian lawless? It is the United States that thus far has denied law to them. If I were to say that the United States was the worst anarchist in the country, you might be startled; but you will not gainsay it, when I say that the United States, by its neglect of the Indian, has maintained, and is maintaining to-day, more anarchy than all the anarchists in the United States ever succeeded or ever will succeed in establishing. If anarchists had discrimination enough,—they have not enough, for anarchy means ignorance,—if they had discrimination enough to know anarchy when they see it, they would go out to the reservations, and enjoy it. A wise statesman said that there were twin relics of barbarism in this country, slavery and polygamy. Slavery has been extinguished, polygamy has almost gone; but the last and the worst of the triplets—for it is triplets, not twins—is the lawlessness and barbarism within the territory and on the soil of the United States, and that is the root that comes out hardest of all.

Now, you are trying—and the Commissioner of Education described it admirably—to make the children of the Homeric age, the men with the spirit of Ajax and Agamemnon, come at one leap twenty-eight centuries down to be children of Christian homes in

American civilization. Can it be done? Well, I feel more confident that it can be done after what I have heard in the last two days than I ever did before.

My brother told me the other day the true interpretation of that divine apothegm which sums up human development: He visits "the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation," "and shows mercy to *thousands of generations* of those that love him and keep his commandments." Now, these children of the barbarian, whom thus far the United States has carefully kept in barbarism, you want to bring through twenty-eight centuries, and give them "the mercies which have been shown to you," and to accumulate all these at once, and pour them out within twenty-five years, and expect good results. It would seem incredible, were it not for the new education which Dr. Hailmann and Dr. Harris so clearly expounded to us last night. Dr. Hailmann spoke of the grand work of woman. This work of woman shows that she is a great addition to the human force of society. In coming forward to take an active and equal part in the affairs of life, in ways which we may not pretend to forecast, different perhaps from those in which men's activity has heretofore been extended, there is coming to be, I believe, a vast accession of the noblest force of human society for the elevation of the poor and outcast, friendless and degraded. The motherhood which was invoked on behalf of the Indians here last night, and its appreciation by officers of the government in the administration of affairs, were to my mind the most cheering indication that we have heard since the Dawes Bill was first brought into sight.

Now we must go forward. It may be a question how fast or how rapidly we may approach the goal, but there is no question but that we must go forward. The discussion, it seems to me, may be summed up in four points so far as it has been developed this morning.

First, restraint on alienation. The restraint of Indian alienation on their allotments seemed to be presented as a wise and judicious provision, and I am confirmed in that thought by the fact that we have precisely the same restraint on every white child from the time of its birth until it becomes twenty-one years of age. Your child or mine cannot alienate its property without judicial authority founded on substantially the same reasons of inability to attain the use of the land. Meanwhile the permission to make some alienations seems to be necessary. Would it be wise to allow alienation from Indian to Indian, while prohibiting it from Indian to white man? I suggest that as an interrogation point. Would the mischief that comes from a white man's taking the Indian's land result in any serious degree if an Indian were allowed to transfer his land to another Indian? If Dr. Eastman found himself with one hundred and sixty acres of land "tied round his neck," would not he be just the man to find another Indian to take it off his hands? Would not that utilize the property, secure an income from the inheritance, and in addition be an educating process? I merely make the suggestion.

Second, taxes must be provided for. Look over these valleys.

Suppose three fourths of the people were of a different color from the rest of the people, and with natural antipathies to them. And suppose schools had to be maintained there, and justice administered, and roads built; and this three-quarters of the people sat still and saw it done, and did not extend a finger to help. That is the situation on a reservation, and it is a situation of injustice. When that is the system, you cannot expect the rude and self-assertive men of the frontier to sit contented under it or to treat their neighbors as they should treat neighbors. The expenses of highways and all neighborhood expenses must be provided for if the present system is to succeed. Commissioner Browning threw new light on it when he suggested that the funds which came from the proceeds of the unallotted lands should be applied by the government to the payment of the taxes, and perhaps to enable the Indians to make substantial improvements. But some provision for local taxation is an absolute requisite of any considerable success in the allotment system.

Third, the liquor traffic. The appeal which Commissioner Browning has presented is certainly one we ought to use our efforts to forward. I would suggest that there are several points to be considered. Should not the law go beyond the mere forbidding of selling to Indians? Should it not also forbid selling to allotted Indians and selling on land within the reservation, whether allotted or not, and selling to residents of whatever character? One thing more is essential, and that is enforcement of the law in the spirit of Theodore Roosevelt. I believe more, after all, depends on administration than is generally supposed. I do not know but there may be law enough for a great part of the difficulty, but there is certainly not administration of that law. What is wanted is common justice, local justice, for the small and relatively unimportant controversies and difficulties. A quarrel stops the progress of business. If justice is at hand to deal with it, the current of business is allowed to go on while the contestants have their case reasoned out before impartial men. It is the common justice for neighborhood affairs that seems to be chiefly needed. This needs to be supplied with force and vigor; and, if it is thus supplied, it will re-enforce and reinvigorate all the arrangements of justice for the larger and more important controversies. But the United States pleads a lack of means for this purpose. That must be met in the same way as the taxation. There are abundant funds for Indian depredation claims, and there ought to be enough for the administration of justice and the payment of taxes.

We have a very singular constitutional question now in the air,—and I think I may say undecided,—as to what constitutes a citizen of the United States. It shows how easily the burden of citizenship sits on our shoulders that there are hundreds of thousands of people who do not know whether they are citizens or not, according to differences among lawyers. I am inclined to think that the way may be opened for taking the position that every person in the United States is either an alien or a citizen. There are citizens, there are aliens; and there are Indians who are said not to be the one nor the other, just as under slavery the slaves were chattels, and not persons. That

is too deep and too far-reaching a constitutional question to express an opinion upon. If it were possible to say that the United States knows no person but as an alien or a citizen, we should have gone far toward the solution of this question. I believe that every foot of soil and every person on the soil should be subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

I count it a very encouraging fact that we have had the Department of Indian Affairs, the Department of Education, and the Department of Indian Education represented here with such appreciative views of the difficulties and needs of the situation. Can we not look forward as a practical question to the consideration of the question, How soon can the Indian agencies be transferred into or substituted by tribunals of justice, so that local justice shall be secured for these communities, where there shall be guidance in the consideration of sanitary, educational, and other matters of that kind that shall be needed during the remaining period of the pupilage of the Indians? The transformation of the Indian agencies from the character of a branch of the Interior Department into the character of tribunals, with the functions and duties of magistracy, in relation with the Department of Justice rather than with the Interior Department, and with administrative powers, may be a practical solution of this question.

I would gladly see a larger measure of justice, a more complete set of courts, at once framed and set in operation; but that is perhaps hardly to be expected immediately. It ought to be done, but we have not yet succeeded in the attempt.

There are a number of small reservations that perhaps might at once be merged in the great mass of citizenship throughout the country. They have not attracted attention because they are so orderly, but every step of this character lessens the area of non-citizenship and lessens the area of lawlessness, and tends to expand the domain of American law over all the country; and that is a step in advance.

But we must not forget that, while the Indians have less law than the white man, they need more law. If there should be any difference, it should be that the Indians should be provided with more safeguards than even the white people enjoy.

I should add that this subject is one involving great difficulties. It is a matter requiring deliberate consideration. When the American Bar Association met at Detroit, resolutions were passed forming a committee of the Association on Indian legislation; and the committee of this body may act in consultation with them in proceeding on the same lines toward securing common justice for the Indian and the administration of law.

Mr. FRANK WOOD.—I do wish to add a word of emphasis as to the importance of Dr. Eastman's work. I have received a letter from the International Young Men's Christian Association Committee which shows that this most hopeful work is likely to stop for the lack of funds. We believe in all the various forms of effort for the

Indian that have been discussed here; but the hopeless thing to me is that these are all forms of work of white men for Indians, and none of them the work of Indians for Indians except this. The Indian cannot take care of his own land. He cannot take care of his own money. He has to have some one appointed to take care of him and to get justice for him. Most of the plans proposed here would still keep the Indian in a state of pupilage. When is this to stop? The only work brought before us in which the Indian is doing something for himself is this work,—the work of one man among these Indians, organizing them to work for themselves. He has organized during the past year over forty Young Men's Christian Associations, with from twenty-five to one hundred members, or more than twenty-five hundred members in all. They are associated to carry on the work that we have been discussing here, and avail themselves of the power of organization for every good purpose; and Dr. Eastman, in his own person, furnishes them an object-lesson as to what they may become. We know the difficulty of getting law for them. We appreciate all the obstacles. The greatest difficulty is that the Indian does nothing to help himself. He does not appreciate the value of law, and, when he has it, does not know what to do to secure its protection. These young Indians will, in their associations, discuss the question of citizenship and law, the duty of self-government and self-support. Is not this the best preparation for, and the quickest way to secure, law? If secured in answer to their own demands, they will be ready to use law. The Young Men's Christian Association work, as described by Dr. Eastman, trains and develops the body, mind, and soul. This is to me the most important and hopeful work at the present time for the Indian. Can you not do something to bring this matter before your churches, or can you not, as individuals, give part of the small amount needed to carry it on? I know the personal sacrifice that Dr. Eastman has made, which he would not allude to. He has to give up a profession that paid him more than twice as much as he earns from this work, and Mrs. Eastman will pardon me if I quote her as saying "that it is the greatest trial of her life, that she has to be separated from Dr. Eastman so much, while he is carrying on the work"; but they are willing to make sacrifices for the Indian race. Shall we let the work stop for lack of funds? It requires about three thousand dollars a year to carry it on. Money may be sent to the General Secretary of International Committee Young Men's Christian Association, 40 East 23d Street, New York City.

Rev. E. H. RUDD.—*Mr. Chairman and Friends*,—I should be untrue to the deep sense of gratitude that I feel personally, were I not in some way to express my appreciation of this congress, and what I hope its results will be to me, and if God shall give me the voice and influence which shall go forth to influence others. I speak unknown to most of you. One day Bishop Doane, than whom there is no more earnest laborer in Christ's vineyard, was standing on a street corner in Albany, when a small street urchin came up to him, and,

looking at him, studied him carefully. At last he looked up in the bishop's face, and said, "Say, Mister, are you anybody in particular?" I am nobody in particular, but I want to say that I cannot but feel that I am one of many in this room who feel a deep sense of gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Smiley for the magnificent work they have done. The work here has impressed me in two or three regards. Carey gave that glorious statement to the world which has inspired thousands of workers when he said, "Attempt great things for God, expect great things from God"; and it seems to me that that is the motto of this body of consecrated men and women. I want to take it home to myself, and follow it every day. I have been impressed with another thing,—the fact that you are doing something for the elevation of the Indian which is making the Indian incomparably higher than he has ever been in the past. One of the best features of this work is that you are working along practical, common-sense lines; and we want more and more of that work, not only among Indians and Negroes, but among the Chinese and Japanese and the far-away missions of the sea. The things that are good for them are what are good for us. Human nature is the same under any color. It seems to me the policy of the men and women working in this Conference, aided by the giant intellect and warm heart of men like Dr. Lyman Abbott, is to go forward steadily, with faith in God. You have put at the fore-front, first, midst, and last, the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ as the means of solving this problem. That means the gospel in church on the Sabbath, in the business places on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the gospel in the kitchen, the gospel in sweeping a room, the gospel when you are receiving your friends in social life, everywhere and always the gospel first. Herein lies your success.

A resolution of thanks, accompanied by a brilliant speech, was offered by Mr. William McElroy:—

At the conclusion of the Thirteenth Annual Conference of the Indian Association its members, impressed with a sense of obligation to its generous host for all the pleasure and comfort afforded indoors and out of doors during all their stay, desire to place on the records of the Conference the following expression:—

Resolved, That we extend to Mr. and Mrs. Smiley our thanks and our hearty appreciation of the princely hospitality so generously extended, year by year, to the members of the Indian Conference, and to assure them, with all the warmth we may express in words, that their kindness rivals in extent and charm all the other attractions of Mohonk.

Rev. Henry M. Field seconded the resolution in a brief address. The resolution was then unanimously adopted.

Mr. Smiley responded in a few appropriate words; but, at the suggestion of Mr. Smiley, these addresses are not included in the report, out of respect to his modesty.

On motion Mr. Frank Wood and Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows were elected a Committee on Publication.

On motion it was voted that President Gates be authorized to name the usual committee to go to Washington in behalf of the Mohonk Conference, when necessary.

On motion of Mr. Austin Abbott it was moved that the chairman of the Conference be, *ex officio*, a member of the committee to go to Washington.

At the suggestion of President Gates a resolution of sympathy with Rev. E. E. Hale, D.D., on the loss of his son, was passed unanimously by a rising vote.

On motion of Mr. A. K. Smiley the thanks of the Conference were voted to President Gates for his able services as presiding officer.

PRESIDENT GATES.— Friends, I thank you. It is always a pleasure to preside over people who are bound together by a high purpose.

After the singing of the hymn "God be with us till we meet again," the Conference was adjourned.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

- ABBOTT, DR. AUSTIN, Dean of Law School, University of New York, 16 East 34th Street.
- ABBOTT, MRS. AUSTIN, 16 East 34th Street, New York City.
- ABBOTT, REV. DR. EDWARD, President Massachusetts Indian Rights Association, Cambridge, Mass.
- ABBOTT, MRS. EDWARD, 11 Dana Street, Cambridge, Mass.
- ABBOTT, REV. DR. LYMAN, Editor *Outlook*, New York City, 110 Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- ABBOTT, MRS. LYMAN, 110 Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- ANDREWS, PRESIDENT E. BENJAMIN, Brown University, Providence, R.I.
- ARBuckle, MR. JOHN, 315 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- ATTERBURY, REV. DR. W. W., 27 West 38th Street, New York City.
- AUSTIN, MRS. L., 891 Prospect Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
- AVERY, MISS MYRA H., 137 Academy Street, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
- BARROWS, MRS. ISABEL C., Boston, Mass.
- BOYD, MR. O. E., Recording Secretary Board Home Missions Presbyterian Church, New York City.
- BOYD, MRS. O. E., 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
- BROWN, LEVI K., Clerk Friends' Yearly Meeting, Goshen, Penn.
- BROWNING, HON. D. M., Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.
- BRUCE, REV. JAMES M. and MRS., Yonkers, N.Y., Associate Pastor Memorial Baptist Church, New York City.
- CORNELL, MISS AMY, Mohonk Lake, N.Y.
- CAPEN, MRS. FRANK S., New Paltz, N.Y.
- CLAFLIN, MRS. WILLIAM, 63 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.
- CLEVELAND, MISS ROSE ELIZABETH, Holland Patent, N.Y.
- COIT, REV. JOSHUA, Secretary Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, 9 Congregational House.
- COIT, MRS. JOSHUA, Winchester, Mass.
- CRANNELL, MRS. W. W., President Albany Indian Association, 9 Hall Place, Albany, N.Y.
- CUMING, THE MISSES, 28 West 12th Street, New York City.
- CORNELL, MISS MARY A., Mohonk Lake, N.Y.
- DAWES, HON. HENRY L. and MRS., Pittsfield, Mass.
- DAWES, MISS ANNA L., Pittsfield, Mass.
- DAVIS, MR. JOSHUA W., Vice-President Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Newton.
- DAVIS, MRS. JOSHUA W., Newton, Mass.
- DODGE, MISS DORA B., Remington Station, Cheyenne Agency, So. Dak.
- DREHER, DR. JULIUS D., President Roanoke College, Salem, Va.
- DRURY, REV. J. B., Managing Editor *Christian Intelligencer*, New York City.
- DRURY, MRS. J. B., New Brunswick, N.J.
- DUNNING, REV. DR. A. E., Editor the *Congregationalist*, Boston, Mass.

- DUNNING, MRS. ALBERT E., 7 St. John Street, Boston, Mass.
- EASTMAN, DR. CHARLES A., Secretary Indian Department International Committee Young Men's Christian Association, 102 St. Albans Street, St. Paul, Minn.
- EASTMAN, MRS. CHARLES A., 102 St. Albans Street, St. Paul, Minn.
- FOSTER, REV. ADDISON P., Eastern Editor the *Advance*, Boston, Mass.
- FOUNTAIN, MR. and MRS. GIDEON, 34 East 64th Street, New York City.
- FIELD, REV. DR. HENRY M., Editor the *Evangelist*, New York City.
- FIELD, MRS. HENRY M., New York City.
- FISK, MRS. CLINTON B., 175 West 58th Street, New York City.
- FRISSELL, REV. DR. H. B., Prin. Hampton Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Va.
- FRYE, MRS. MYRA E., President Maine Indian Association, Woodfords, Me.
- GATES, PRESIDENT MERRILL E., President Amherst College, and Chairman Board of United States Indian Commissioners, Amherst, Mass.
- HAILMANN, DR. W. N., Superintendent of Education, Washington, D.C.
- HAILMANN, MRS. W. N., Washington, D.C.
- HALL, REV. DR. and MRS. HECTOR, Troy, N.Y.
- HALLOCK, REV. J. N., Editor *Christian Work*, New York City.
- HALLOCK, MRS. J. N., New York City.
- HAMLIN, REV. DR. and MRS. T. S., Washington, D.C.
- HARDING, REV. and MRS. J. W., Longmeadow, Mass.
- HARDY, MR. ALFRED, Indian Rights Association, Farmington, Conn.
- HARRIS, DR. WILLIAM T., Commissioner of Education, Washington, D.C.
- HARRIS, MRS. WILLIAM T., Washington, D.C.
- HATFIELD, THE MISSES, 149 West 34th Street, New York City.
- HAYES, MISS FANNY, Fremont, Ohio.
- HINE, MRS. C. C., 209 Washington Street, Jersey City, N.J.
- HORR, REV. DR. GEORGE E., Editor *Watchman*, Boston, Mass.
- HORR, MRS. GEORGE E., Boston, Mass.
- HOWARD, GENERAL O. O. and MRS., Burlington, Vt.
- HUNTINGTON, DANIEL, 49 East 20th Street, New York City.
- IVES, MISS MARIE E., President New Haven Indian Association, New Haven, Conn.
- JACKSON, REV. DR. SHELDON, General Agent for Education of Alaska, Washington, D.C.
- JACOBS, HON. JOSEPH F., Member Board Indian Commissioners, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- JENKINS, HOWARD, Editor *Friends' Intelligencer* and *Journal*, Philadelphia, Penn.
- JENKINS, MRS. HOWARD, Philadelphia, Penn.
- LEUPP, MR. FRANCIS E., Washington Agent Indian Rights Association, Washington, D.C.
- LYON, HON. W. H., Member Board United States Indian Commissioners, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- MACARTHUR, MRS. ROBERT S. and MISS, 358 West 57th Street, New York City.
- MCELROY, MR. and MRS. JOHN E., State Street, Albany, N.Y.
- MCELROY, HON. WILLIAM H., 236 West 74th Street, New York City.
- MCWILLIAMS, MR. and MRS. D. W., 39 S. Portland Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- MESERVE, PRESIDENT CHARLES F., President Shaw University, Raleigh, N.C.
- MESERVE, MRS. CHARLES F., Raleigh, N.C.
- MORGAN, REV. DR. T. J., Corresponding Secretary, American Baptist Home Missionary Society, New York City.
- MORGAN, MRS. THOMAS J., 1 West 83d Street, New York City.

- MORSE, PROF. and MRS. ANSON D., Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- MOSS, REV. LEMUEL, Pastor Baptist Church, Woodbury, N.J.
- PECK, MR. and MRS. CYRUS, 85 North 5th Street, Newark, N.J.
- PRATT, CAPTAIN ROBERT H., Superintendent Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Penn.
- PRATT, MRS. ROBERT H., Carlisle, Penn.
- QUINTON, MRS. AMELIA S., President Women's National Indian Association, Philadelphia, Penn.
- RIDLEY, MRS. EDWARD, Hotel Endicott, New York City.
- RIGGS, REV. THOMAS S., Dakota Mission, Oahe, So. Dak.
- RIGGS, REV. DR. A. L., Santee Normal and Training School, Santee Agency, Neb.
- RUDD, REV. EDWARD H., Pastor First Presbyterian Church, Albion, N.Y.
- SKINNER, HON. CHARLES R., State Superintendent Public Instruction, Albany, N.Y.
- SKINNER, MRS. CHARLES R., Albany, N.Y.
- SMILEY, MR. ALFRED H., Lake Minnewaska, N.Y.
- SMILEY, MISS SARAH F., 406 West 20th Street, New York City.
- SMILEY, HON. ALBERT K., Member Board United States Indian Commissioners, Lake Mohonk.
- SMILEY, MRS. ALBERT K., Lake Mohonk, N.Y.
- SMITH, MISS HELEN S., 17 West 17th Street, New York City.
- STRIEBY, REV. DR. M. E., Corresponding Secretary American Missionary Association, New York City.
- THOMPSON, REV. DR. CHARLES L., Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City.
- THOMPSON, MRS. CHARLES L., 54 East 69th Street, New York City.
- VAN SLYKE, REV. DR. J. G., First Reformed Church, Kingston, N.Y.
- WARNER, DR. and MRS. LUCIEN C., 2042 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
- WELSH, MR. HERBERT, Corresponding Secretary Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia, Penn.
- WEST, PROFESSOR CHARLES E. and MISS, Buffalo, N.Y.
- WHITTLESEY, GENERAL E., Secretary Board United States Indian Commissioners, Washington, D.C.
- WHITTLESEY, MRS. E., Washington, D.C.
- WOOD, MR. and MRS. HENRY, Mt. Kisco, N.Y.
- WOOD, MR. FRANK, Member Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, 352 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.
- WOOD, MRS. FRANK, 34 Alban Street, Dorchester, Mass.
- WORTMAN, REV. DR. DENIS, Pastor Reformed Church, Saugerties, N.Y.
- WORTMAN, MRS. DENIS, Saugerties, N.Y.
- WYNKOOP, MR. FRANCIS and MISS, 159 West 21st Street, New York City.

LIST OF SPEAKERS AND WRITERS.

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| Abbott, Austin, 110. | Leupp, F. E., 12. |
| Abbott, Lyman, 7, 11, 15, 18, 23, 39, 105. | Marsden, Edward, 64. |
| Boyd, O. E., 79. | Meserve, C. F., 54. |
| Browning, Commissioner, 14, 41. | Montezuma, Carlos, 68. |
| Dacora, Angel, 63. | Morgan, T. J., 99. |
| Dawes, H. L., 48, 95. | Peairs, H. B., 58. |
| Dreher, Julius D., 103. | Pratt, R. H., 52, 82. |
| Dunning, A. E., 24. | Quinton, A. S., 89. |
| Eastman, Charles A., 15, 66. | Riggs, A. D., 17, 53. |
| Eastman, Mrs. Charles A., 92. | Riggs, Thomas, 69. |
| Fisk, Mrs. C. B., 91. | Smiley, A. K., 18. |
| Frissell, H. B., 20, 46. | Strieby, M. E., 73. |
| Hailmann, W. N., 26. | Thompson, Charles L., 102. |
| Hallock, Joseph Newton, 83. | Trippe, M. F., 79. |
| Hamlin, T. S., 39. | Welsh, Herbert, 60. |
| Hardy, Alfred, 23. | Whipple, H. B., 59. |
| Harris, W. T., 33. | Whittlesey, E., 8. |
| Howard, O. O., 70. | Williamson, J. P., 79. |
| Jackson, Sheldon, 21, 81. | |

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Abrogation of Treaties, 107. | Cochise, 71. |
| Alaska, 21, 65, 71, 82, 91, 105. | Cook, Miss Emily S., 42. |
| Alaska, Mission Stations in, 22. | Corporal Punishment, 28. |
| Allotments, 10, 42, 87. | Creeks, 98. |
| Apaches, 71. | Delaware Indians, 62. |
| Arapahoes, 51, 53, 55, 57. | Dorchester, Dr. Daniel, 104. |
| Bannocks, 71. | Education, 9, 26. |
| Bath-tubs, 28. | Eldridge, Mrs. M. L., 24. |
| Black Race, The, 36. | Epical People, An, 34. |
| Bullard, Mrs. Elizabeth Eliot, 39. | Field Matrons, 10, 24, 32, 42, 70, 89, 105. |
| Calfee, Miss F. S., 24. | Five Nations, 52. |
| Capotes, 12. | Flambeaux Indians, 9. |
| Characteristics of Indians, 83. | Flandreau Indians, 70. |
| Cherokees, 96. | Fletcher, Miss Alice C., 50. |
| Cheyennes, 51, 53, 55, 57. | Grandmother, The, 93. |
| Children of School Age, 9. | Greene, Mrs. Amanda, 39. |
| Choctaws, 98, 103. | Hampton, 21. |
| Civilization by the Newspaper, 33. | Haskell Institute, 55. |
| Civilizing Influences, 29. | Hopeful Features of Indian Work, 60. |
| Civil Service, 32, 61, 88. | Horse Races, 53. |
| Clark, Helen W., 90. | Houghton, Henry O., 39. |
| Committees: on Business and Resolutions, 8. | Hygienic Conditions, 29. |
| Coal in Indian Territory, 98. | Indian Rights Association, 61. |
| | Indian Territory, 95, 99. |

- Indian Woman, The, 35, 92.
- Indians, Employment of, 30.
- Industrial League, 54.
- Intemperance, 3, 45, 47, 54, 68, 90.
- Iroquois, 76.
- Irrigation, Cost of, 19.
- Kickapoos, 42.
- Kindergartens, 27.
- King Fisher Indians, 57.
- La Point School, 9.
- Land in Severalty, 46.
- Lapps in Alaska, 82.
- Law for Indians, 110.
- Leasing of Lands, 11, 44.
- Letters: from H. B. Peairs, 55; from Bishop Whipple, 59; from M. F. Trippe, 79; from J. P. Williamson, 79.
- Liquor among Indians, 3, 45, 47, 54, 59, 68, 90.
- Manual Training, 29.
- Memorial Tributes, 39.
- Menominees, 102.
- Merit System, 61, 88.
- Methodist Women's Mission, 91.
- Metlakatla, 64, 71, 83.
- Mission Stations in Alaska, 22.
- Mission Work in Indian Territory, 97.
- Moaches, 12.
- Music for Indians, 27.
- Navajoes, 23.
- Newspaper Civilization, A, 33.
- Nez Percés, 42, 81, 87.
- Non-partisan Administration, 32.
- Non-reservation Schools, 10.
- Obstacles, 41.
- Officers, 8.
- Ogden Land Company, 11.
- Omahas, 11, 17, 21, 44, 46, 51, 62, 80.
- Painter, C. C., 11, 18, 39.
- Per Capita Distribution of Funds, 52, 87.
- Piutes, 71.
- Platform, 105.
- Plummer, Mrs. Cornelia De Witt, 39.
- Problem of Humanity, 54.
- Punishments, 28.
- Pyramid Lake Indians, 18, 41.
- Reindeer in Alaska, 82, 105.
- Resolutions: on Reindeer, 105; on Field Matrons, 105.
- Roanoke College, 103.
- Rosebud Agency, 10.
- Santee Agency, 17, 53, 69.
- Santee School, 10.
- School Education in Relation to Civilization, 33.
- Schooling, Average in United States, 34.
- Scotch Highlanders and American Indians, 73.
- Seger Colony, 56.
- Seminoles, 91.
- Senate Bill No. 99 (Pyramid Lake Indians), 19.
- Sessions: First, 7; Second, 26; Third, 41; Fourth, 59; Fifth, 73; Sixth, 102.
- Severalty Act, 44, 47, 48, 53.
- Sewing Machines, 14.
- Siletz Indians, 42.
- Sioux, 20, 69.
- Six Nations, 76.
- Southern Utes, The, 12.
- Sovereignty of American Nation, 107.
- Strong, Judge William, 39.
- Survey of the Field, 8.
- Taxation of Indians, 43, 51.
- Tonawanda Reservation, 79.
- Tribal Stage, 35.
- Utes, 12, 81.
- Walker River Reservation, 18, 41.
- Weeminuches, 12.
- Whiskey, Sale of, to Indians, 45.
- Wichitas, 51.
- Winnebagoes, 11, 44.
- Yanktons, 42.
- Young Men's Christian Associations among Indians, 15, 66, 94.
- Young People's Department, 92.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

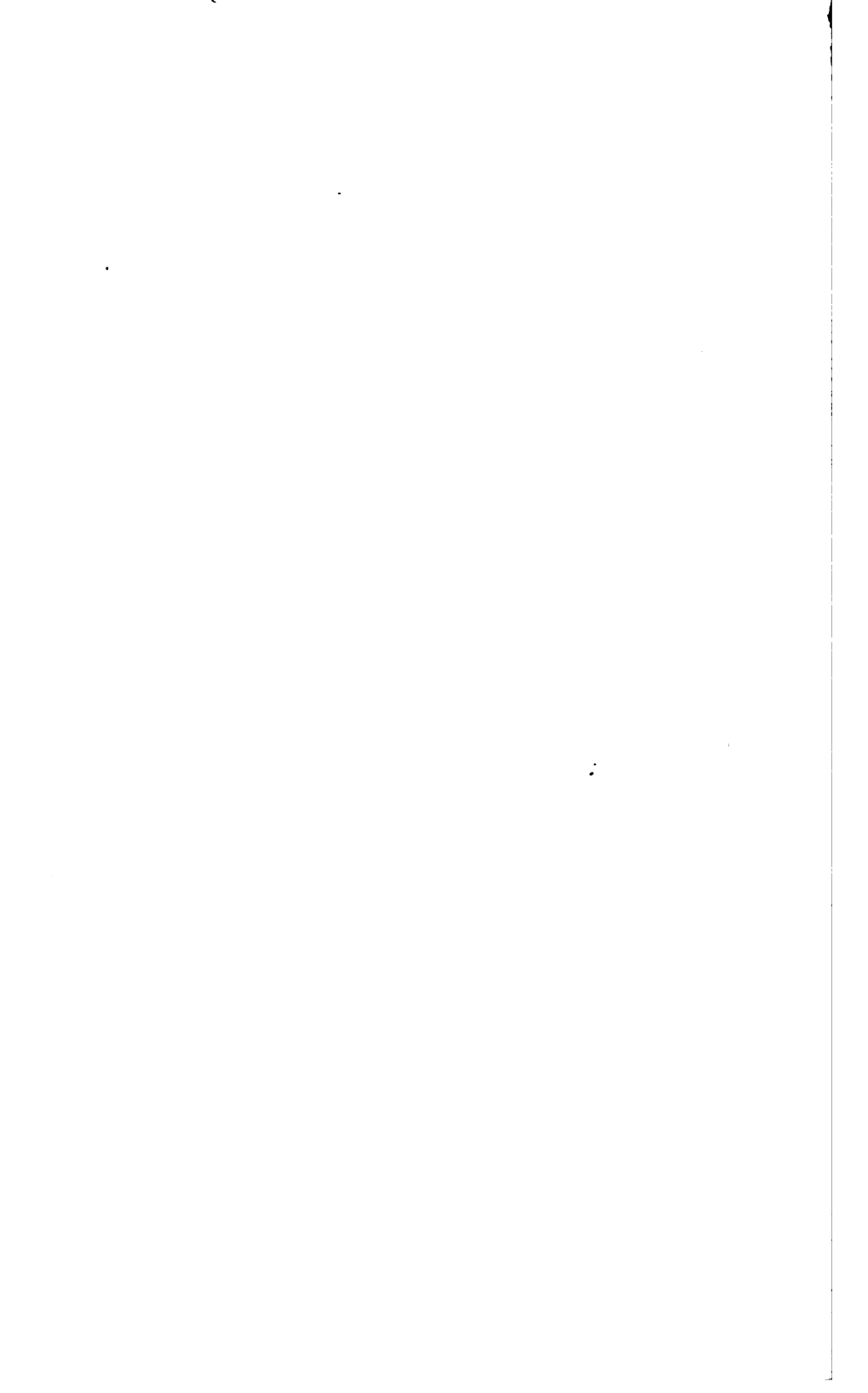
OF

FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN

1896

REPORTED AND EDITED BY LABEL C. BARROWS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE.
1897



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
OF
FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN

1896

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
1897

1156.4

L. S. Dixon Fd.
Rec'd Dec. 29, 1941

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES, 1896.

President: MERRILL E. GATES, LL.D., Amherst, Mass.

Secretaries: Mr. J. W. DAVIS and Mrs. ISABEL C. BARROWS, Boston, Mass.

Treasurer: Mr. FRANK WOOD, 352 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

Business Committee: Dr. W. H. WARD, Chairman, Dr. ADDISON FOSTER, PHILIP C. GARRETT, DARWIN R. JAMES, Mrs. CLINTON B. FISK, Mrs. A. S. QUINTON, Miss ANNA L. DAWES, and Mr. HERBERT WELSH.

Washington Committee: M. E. GATES, LL.D., A. K. SMILEY, PHILIP C. GARRETT, Gen. JOHN EATON, and Dr. W. H. WARD.

Publication Committee: Messrs. FRANK WOOD, J. W. DAVIS, and Mrs. I. C. BARROWS.

PREFACE.

THE fourteenth annual meeting of the Mohonk Indian Conference was held at the Lake Mohonk House, Oct. 14-16, 1896. Though death had made several gaps in the ranks, there was a large attendance of the old members, and of many who, for the first time, enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, and an opportunity to share in the work of the Conference.

One copy of this report is sent to each member who was present. If other copies are desired, application may be made to Mr. A. K. Smiley, Lake Mohonk, Ulster County, New York.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES	2
PREFACE	3
FIRST SESSION.	
Opening words	7
Address of President Merrill E. Gates	7
"Survey of the Field," by Gen. E. Whittlesey	14
Visits to Reservations, by Mr. Francis E. Leupp	17
Report by Miss M. C. Collins	20
Discussion on Miss Collins's Work	23
Work in Canada, by Rev. E. R. Young	26
SECOND SESSION.	
The Navajoes, by Mrs. Mary L. Eldridge	30
Discussion on Methods of Self-support	33
Brief Addresses by Capt. R. H. Pratt, Mr. Antonio Apache, Bishop Whipple, Bishop Gilbert	35-43
THIRD SESSION.	
"The Five Nations," by President C. F. Meserve	44
"The Indian Territory," by Hon. H. L. Dawes	50
Discussion on the Indian Territory	55
Remarks by Mr. Garrett, Dr. Fisher, Rev. H. A. Stimson	58
"Indian Agents," by Mr. Herbert Welsh	60
Brief Addresses by Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Mr. Alfred Hardy, Rev. Mr. Turner, Miss Collins, Mrs. Clinton B. Fisk, Hon. Charles B. Howry, Bishop Whipple	64-71
FOURTH SESSION.	
Brief Addresses by Miss Scoville, Dr. James M. King, Secretary C. J. Ryder, Dr. Frissell, Mr. Samuel George, President George W. Smith, Miss M. E. Ives, Miss Sparhawk, President Taylor, Dr. Ward	72-84
FIFTH SESSION.	
Presentation of Peace-pipe to Mr. Smiley	85
Indian Languages, by Dr. Joseph Anderson	85
Brief Addresses by Mr. Davis, Dr. Dreher, Mrs. Quinton, Mr. S. A. Galpin, Rev. J. E. Roy, Dr. James M. King, Gen. Eaton, Dr. Foster, Mr. Shelton, Dr. Frissell	87-95
Indian Religion, by Miss Collins	95
Discussion on Indian Honesty	98
Brief Addresses by Dr. Henry Hopkins, Mr. William Harkness, Dr. Young	101, 102

SIXTH SESSION.

Brief Addresses by Mrs. Eldridge, Mr. Davis, Ex-Senator Dawes, Mr.

Garrett, Dr. Cuyler, Mr. Howard M. Jenkins, Dr. Ward, . . . 103-112

The Platform 112

Closing Exercises 114

LIST OF MEMBERS 115

LIST OF SPEAKERS AND WRITERS 119

INDEX OF SUBJECTS 119

THE FOURTEENTH MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 14, 1896.

The fourteenth session of the Mohonk Indian Conference began Wednesday morning, Oct. 14, 1896, assembled at the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley.

After morning prayers the Conference was called to order by Mr. Smiley who said that it was a pleasure to welcome so many earnest people who had gathered to discuss the interests of a people who need sympathy and help. He then nominated Dr. Merrill E. Gates as president. Dr. Gates was unanimously elected.

On motion of Mr. Welsh, Mr. Joshua W. Davis and Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows were elected secretaries.

On motion of Dr. M. E. Strieby, the following Business Committee was elected: Dr. W. H. Ward, chairman, Dr. Addison Foster, Philip C. Garrett, Darwin R. James, Mrs. Clinton B. Fisk, Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Miss Anna L. Dawes.

On motion of Mr. James, Mr. Frank Wood was elected treasurer.

On motion of Mr. Garrett, Mr. Frank Wood, Mr. J. W. Davis, and Mrs. I. C. Barrows were elected a Publication Committee.

Dr. Gates then spoke as follows:—

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT MERRILL E. GATES.

THE INDIAN OF ROMANCE.

The New York papers of last night report as the topic for consideration and discussion at a meeting of one of the brightest women's clubs of that city, a day or two since, "The Novels of Fenimore Cooper." As I saw the item this morning, I was reminded of a morning in the south of France nearly twenty years ago which impressed upon me vividly the prominent place which Fenimore Cooper's North American Indian has held in the European conception of America. On the train from Paris to Marseilles, I found myself in a compartment with an old Italian priest, amiable,

genial of disposition, and persistently inclined toward conversation. He knew no English, he could not speak French, and I tried him in vain with German. As I knew no Italian, conversation seemed likely to prove impracticable. At last we came together through the medium of such Latin as we could both use. The mixture of academic and mediæval Latin in which we sought to exchange ideas for two or three hours, was much of it in startling violation of the canons of the purist, and even of the rules of the grammarians. It would have made Cicero turn in his grave! Nevertheless we established a vocabulary of our own; and the genial and interesting old parish priest, after he had put many questions as to American life, turned to the literature of America, and in barbarous Latin asked me "How true to life is the picture of the Indian, in the novels of Fenimore Cooper?" The foremost place in his knowledge of our literature and in his thought of American life, was filled by the figures called into being by the author of the "Leather-Stocking Stories."

TO SEE THE INDIAN AS HE IS.

Perhaps our work in the successive sessions of this Mohonk Conference might be epitomized in the phrase, letting go the Indian of romance, and learning what the real Indian is and how to help him to intelligent citizenship, to civilization, and to Christianization. We are no longer seriously misled by the romantic ideals of the Indian which those most entertaining novels of Fenimore Cooper made current. I remember, at a dinner party twenty-five years since in the home of my dear and honored friend, the late Paul Fenimore Cooper, of Albany, son of the great novelist, that a bright society woman near the opposite end of the table leaning forward asked our host, "Mr. Cooper, was not an old colored servant in your father's family the original of 'Natty Bumppo,' the 'Leather Stocking' of your father's stories?" "Oh, no," said Mr. Cooper, "'Natty Bumppo' never had any original, any more than did my father's Indians. And no one in the world believes in that kind of Indians, except Governor Horatio Seymour and my sister."

When we began to assemble here thirteen years ago, many were still giving expression to views which showed that the Indians of Cooper's novels were the Indians with whom they thought we had to deal. The first step in our work was to awaken in the united East an interest in plans to civilize the Indians and to secure for them their rights. Our second step was the rather painful one of learning to contemplate the Indian as he really is, without the halo of romance on the one hand, and without forgetting, on the other hand, the divine worth of manhood and womanhood, however debased by barbarism and sin. If our work had ended with the dissipation of the romantic ideal, it would have been utterly unworthy. And if we had attempted to do nothing more than to see the Indian as he really is, we should have been as untrue to the ideals of Christianity and to American citizenship as is the latest French realistic

novel. But "disillusionizing" was not the end of our work. Coming to see the Indian as he is, we have also learned to see him in the light of the ideal, in the light of what he may become, what he ought to be and may be as an American citizen and a Christian. These Conferences have been dominated by the disposition to see the actual in the light of the ideal. We have been determined to see facts as they are in the light of facts as they ought to be, and to use our united power in the effort to bring about the needful changes.

THE RESERVATION HAD TO GO.

And first we had to learn to see the Indian on the reservation as he really was. I am glad that we can put the reservation in the past tense! The reservation, from which every influence of the virtues of civilization was carefully shut out, while all the damning vices that are the bane of civilized communities found constant access, has been from the beginning a curse to Indians and whites. The reservation was so steeped in iniquity of all kinds, so isolated from all good influence, so contrary to ideals of American citizenship, so utterly destructive of purity in personal life and of all hope of sound and pure family life, that as soon as a Conference like ours fairly saw the reservation as it was, with the greatest unanimity and emphasis we were compelled to declare, "The reservation system must be broken up!" And it is not too much to say that these Conferences have carried with them the public opinion of the country upon this point.

DANGERS FROM LAND IN SEVERALTY.

Then came the difficulty as to the feasibility and the probable consequences of holding land in severalty. We know how various were the opinions expressed here twelve years ago, and how bitterly opposed to each other were some who maintained certain of these opinions; but out of discussion and experiment has come a consensus of opinion. We are by no means blind to the dangers that threaten the transition period from barbarous reservation life, with its savage communism, to homes upon land held in severalty. But we are of one mind as to the absolute necessity of making all the Indians who have not yet left the reservation, as peacefully as may be, but as rapidly as is safe, pass through this transition period to homes upon land in severalty and to full citizenship in the United States.

HISTORY CROWDED INTO A MOMENT.

It is said that when one is in the act of drowning — and from personal experience I know that it is sometimes true when a sudden accident, like falling from a great height, places one for a supreme moment where he is conscious that within the next few seconds he

is likely to be killed — there flashes through the mind a condensation of past consciousness, a sudden gleam of vividly intense remembrance of all one's past. That supreme instant seems to hold before the eye of consciousness a record upon which, in infinitesimal tracery, all the past experience of the life has been written; and, with a foretaste of what it may mean to be set free from limitations of time and space, the soul is suddenly gifted with the power to rush through that long record in an instant of revealing reminiscence which seems to leave nothing unremembered. Incidents and experiences that have not been thought of for years are vividly represented to the mind, and you live through them again in an instant.

TO CIVILIZE THESE RACES IS TO CONDENSE NATURE'S METHODS.

This mental experience seems to have an analogue in the early history of our bodies. The investigations of the biologist, the study of the embryologist into the history of our physical organism, indicates that in the early history of each human organism there is condensed an epitome of the record of its descent through other forms,—a brief history of the past of the race.

Those who are most carefully studying the mental development of childhood in the light of these investigations of the biologists, believe that important modifications will be made in our methods of education, modifications based upon that condensation of the history of the race in miniature which they think they discern in the natural development of the child. Childhood properly studied recalls not only "trailing clouds of glory," whence it came, but also something of the history of the earlier stages of development through which the race has passed. Traces of the feelings of the savage are to be found in early boyhood in all healthy children; and the converse of this record of the race, written in the childish organism and experience of the individual, we find ourselves face to face with when we attempt to do for the Indian race in one or two generations what unaided Nature by her slower methods takes hundreds of years to do. To transform savages into civilized and enlightened citizens is a process requiring time. Education, Christian training, and the helpful hand of Christian friends may greatly shorten the time which is required for this transformation. But no educational processes, and not even the transforming power of the Christian life can entirely annihilate or completely and immediately overcome the impulses and tendencies which are directly inherited from ages of savage descent.

PATIENCE AND THE HIGHEST IDEALS!

In our efforts to eradicate and overcome these tendencies we are not to forget or despise the prolonged stages by which Nature leads races through such steps of progress; nor are we ever to leave out of account the constant need (if we would shorten the time) of enforcing the higher ideals.

For instance, we must see to it that the interest which just now is wide-spread in methods of manual training does not lead us to make a "fad" of manual training. General Armstrong used to insist, with fine emphasis, upon "the way to the head and the heart through the trained right hand." But where could we find a nobler example of reliance upon the power of the highest moral and intellectual standards to give dignity and direction to such manual training? With that Christian hero and pioneer in industrial training, the awakening of noble ambitions, the inculcation of the unselfish spirit of service of one's fellow-men,—in short, the *formation of character*,—always dominated the conception of industrial training.

That view of industrial training for the Indian or the negro which seeks to limit their intellectual achievements to the lower planes, in order that all may become skilled artisans, and none of them anything more than artisans, is an ignoble conception of even elementary education. General Armstrong himself would have been among the first to denounce that false ideal of education. The way must be opened through the better training of the hand; but for the most capable and the most quickly progressive, there must always be the open avenue to the higher education.

POWER OF PROPERTY TO AWAKEN WANTS AND TO LEAD TO HIGHER CIVILIZATION.

We have, to begin with, the absolute need of awakening in the savage Indian broader desires and ampler wants. To bring him out of savagery into citizenship we must make the Indian more intelligently selfish before we can make him unselfishly intelligent. We need to *awaken in him wants*. In his dull savagery he must be touched by the wings of the divine angel of discontent. Then he begins to look forward, to reach out. The desire for property of his own may become an intense educating force. The wish for a home of his own awakens him to new efforts. Discontent with the teepee and the starving rations of the Indian camp in winter is needed to get the Indian out of the blanket and into trousers,—and trousers with a pocket in them, and with a *pocket that aches to be filled with dollars!* The most intelligent students of physiological psychology in the training of children tell us that it is a misfortune to make a very little child so absolutely unselfish that he wants to give away everything. Such an unselfish childhood is most unpromising. The person who blindly gives away everything in the mere wish to be smiled upon — and without any consideration of the value of what he gives — is not fitting himself to be a helper of others, but is taking the first steps toward becoming a vague pauper, looking for a readiness on the part of all others to distribute whatever they can lay hands on to all who will smile when they receive it. The truth is, that there can be no strongly developed personality without the teaching of property,—material property, and property in thoughts and convictions that are one's own. By acquiring property, man

puts forth his personality, and lays hold of matter by his own thought and will. Property has been defined as "objectified will." We all go to school to property, if we use it wisely. No one has a right to the luxury of giving away, until he has learned the luxury of earning and possessing. The Saviour's teaching is full of illustrations of the right use of property. I imagine that we shall look back from that larger life which lies before us "on the farther side of the river of death," and shall regard the property we have held and used here, not as in itself an object and an end, but much as those of us who have had the benefit of kindergarten training look back now upon the little prizes and gifts that were put into our hands in the kindergarten classes, things which were of no sort of value or consequence except as out of their use we got training for the larger life, and for the right use of stronger powers.

There is an immense moral training that comes from the use of property. And the Indian has had all that to learn. Like a little child who learns the true delight of giving away only by first earning and possessing what it gives, the Indian must learn that he has no right to give until he has earned, and that he has no right to eat until he has worked for his bread. Our teachers upon the reservations know that frequently lessons in home-building, and providence for the future of the family which they are laboriously teaching, are effaced and counteracted by the old communal instincts and customs which bring half a tribe of kins-people to settle down at the door of the home when the grain is threshed or the beef is killed, and to live upon their enterprising kinsman so long as his property will suffice to feed the clan of his kins-people. We have found it necessary, as one of the first steps in developing a stronger personality in the Indian, *to make him responsible for property*. Even if he learns its value only by losing it, and going without it until he works for more, the educational process has begun. To cease from pauperizing the Indian by feeding him through years of laziness,—to instruct him to use property which is legally his, and by protecting his title, to help him through the dangerous transition period into citizenship,—this is the first great step in the education of the race.

IMMERSE THE INDIAN IN CIVILIZATION.

And the second of the lessons which seem to me of greatest value, as we review the outcome of our thirteen Conferences at Mohonk, is the "object lesson" which has been taught us by Captain Pratt, through his system of placing out Indian boys and girls in Christian homes. Here they learn by experience and by contact, here they imbibe citizenship and Christianity; and, through living in the families of American citizens, they are taught how to walk alone as citizens. This immersion in citizenship, with such a personal hold by friends upon each young person who is drawn from the reservations as is secured by membership in a civilized and Christian family, is the surest and most rapid method of advancing the civilization

of the Indians; and I believe that every young Indian who is taught to hold his own while he stays here in the East, by his example and his influence upon his own people is worth ten times as much as he would be if he went back to the tribe and the reservation. Let us break up the tribal masses! Let us draft into the East as many as we can persuade to come, and can wisely place among helpful friends. The surest way to learn to speak a language is to live constantly among those who speak that language and no other. The surest way for the Indian to learn the life-language of civilization and Christianity is to live daily among civilized Christian people who care for him.

SCHOOLS AND HOMES.

Twelve years ago we had bitterly to lament the lack of schools for the Indians. To-day schools are provided for more than two-thirds of all the Indian children of school age.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

Ten years ago we gave them land and law in the Dawes Bill. But there is still that great blot upon our map where is still tried the un-American and unstatesmanlike experiment of the *imperium in imperio*. This attempt to deal with an Indian tribe on our territory as we would deal with a foreign government, has been a mistake from the first. One of the most important questions to come before us in this Conference will be, How can the government of the United States be extended over the Indian Territory?

Part of our study has always been the customs of the Indian, to see him as he has been and as he is. That is practical. "Morals" means "customs." Morals, ethics, are the expression of what we have been accustomed to do. The customs of a people embody their code of morals. And we must build up morality in the Indians; and to do this we must help them to a more intelligent religious life. There has never been a moral people that has not been a religious people. Matthew Arnold's attempt to define the religious life as "morality touched by emotion" does not answer the need. They need morality touched by *life*, and by Him who is the Author of life.

Whether our schools are organized by the missionary boards or under the government, we have learned that the best results can not be attained unless the work is steadily done in the light that breaks from the Source above us, "the light that never was on sea or land." The face of the child must be trained to turn reverently to the face of the Father. Whatever else our work is, it must be Christian work. And it is Christlike work! Let us address ourselves to it with reverent reliance upon Him who "came to seek and to save" the lost.

SURVEY OF THE FIELD.

BY GENERAL E. WHITTLESEY.

The year has been a quiet one in Indian affairs. There have been no disturbances, no excitements; but there has been a steady improvement in education and industry among our Indians. The disturbances that troubled us last year at Jackson's Hole in Idaho have been settled by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States,—a decision that declares that the State laws in reference to game are to be obeyed by Indians as well as white men. This decision of the Supreme Court seems a hardship to the Indians; but there are considerations that may reconcile us to it. One is, when this reliance upon the game of the country for support is broken up, the Indians will be led to turn their attention to the soil and its cultivation as a means of maintenance. Another is that the decision settles the legal status of the Indian, and puts him upon an equality with the white man. That is the principle for which we have contended in this Conference, and which you remember was so earnestly and ably advocated by our lamented friend, Judge Abbott.

The condition of affairs in the Indian Territory has not materially improved; but there is a beginning of light even there. It is significant that in the appropriation bill passed last winter, in the appropriation for defraying the expenses of the commission to the five civilized tribes, it is expressly declared "to be the duty of the United States to establish a government in the Indian Territory which will rectify the many inequalities and discriminations now existing in that Territory, and afford needful protection to the lives and property of all citizens and residents thereof." I think that is a gleam of light upon this subject; and we may hope for further legislation. It is also significant that in the late election in the Choctaw country the party in favor of the division of their lands and of United States citizenship was successful. We hope something from that, and that the influence of it may spread among the other tribes in that Territory.

One step of progress has been made during the past year, and that is the extension of the classified civil service over almost every branch of the Indian service. All persons, except those nominated for confirmation by the Senate, are now under the civil service rules; and it is provided that Indians may be appointed to such positions as they are competent to fill. This recognition of the merit system will certainly lift the standard of the service in every way; and I am sure it makes glad the heart of one who has been in this Conference and in public assemblies all over the country advocating this reform and fighting against the spoils system,—Herbert Welsh.

The work of education has gone on well, though no great advancement has been made. There is, however, steady improvement under the able superintendency of Dr. Hailmann, backed up by the

Commissioner. The number enrolled during the last year in all the Indian schools was 23,393, an increase of 357 over the enrolment of the previous year. The average attendance has been 19,121, an increase of 933 over the attendance of the previous year. In addition to this 558 Indian children have been placed in public schools in the States and Territories under a contract with the Indian office. The appropriations for the support of the Indian schools for the current year on which we are now entered amounts to \$2,517,265, so that there is an increase this year over last year of about twenty-two and a half per cent. During the three previous years there had been a slight falling off. In addition to this there is also an appropriation of \$15,000 for matrons, and of \$65,000 for additional farmers. This is really educational work as much as any other. This \$80,000 added to the \$2,517,265 gives us nearly \$2,600,000 for the coming year for the work of education.

The amount set apart for contract schools for the current year, including the appropriations for Hampton and Lincoln, is \$257,928, about half that was devoted to that purpose two years ago. Taking out the appropriations to Hampton and Lincoln, the amount appropriated for contract schools is \$204,488.

I am sure that you will be glad that the Commissioner has a larger fund at his disposal for next year, and that he will be able to add several important schools to those now in existence. It is contemplated to build a large school at Rosebud Agency, and another at the Pine Ridge as soon as possible. 'Some others are projected.

The allotment of lands has continued with perhaps as great rapidity as the exigencies of the service would warrant. During the last year, patents were issued and delivered to 2,283 allottees. Patents were made out, and are ready to be delivered, amounting to 919. Allotments were approved and sent to the department to have the patents prepared, amounting to 2,658; and additional schedules of allotment have been received at the Indian office, but not yet examined, amounting to 3,623. Last January I had the records of the Indian office very carefully examined in order to ascertain how many allotments had been made since 1887;—when the general allotment was approved,—and the summary is 49,957 allotments, and patents issued, 33,732. Up to this date there have been nearly 60,000 allotments made, and about 35,000 patents issued.

That shows the magnitude of the work; and yet it is ten years almost since the allotment bill was approved and passed, and an immense amount of work in that direction yet remains to be done. I should have added that non-reservation Indians have received 606 allotments and patents. They take up their allotments, under the homestead laws, in the public lands, the government paying their fees for them.

There has been, during the year, no general legislation upon Indian affairs of great importance. The bill for the reorganization of the Indian Bureau failed to receive attention in Congress. The bill for the establishment of a government in the Indian Territory also failed. Another bill of very great importance has failed for two

years in succession; that is, the act for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors to allottees. Complaints come up to us from all quarters of the disastrous effects of liquor-selling, coming in under the laws as they have been interpreted by judges of State courts; and there is now a free sale of intoxicating liquors to Indian allottees. Commissioner Browning prepared a bill, two years ago, to meet this difficulty, and it was passed by the House of Representatives, but failed to receive attention in the Senate. Last year the bill was introduced in both houses. It received the approval of the Committee of the House, but no further action was taken. In the Senate it was referred to the committee, and nothing more was heard of it. Now, I hope that every member of this Conference who knows a member of Congress will give him no rest until he takes hold of this measure and tries to see it through. It is of vital consequence. The allotment of lands, and the securing of homesteads, will be an utter failure if we allow intoxicating drinks to come in and ruin the Indians to whom these allotments have been made.

When we think of the condition of affairs twenty years ago, or even fifteen years ago, when the idea of this Conference took shape in the mind of our good friend and brother, Mr. Smiley, we cannot help rejoicing and thanking God for what has already been accomplished. We have seen the spoils system in the Indian service substantially overthrown. We have seen the school system organized and put into good shape, so that it will accomplish more and more year by year. We have seen this work of allotment going on year after year, until multitudes of Indians now are settled upon their homesteads; and the department is doing all in its power to aid those who take up their allotments in the way of building houses, furnishing tools, and seeds. So that, all over the land, Indians are getting to work; and they are engaged in many industries besides farming. Many are employed by the government. More than \$400,000 was paid to Indian employees at the various agencies and in the schools during the last year, and much more was earned by chopping wood, fishing, and in many other ways.

Though so much has been done, and we see reason to thank God and take courage, there yet remains enough for us to do. We have to maintain the civil service reform against all opposition from whatever source it may come. We have to continue the school work with all the aid we can render by our advice and our material help. We have to work for the moral elevation and the Christianization of the Indians, so that they may resist the temptations that come in upon them from every side. We have to maintain their rights against the men who are determined, in all possible ways, to get hold of Indian property if they can. It seems to be the idea among many men that, if an Indian occupies a piece of land, it must be specially valuable for some purpose, and he wants to get hold of it.

There is another thing in connection with this allotment which we have to work for, and that is to resist too rapid a sale of the unallotted lands. Many of the reservations are good only for grazing purposes,

and the great body of land should be held in common by the Indians even after they have taken their allotments, so that they may use it for the herding of cattle, as that is probably the only industry in which many of them can be successful.

I am sure, looking over the whole field, we can say in the words of the old hymn which we have so often sung, "Give to the winds thy fears, hope and be undismayed."

President Gates introduced Mr. Francis E. Leupp as the Washington representative of the Indian Rights Association and the latest appointment to the United States Board of Indian Commissioners.

VISITS TO RESERVATIONS.

MR. LEUPP.—I have been over the North-west this summer and have visited a number of reservations. I shall not attempt, therefore, to give a full account of my wanderings, but will pick out a few of the salient features that may be interesting.

One visit I made was to the Sac and Fox Reservation in Iowa. It was a striking object lesson in the matter of which you have heard this morning,—the fruitlessness of the reservation system. The Sac and Fox Reservation is in the midst of a teeming civilization in a farming country, and the people all about there are as fair samples of American citizenship in the agricultural districts as one could look for. There is a healthy sentiment among them about the Indians, as a rule. Yet we have drawn a line around the reservation, out of which no Indian shall come and into which no white man shall go. The result is, that these Indians have been there nearly a half-century, and are hardly advanced beyond the point at which they started. The houses in which they live give a fair idea of the degree of civilization they have reached. They are made of unplanned hemlock boards, and put up by the Indians themselves. They are built in a rather primitive fashion, and their most curious feature is the windows. A window consists of a movable clapboard hung on strap hinges which the family let down for light and air, and which they shut up when it is too cold or stormy. The way the houses are built is characteristic. They are carried up in the ordinary manner as far as the square goes, but the angles made by the gables are filled in with strips of bark and rush thatching, possibly because it is difficult to saw boards to fit, whereas the bark and thatch-work can be done with a jackknife. These Indians enjoy one advantage in being in a community where public sentiment is against the liquor traffic; for, in the few instances that have come to light for some years past, the white dealers who have sold liquor to the Indians have been vigorously prosecuted and judgment always found against them, so that it has become too dangerous a business even for those who are restrained by no moral scruples.

Another point of interest visited this summer was the Sisseton Agency, where the Indians have had allotments in severalty for some

years. They had their share of the common experience of double allotments being given to one Indian, while some other Indian was left out, through confusion of names. All this is in process of adjustment; but meanwhile it has borne one unpleasant fruit.

The Indians received this year a cash payment from the government, amounting to about \$34 per capita. The whites in the neighborhood, knowing that the Indians were to receive this money, planned to get all of it that they could. They came as near to the reservation as they dared, and set up gambling establishments and places for selling intoxicating liquors. The agent, Mr. Keller, by very hard work, had contrived to drive these people off for two or three years, going as far in that direction as he could within the law; but they carefully examined the map of the reservation and discovered that there was one little tract,—a quarter-section which seems to have been given to some Indian who had an allotment elsewhere, and been abandoned by him. This was just across a narrow ravine from the agency buildings. There the white sharpers set up a miniature city this summer, with their gambling shanties and liquor tents and all the rest, with the idea that the Indians, as fast as they got their money, would go there and be drawn into the net. That was the plan. But the agent warned the Indians, established a police cordon for their protection, and had some of the sharpers arrested. The dramsellers and gamblers were therefore forced to prey chiefly upon victims of their own color, and had a pretty unprofitable season as a whole. There is good reason to doubt whether the miniature city will be found there another year.

One word with regard to payments like this one, where the Treasury simply pours money into the Indians' laps. Here was a case where many of the Indians had been leading industrious lives; and, even admitting the existence of another element among them, their movement was generally upward. The prairie country on the reservation looks like a boundless sweep of dead level, but there are ravines here and there where trees grow. The more industrious Indians have been in the habit of cutting these trees and selling the wood for fuel. Mr. Baskervill, the missionary who is in charge of the Good-Will School about two miles from the agency, told me that he had been in the habit of laying in his stock of winter fuel by buying from the Indians, and until this year usually had his sheds partly filled by the middle of the summer. But this year, up to the time of my visit, in spite of all the efforts he had made, the Indians had been so excited and overwrought with the feeling that some money was coming to them for which they would not have to work, that only a few of them had even begun to cut their wood. A very few thrifty ones had brought in a little, but he did not know at that time just where he was to look for the bulk of his wood for the winter. Many of the farming Indians, too, had neglected to put in crops, or had sowed only small ones, for the same reason.

Another point I visited was La Pointe Agency in Wisconsin. This agency has seven reservations attached to it. Two of these, the Bad River and the Lac de Flambeau, have passed through a

wonderful transformation within a few years. Lieutenant Mercer, the acting Indian agent, is a young and energetic army officer, ambitious of making a record as a man of business. His force of character has brought upon him the wrath of a half-dozen mixed-bloods who had been in the habit, before he came, of running the agency as they pleased. Former agents seem to have been afraid of them. Mercer has taken hold of the lumbering interests of his Indians and is making a good thing out of them. He has concluded contracts with reputable lumber dealers, who have come in and set up mills costing from \$300,000 to \$350,000 apiece, and have cut the timber and sawed it into merchantable forms on the reservation, so that each Indian allottee gets the full value of every stick of wood growing on his allotment. I looked into a number of complaints which had reached me from La Pointe and found them utterly trivial; as a rule they had been instigated by people who were disposed to do everything they could to make trouble for the agent. Some of these mischief-makers have had to be dismissed from the reservation as incorrigible nuisances and stirrers-up of bad blood.

A good many of the Indians have been stimulated to work at the saw-mills and in the logging-camps. The contractors have honestly tried to carry out the idea of giving them the same pay as white men for the same work. The result is that at Bad River not only have some \$30,000 of the contractors' money been distributed among the Indians for work, but about \$60,000 more have gone out in the way of sub-contracts with Indians and mixed-bloods who have organized logging-camps.

The Red Cliff Reservation, another attached to La Pointe agency, contains about two hundred very industrious and worthy Indians. These men have struggled hard to get a living, and succeeded uncommonly well. One of their original industries—the most important one—was the net fishery in a bay adjoining the reservation. Recently, however, at the instigation of some white men engaged in the fishery business, with whom these Indians came into competition, the Legislature of Wisconsin passed a law forbidding such net-fishing as the Indians were engaged in. The result is that these poor fellows are thrown upon their backs. They have no other resources except farming in a small way, but they still put on a sturdy front and ask no odds of the government. They are most anxious now for the President's approval of an allotment plan which was submitted to Washington in their behalf several years ago, but which in some way was side-tracked. If the President could be induced to approve this allotment plan the Red Cliff Indians would continue to be self-supporting, for they could sell their growing timber.

Something has been said this morning with regard to the liquor bills which have been introduced into Congress. Contradictory attitudes have been taken in regard to this kind of legislation by our statesmen in Washington. I went to Senator Pettigrew a while ago to see whether the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs would not put one of these bills on its passage. He wanted to know what was the trouble with the laws we already had. I answered that they did

not go far enough,— we wanted some legislation to protect the Indians to whom allotments had been made. "No," he said, "we cannot do anything of that kind. It would be unconstitutional. Those Indians are citizens; and there is no way of preventing them, by United States law, from buying liquor if they want to."

As the House Committee had reported a liquor bill favorably, I sought a prominent member of that committee. "How is this?" I asked him. "You are a lawyer, and Senator Pettigrew is a lawyer; yet you have reported favorably on a bill which he refuses to recognize as constitutional." "Oh," he replied, "that whole constitutional question was argued in our committee till I grew tired and exclaimed, 'Gentlemen, we can talk over this thing till doomsday and get no nearer a conclusion. The only thing for us to do is to pass the bill and let the Constitution go to Ballyhack!'" When we can induce a few more Congressmen to take the view that it is the business of the courts, and not of Congress, to settle constitutional questions, we may get something done.

Miss M. C. COLLINS, Fort Yates, No. Dak.—I have just come from the West, almost directly from the Standing Rock Agency, and am glad to bring you some news which is encouraging. But I want to say to you first, dear friends, do not be too hopeful. Do not at once think that you have accomplished all there is to do, and that the government has done all it can do for the Indian people. There is a great work yet for Mohonk and for the Indian Rights Association to do. If an agency is all right, it will do no harm for you to watch it; and, if it is all wrong, you ought to know it.

I find on our reservation that the question which presents itself to us is, not the Indian problem, but the white man problem. Our Indians are ready to be civilized. Many are trying to become civilized, but their experience with white people is often such that we have constantly to remind them that all white men, even though they be dead, are not good.

Not long ago one of the old Indian chiefs, Grindstone, was in conversation with a non-progressive man who does not believe that it pays to put all our Indian youth into school. Grindstone is solemn, quiet, never speaks aloud or gets excited, but he said this to the other Indian, "My friend, there is one thing that Indians must learn: we must learn to take off our hats to the flag, we must learn to honor the Church, we must learn to support the schools." Patriotism, Christianity, and education, are what the Indians all need. We must Christianize them to civilize them. Grindstone was one of the followers of Sitting Bull and was in the battle of the Little Big Horn where Custer fell. He has all his life been considered one of the leading warriors among his people, an honorable man, a grand man, and he sees that the rising generation must live in a different way from past generations.

My work as a missionary brings me in contact with the people in their homes, and I can see a great improvement in the last few years. When I first reached there I could not in all the region buy

hay for my horses. No Indian ever put up hay. He had ponies, and when the snows did not fall too deep they could beat it away with their hoofs and get grass. But when the snow drifted up, sometimes forty feet deep, in the ravines, the ponies starved to death, or, if they survived, were hardly able to travel. This summer a large number of my people have put up from forty to one hundred tons of hay. When I first went there few cattle were owned by Indians. One of our men had nine, and that was about as large a herd as was found on the Grand River. Now we have a great many owning from twenty to seventy-five head. When I first tried to persuade them to take care of their cattle, it was up-hill work. A man with four or five cows usually had two or three calves, but accidents would happen to them and they would be killed and eaten. I remember taking a blackboard and putting the number of cows that one man had on the board, and explaining how they would increase naturally, and how, if they would keep these cattle, in ten years they would have a certain number. A man from a long distance came to me and asked me to explain it all to him again. He was one of the first to settle down, and has now sixty head; and some of the Indians say he is the stingiest man they ever saw, because no accident ever happens to his calves.

Our church work is under the American Missionary Association. We began ten years ago on Standing Rock Agency without a single church. To-day we have a large church and about two hundred adult members, besides the following within the families. I can tell by our Fourth of July celebrations what our following is, because the people divide by churches. It is almost impossible to make the people come together in one grand celebration; and the denominations, Episcopalian, Catholic, and ourselves, have separate celebrations, though they have tried to have but one. Last Fourth of July our Church of the Sacred Herald had fifteen hundred people present, almost all our own. That was a large meeting. Our Indians are learning to vote upon important questions and to carry on their own missionary societies. Until this year we have always had to do the great part of the work for the Fourth of July. This year I suggested that they have the celebration without asking me any question, unless there was a controversy to settle. They appointed their own committees and arranged their meeting, and raised their money for fireworks. They appointed their own speakers, and among others appointed an old-time Indian to represent the old times; and he did it, and he did as much for us as any of the speakers. We had one of the deacons of the church to represent the progressive Indians, a returned student to represent the students, the ministers to represent the church. When dinner came it was served by twelve young girls who had on new dresses, though it was very hot, of the most gorgeous scarlet and purple velvet with white aprons, and they waited on the tables beautifully. The dinner also was prepared by the Indians themselves. An Indian from another church asked one of our men, "How is it you know how to manage so well?" He replied, "They say it is because we are Congregationalists and have to govern ourselves."

In our missionary meetings we raised \$1,000 last year for native missionary work. At our last meeting, at Yankton, the question came up about new missionaries in the field, and our Indians raised enough to pay \$300 a year for three native missionaries, and they are never in debt. I will tell you why: because each year they have the money laid down in the hands of the treasurer to carry on the work for the next year. They had this year, after the salaries were paid, \$1,000 in hand. And when our missionary said, "The American Missionary Association is needing help so much, and this is their great jubilee year, we hope you will make a gift to that Association to carry on its work," the most hopeful said they thought they could give \$50, but it would be hard work to get it. They went out and appointed a committee, and the result was that they made a gift of \$300 to the American Missionary Association to help pay its debt. Then came the question of the Crow Indians. They need a missionary very much; and the question came up of sending a Sioux missionary to their old enemies, the Crows. The question was considered and decided that these Sioux Indians should raise another \$300 in addition to the \$900 already raised; and they will do it this year. This is the hopeful side, this is the Indian side of the question.

There is another side which is not so hopeful. It is true we have American schools among us, and it is true that the government in Washington is doing a great deal, perhaps all that it can; but it is a long way from Washington to the Indian reservation, and there are a great many to come between our Indian Commissioner and School Superintendent (Dr. Hailmann, I mean) and our Indians.

We have three or four police judges among our Indians, and it seems to me it would be a good plan for them to learn to be citizens by electing these police judges themselves. Why not? They are appointed now by the agent. He sometimes appoints a good man, just the right man; but it is not every agent who can select a man for a judge that will please the Indians. The Indians would be satisfied with a man whom the majority of them had chosen. If those Indians could learn something about voting, and the necessity of standing by a man, it would be worth everything to our people. Wouldn't it be well for us to begin to learn something about citizenship before acting as citizens? Our government schools are largely under the agent.

We have a fine superintendent. No one would criticise Dr. Hailmann; but he is not on the reservation. And it seems to me that each Indian reservation should have an assistant superintendent who could be reached by every teacher and every employee on the reservation connected with our government schools, without the delay of appealing to Washington in all the difficulties that arise. No city would attempt to carry on its great schools with no one but a State superintendent to have the oversight of them. If it did, their schools would be failures. A good superintendent in Washington, assisted and strengthened by good and efficient educators as supervisors, and good men of high standing as agency-school superintend-

ents, could in a few years so grade our government schools that after a time they would naturally fall into line with the ordinary public system.

Mr. WELSH.—Is there organized opposition to the bill preventing the sale of liquor to Indian allottees, or is it simply indifference which prevents its passage?

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—I do not think there is any organized opposition. I think it is indifference on the part of our members of Congress. I wish the subject could be brought up again during the coming winter.

Mr. WELSH.—Do you think such a law would be unconstitutional, as Senator Pettigrew claims?

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—With all due respect to Senator Pettigrew, whom in many respects I highly esteem, I do not think such a law unconstitutional. It was drawn up by Commissioner Browning himself, and he is a good lawyer.

Dr. RYDER.—Miss Collins has done a great deal for the physical condition of the people. I should like to ask her if there is any improvement in the health of women and children on the reservation.

Miss COLLINS.—The best way I can judge of that is by my congregations in church on Sunday. When I first went there I was not troubled very much with little children in the congregation. Now the house is pretty well filled with them. It is very rare for the Christian people to lose their children now. They have learned to feed and clothe them properly, and, having done away with the old-time methods, the mothers do not stand out watching the dances with the baby on their backs freezing to death. There is great improvement in their health.

QUESTION.—How is it about returned Indians?

Miss COLLINS.—I have never known of a single case where a returned Indian student relapsed to barbarism. I know one man who came home who had learned to bake bread, and wash and iron; and when I visited his home, his house, which had been a one-room cabin, he had enlarged by building on a room and had put in a floor in place of the dirt floor. And there were white curtains, and a shelf on the wall where he had his Hampton books, and he had taught his mother to wash and iron. He bought a dress for his mother and asked me to cut it out, as he had never been taught to make dresses.

QUESTION.—Are you troubled with many squaw men?

Miss COLLINS.—Not so much on our reservation, because an order was issued that every white man should be legally married to any Indian woman with whom he was living.

QUESTION.—Are the Indians ready to accept medicine from the white doctor?

Miss COLLINS.—Yes, there is no difficulty about that now.

QUESTION.—Do the old medicine men have much influence at your agency?

Miss COLLINS.—Not very much; the people are beginning to be

Dr. STIMSON.—I knew something of the work in that neighborhood before Miss Collins went out there; for, twenty-five years ago, in the days of Dr. Williamson and the elder Riggs, I was there, and I knew the Indians. At that time I saw mills and engines unused, representing thousands of dollars, that had been out there for the Indians. I saw houses for Indian chiefs, costing from \$2,000 to \$3,000, which had never been occupied. That was the standard of progress which had been made by the government in its effort to civilize the Indian at that time. There was an intelligent agent striving to do his best, but he found himself checked in his work, and his work destroyed, and himself cast out, by the machinations of selfish men who were able to use the efforts of the Indian in the East to do the work of the devil in destroying the work of good men. I know when Miss Collins came out there, and how the Indians learned to love her as Winona. I shall not forget when Indians first came to the communion service there wrapped in blankets. We need to go only about half way back to that time to reach those public meetings when some of us pleaded for citizenship and rights of property for the Indians; and our ideas were treated as chimerical. The progress which has been made in the short time which has passed since Miss Collins undertook her work with vigor, intelligence, and hopefulness, deserves our hearty tribute.

Rev. Egerton R. Young was next introduced by President Gates as a Canadian Missionary, who had spent a number of years among the Cree and Saulteaux Indians in the Hudson Bay Territories.

WORK IN CANADA.

Mr. YOUNG.—My work for a number of years was in the far north in Canada. There the only inhabitants are Indians, with the exception of the fur traders and their families. The powerful Hudson Bay Company have been in existence for over two hundred years. They obtained their charter from Charles I. On the whole their treatment of the Indians has been fair and honorable.

I went out to that land as a missionary in 1868. At the time my Church called me to this missionary work, I was pastor of a flourishing church in the City of Hamilton, in Canada.

One strong motive that caused my good wife, with me, to resolve to go to that far-away land and isolated work, was, if fur-traders are willing to go and live in such regions for the sake of getting rich in bartering their goods for the valuable furs of the Indians, what is our religion worth if we are not willing to make equal sacrifices for the spiritual and eternal welfare of the Indians?

We were two months and nineteen days on the journey. We often refer to it as our honeymoon trip, as we had only been a short time married.

As St. Paul for a time was our nearest city, we were about 1,200 miles from civilization. Our nearest post-office was 400 miles away, and we waited six months for our daily newspaper.

Our first habitation was a substantial log house. Soon after we had taken up our abode in it, we had a long talk with the Indians and tried to get into a good understanding with them. We told them that in spite of all that had been said against them as to their being thievish and unreliable and ungrateful, we were going to trust them; and so no matter how others had thought best to act toward them, our plan was to trust them, and then see how they would act toward us. So we took the fastenings off the windows, the bolt off the doors, and the keys out of the locks, and were never particular afterward in locking or fastening up anything. Grandly did they respond to this confidence reposed in them, and never did we have stolen from us anything of the value of a sixpence.

While learning their language so as to be able to talk to them, we, as all the missionaries everywhere among them have been doing, introduced the study of English into the schools, and now in our older missions all the children and many of the older people can talk in English. At an old mission I lately visited among the Oneidas, I spoke to the children in Indian. At my words the children were amazed, as they now know only the English language. Looking at this from the sentimental side, it may seem a matter of regret that these Indian languages, some of them so poetical, should be forgotten and entirely disappear; but if we are going to build up a great magnificent America, with its two great divisions, Canada and the United States, let it be a mighty people speaking one language.

I would here desire to add my testimony to what has been well said on the subject of the missionary being a medical man. To be able to administer to the sick and diseased among them gives him a marvellous influence for good over them.

Then the missionary who would be a success among the Indians must be a man who is willing and able to put himself at their head, and show them that good, honest, hard physical toil is not degrading. The pagan Indian hates labor. He leaves it all to the women. He can be active enough when hunting or fishing, but he simply abominates the axe, and the spade, and the hoe. "Let the women do all that work!" is his cry. So the minister or missionary who would succeed must show him by example that it is not degrading to toil.

But the grandest triumphs only come by putting Christianity first. Civilization, with its many blessings, then follows very much more easily, and abides.

Long years ago, we had a governor in Canada who tried to civilize a tribe of Indians without the gospel. It was not a success. In spite of his feasting them, and pleading with them to go to work as they saw the white settlers doing, they only hung the bright new axes around their necks as ornaments, and then made a fire of the wooden ploughs and harrows, and ate up the oxen sent among them for use.

That is a sample of the efforts to civilize without first sending the gospel. When the gospel enters into their hearts, the very horizon of life seems to widen. Then the once listless, careless, cruel tyrants go to the missionaries and say, "Cannot you help us to a better life here also?"

Marvellous have been the real and abiding blessings conferred upon them. See those Northern Indians. They lived altogether by fishing and hunting; and the missionaries and their families of those days had to live about as the natives did. Fancy fish, twenty-one times a week, as the staple food for six months; then, game of various kinds, such as bear's meat, reindeer, muskrats, beavers, and an almost endless variety of other things of that kind, the rest of the year!

Until the fertile prairies of Manitoba began to be cultivated, and flour transported into that Northland, bread was a thing unknown. In the petition in the Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," the intelligible translation is, "Give us this day something to keep us in life." So it was with the ordinary garden vegetables. They were unknown in many places. Fruits were never dreamed of. Once, when on a missionary lecturing tour in Toronto, some friend gave our only son — then a little lad of about five years of age — an apple. He did not know what to do with it. When told to eat it, he began at it very carefully, and when a piece of the thin core got in between his teeth, he threw the half-eaten part down on the floor and exclaimed, indignantly, "I don't like this potato; it has too many fish-scales in it."

Well, we rejoice to be able to report that a better state of things now obtains there. The missionaries have helped them; and the result is, the people are vastly better off.

Some of my own experiments were interesting and suggestive. We have, in the far Northland, only four months in which there is any growth. The summer is short and brilliant; the winter long and severe. At one place I succeeded in getting out for planting some seeds of hardy vegetables, and also four potatoes. As the season was half gone when my four potatoes arrived from the South, I only succeeded in raising from them some little ones about the size of acorns. However, we carefully packed them away from the frost in our hot dining-room, in cotton wool, and then, planting them the next year, we obtained from them a large pailful of splendid potatoes. These yielded the next year about six bushels. The next year the crop was up to one hundred and twenty-five bushels. Then the raising became quite universal among the people. I did my first ploughing with dogs. Eight good dogs were able to draw my plough very nicely. With my dogs I also harrowed in my grain. They were the substitutes in place of horses and oxen, and were of great use to me, as, with them, I travelled some thousands of miles each winter on my long, long journeys to remote bands of Indians in the more distant wilderness. So interested and pleased did those Indians become in their efforts to cultivate the soil, that a large number of them, under the guidance of their missionaries, migrated some hundreds of miles south, to a place called Fish River, in the northern part of Manitoba. Here the Canadian government has given them a splendid reservation, fourteen miles long and seven wide. I wish here to put in my most emphatic testimony to the kindly interest our Canadian government takes in the welfare of the Indians

of our country. We have never had in Canada an Indian war. We allow no Indian agent to swindle or rob the natives. We punish most severely any man who tries to sell intoxicating liquors to them.

I visited the Fish River Reservation in 1893. I was delighted with what I saw. I spent a week in the house of one of the Indians. It was as clean as could be desired. The food cooked by them was abundant and wholesome. In some of the houses there were Canada organs and sewing-machines; and the native women and girls could use them fairly well. When I worshipped with them on the Sabbath I found them well dressed in the garments of civilization; and they were devout and attentive listeners as I preached to them the old gospel that they still love as in the days of yore when it lifted them up out of the darkness and superstition of paganism into the light of Christianity.

Their old habits and customs are now almost things of the past. They love to imitate the whites in various ways. At one church a bride of a fur-trader came to church with a pretty little lace veil that reached just below her nose. The Indian girls, who had put their luxuriant hair up in nets, when they saw this veil during prayers dragged their nets forward over their heads, and hitched them on their noses in imitation of the white lady.

This constant watching on their part made us careful to ever set before them a good example.

Marvellous has been the transformation wrought among them. They can be saved. Pity that the great people of this great continent did not set about the work earlier!

Well, we will rejoice at what is now being done. We all thank God for Mohonk and for Mr. and Mrs. Smiley. May the good work go on; and, while the educating and civilizing work is making such glorious strides, let us, as Christians, not forget that if we want to have a real and abiding civilization and uplifting of these Indians, we must send them the Bible and the knowledge of the great truths of the gospel as therein recorded. Then the work will not be in vain, and neither will it be easily overturned.

Second Session.

Wednesday Evening, October 14.

The Conference was called to order at 8 P.M., and Mrs. Mary L. Eldridge, field matron from New Mexico, was introduced.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—It is always best to remember that our Navajo Indians are not fed or supported by the government in any way, but are self-supporting. They have for many years lived upon the products of their herds of sheep. The men used to own ponies and great flocks, but the fall in the price of wool has left them without any means of subsistence, and they are now going through the transition from herders to farmers. Five years ago my friend, Miss Raymond, and myself were sent by the Missionary Society to work among the Navajoes. When the request went to the agent for a locality for us, he said, "Put those women just as far from the agency as you can; we don't want missionary women watching us and reporting." So we were sent into the very northern part of the reservation where we had about three-fourths of an acre of land. Back of us rose two mountains five or six hundred feet high. South was a river, and our open side was toward the plains. We were there when it was very cold, but a tent was given to us which we lived in for six weeks. In the mean time the Indians came about us and informed us that they had no use for white people and the quicker we got off the better it would please them. It was not a very encouraging beginning. Then a few weeks' serious illness broke out among them; and, as they had been growing very poor for two or three years and were not able to employ a medicine-man, they came to us for help and we were able to help them by giving them medicine. At the end of six weeks we found that we were to be allowed to stay, and so we built a small house of rough timber and in that we stayed through the winter. The Indians gradually came to us more and more, and in this way we got hold of them. The Navajoes are very independent Indians. They are very hard-working men and women. They were just finding out that they could not live longer on the proceeds of their flocks and were wondering how they should subsist. Nothing can be raised there except by irrigation, and we made them understand that they must take out water upon the lands and raise their own corn and wheat. Soon after we found some of our men had begun working to dig a ditch. The ditch was to be eight or nine feet deep at the head, and a mile in length before the water would be available for irrigation. For tools they had only an old axe, a broken-handled shovel, and a pick from some white man; and with these three tools they had begun work. About that time money was

sent to us by the Cambridge Association, some seventy-five dollars, with which we bought tools for the Indians. They kept up this work all winter and well into the spring; but it was not completed in time, and they raised little that year. The second year they raised a very good crop of corn and some wheat, which they cut with their butcher knives and cleaned in the old-time way such as we read about in the Bible. Following out this plan of putting in the ditches and getting something for the people to eat, ditches were put on both sides of the river and gardens made and homes started. There are not, however, enough irrigation ditches yet.

We have had some curious experiences among these people. One man came to our place two years ago and wanted to have us take his boy of sixteen in hand, because he would not work. He wanted one of us to whip his boy. We asked how much the boy had to eat every day. He said he had a handful of parched corn in the morning and another at night. I issued flour and coffee to the man and told him to take his boy home and feed him well and then put a shovel in his hands. If he worked well all the forenoon to give him a good dinner, and if he worked poorly to give him very little, and if he did not work at all to give him no dinner. The plan worked to perfection, and the man came up the next week and said his boy was doing splendidly.

The people are ingenious in all kinds of work, the women especially. They do not, as a general thing, work in the field. They herd the sheep. The sheep belong to the women, and the ponies to the men. They spin well, and make the yarn from which they make the blankets. The weaving is very primitive. The beams are stretched between two trees, and this primitive loom is carried about with them when they move from place to place. They devise their own patterns for the blankets. One of the blankets I have for sale here took a woman one hundred and twenty days to weave; and I do not suppose her work counted for more than twenty-five cents a day. The spinning of the yarn would certainly have taken another hundred days. The Navajoes are now trying to make homes. That is their strongest love.

About forty-five miles south-west of our place is a wash coming down from the mountains. Two years ago, when they had a good deal of snow, they built a rude dam and made a reservoir in which the snow-water was held and carried by side ditches on to the sand; and for miles up and down there were nice crops of corn, wheat, melons, and squashes. This year there is not a hill of corn there, and nothing raised at all in that vicinity. On the north side of the reservation the white people have taken out no ditches from the irrigation fund. All that has been done has been done by Indians. We have had the service of no surveyor.

Five years ago if we had talked to them about allotments they would have been very angry. Now they are anxious to have homes and allotments.

That part of the country has been a rendezvous for criminals of all

kinds, people trying to get away from arrest. They sell whiskey to our Indians and gamble with them, and it has been very hard on that account. The only power we have in the matter is the moral power which we can exercise. These Indians with whom we associate every day it is comparatively easy to keep straight, but where they are miles away it is difficult. The question of the Utes being settled in our vicinity is a very serious matter for us. Those Utes who would not take allotments of land are to be brought down within eight miles of the Navajo Indians. They are ration-fed and they are to be placed in a location where they will have to be fed always, for they can do nothing whatever with the land. We object very strongly to having them placed so near our Navajoes. Of course our Indians are not all good, and the bad ones will be made worse to be among the Utes where they can gamble and get whiskey.

The Navajoes are a reverent people. They will not accept a statement as to our belief very readily. They want to know our proof. They say we cannot see the white man's God. Where is he? And if there is a God, why don't the white people behave as if there were one? They say a great many white people will do things that no Navajo will do. They give us pretty hard questions to answer sometimes; for instance, when they say, "If the white people have always known that there is a God, why have not they told us so before our fathers and mothers died? They never heard of any God." They also say, "Now my father was a good man: he did not steal, he did not lie, he did not kill anybody; but he knew nothing of this God you are telling us about. Now what has become of my father? Will he be lost forever because people did not come and tell him that there is a God?"

It is very touching. I think every Indian worker finds it so when he comes to face this question; and it seems to me it is a blot upon our Christianity that within fifteen hundred miles of us there are probably 20,000 people who have never heard of God.

Now we do not ask rations for our Navajoes. We do not want them to be fed. We do ask that they shall have tools to work with. They are not able to buy them. We ask that the government shall furnish all that they need for their work. We ask also that they shall have good schools. If a school could be put in operation upon the Navajo reservation the children would go naturally from the day schools to the larger schools in the East as naturally as our white children go from our public schools to college. But the great thing that our people are asking for is industrial training. They are anxious to know how to do work of every kind in the best way. Some are employed by white farmers in the vicinity, farmers who pay a white man \$1.50 a day and give him his board, but they hire our Navajoes for fifty cents a day; and at the same time they say our Navajoes do more work than the white men. It seems to me that if an Indian does just as good work he should receive the same amount of money for it. I suppose this will naturally right itself after a while.

QUESTION.—Is there any timber near you?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—There is very little timber in that country north of the reservation. Any timber for building purposes must be drawn about 135 miles, and they have no wagons and their ponies are very small. Laid down in our valley it costs \$38 a thousand; so the question of building is a very serious one, for the Navajoes have no money.

QUESTION.—How many people come under your care?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—Our line runs about 25 miles to the east of us, 30 to the west, and 35 to the south, and we are supposed to visit the different camps and help them in every way we can.

QUESTION.—Do they speak English?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—No, very few of them. We have an interpreter who speaks good English.

QUESTION.—Do they wish to learn English?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—Yes, they are very anxious to. That is their chief object in asking for schools. It is all they care to learn except industrial training.

QUESTION.—If the Navajoes could have modern looms for weaving their blankets, don't you think they would appreciate them?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—They would not be Navajo blankets then. They might appreciate the looms, but I do not think they would get money enough out of them to make them appreciate the difference in the time saved; for, as I say, after all, they would not be Navajo blankets. I should like to have them have a scouring-mill and a spinning-jenny so that they can work up their own wool, but I should prefer to have the blankets made after the old-fashioned Navajo style.

QUESTION.—Are the two blankets that you have on exhibition for sale, and at what price?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—Yes, they are for sale; the better one is \$100, and the next is \$75.

QUESTION.—Have you ever made an effort to change their method of weaving?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—No, we have not; because our people have been on the verge of starvation, and our efforts have been in the line of getting them to raise farm produce to keep them alive. We have been farmers among them.

QUESTION.—Where do they get their colors for dyeing the wool?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—They are their own colors. Where they get the blue no one has found out. The red is made from the bark of a certain tree, and the yellow from certain flowers.

QUESTION.—Can they get those colors now?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—Yes: but the trouble is, they are not able to get money enough for their blankets to pay them, and they now use Germantown wool.

QUESTION.—Do they make baskets?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—Very few.

Mr. GARRETT.—I have a theory that the Navajoes could be taught skilled industries and be enabled to make considerable money.

Gen. EATON.—I think Mr. Garrett is right. It reminds me of efforts made in Europe to teach the women of different countries different industries. In Ireland, for instance, they found rude industries and taught the people how to improve them, and transformed the condition of a population of about one hundred thousand people, so that where they had at one time no income, it amounted afterward to about \$80,000. If Mrs. Eldridge had a little help I think this could be done among the Navajoes. Something similar has been done in Liberia.

Mr. JAMES WOOD.—I want to take Mrs. Eldridge's side against Mr. Garrett. If made by a modern loom they would no longer be a Navajo blanket. I spent some time last spring looking into this question, and I found that it is a unique blanket, different from any other made in the world. Mr. Garrett probably has upon his floors at home, rugs brought from various parts of Asia. Why does he buy those expensive rugs? Because he could not get them from any other part of the world. A machine-made rug is not like a rug for which he pays hundreds of dollars. The Navajo is a unique blanket and it is a great surprise that so many people know so little about it. No other blanket in the world can give such service as a Navajo blanket. Miners will pay \$75 for them when they could get a machine-made blanket for \$10. Why? Because when he lies down under it he has an absolutely waterproof covering. He can roll himself into one and lie in the melting snow and be perfectly dry, and there is no other blanket in which that can be done. Mrs. Eldridge is absolutely right. Here is one of the marvels of our country, that this aboriginal people, so different from all other people or other tribes on this continent, have developed of themselves an important and unique industry. Let us, right in the line of their development, help them not to make something that shall be a drug in the market but that shall be unique. I saw there three years ago clips piled up because they had no market value, and my heart was wrung for these poor people when I saw this source of income, for which they are deserving of the greatest credit, cut off. They were on the verge of starvation because their industry was ruined.

One thing more. We are told here to-night that they have no patterns from which to weave these blankets, that the designs are carried altogether in their mind. I wish some one would tell us how it is that these patterns made by the Navajoes and the patterns made by the Norwegians five hundred years ago are identically the same. I can show you a Norwegian rug which, hung up side by side with that one, would almost defy you to tell one from the other so far as the pattern and color are concerned.

QUESTION.—How are these twenty thousand Indians going to get through the coming winter?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—They still have some of their flocks, and when they get very hungry they will kill and eat their horses.

QUESTION.—Do you think this Conference ought to ask for an appropriation to buy flour for them?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—No. We are an independent people, and it hurts us to take rations just as much as it hurts white people.

Captain R. H. Pratt was asked to speak.

Capt. PRATT.—I want to add a word to the discussion about the Navajoes. Those people live in the poorest of houses. They move easily from place to place following their sheep; and this simple loom which enables them to produce these blankets they can roll up and carry on the pony's back, and hang it up wherever they camp.

Gen. EATON.—Have you ever had any of them as students, and what would you train them in?

Capt. PRATT.—I have some now. I have one who is a successful machinist, who earns \$3 a day,—having acquired that ability and worth in four years. That is the kind of industry I would teach them. I would get them all the abilities of civilization, and then let them swim around in it until they were saturated and could stand as individual men. I believe in ending Indian life in this country by making them individual and citizen. I believe if we force the issues to bring that about with just about the same vim we now force them to remain Indians and tribes, the object will soon be accomplished. We place and arm an agent with authority, give him a body of policemen, and a great deal of machinery to hold the Indians together as tribes, to hold the Navajoes on their reservation, for instance, and, in the mean time, white men go in and steal their tribal resources of living, their water, perhaps, by going a few miles above to the source of the river, and occupy the land, and run ditches, and use all the water, so that the poor Indian is left without a possibility of making a living.

During the summer I was in Arizona on the Pima, Marecopa Reservation. The white men belonging to the town above these Indians have absolutely taken just about all the water that the river affords; and the bottom lands along the river—that the Indians had cultivated by irrigation, and from which they had gained support for generations—are now barren. As a possible relief, the government had civil engineers digging down and trying to find a sufficient water supply, which was to be lifted to the surface with powerful machinery for the benefit of the Indians. As an ignorant people unable to cope with us, in mass they are perfectly helpless. As individuals taught some civilized industry, I care not what (blacking boots on the street would be respectable), they are manly, and they will soon grow so that they may stand here as the next speaker who follows me has grown, and become independent, until we can and must respect them. An Indian, earning his own living by the sweat of his brow, moving about as a man in the United States, is surely worth dozens of the helpless Indians to whom we give 160 acres of land, and who cannot speak our language and who have to be rationed year after year.

The other day, a preacher came to see my foot-ball boys practise, and a friend of mine heard him talking about the Indian school afterward, and he said, "If the government of the United States has nothing better for the Indians to do than to play foot-ball, I am going to quit taking up collections in my church for Indian mission-

ary work." If, through foot-ball, Indian boys can kick themselves into association and competition with white people, I would give every one a foot-ball. The Carlisle foot-ball team is out on a campaign this year. I have endeavored to bring them to the top in foot-ball as well as in other matters, and have urged my manager to get skilful instructors and to play only big games. The score this year has been with Dickinson College,—Indians, 28, Dickinson College, 6; with the DuQuesne Athletic Society, of Pittsburg, made up largely of college foot-ball men,—Indians, 18; DuQuesne, 0. To-day they play with Princeton, and a telegram says that Princeton scores 22, and the Indians, 6.

President GATES.—To score against Princeton is a good afternoon's work for any eleven.

Capt. PRATT.—Next week Saturday they play with Yale on the Manhattan Field, New York; on the 24th they play with Harvard at Cambridge; on the 7th of November with Pennsylvania University in Philadelphia. They may not score with any of them, but they play well enough to make themselves respected by the champions in this great game.

I talk to you every year about our outing system, pushing the Indians out into civilization. This year the school has had about six hundred pupils out, and their aggregate earnings amounted to almost \$20,000. They have in the bank, on interest at 6 per cent., about \$17,000 of their own earnings and savings. We have 805 students representing 61 tribes.

The question of getting the children away from the reservation came up this morning, and I was delighted with Miss Collins's answers. There was frankness and honesty about them. But can you not see that when you say to an Indian, "Now, my friend, this is your country and your home, and it is dear to you, of course. You have a family, and you love your children, and you want to be civilized like the white man; and we propose to bring our civilization all about you. You can do just as well here on the reservation. You can get your education here as well as at Carlisle or Hampton. Just stay here, and let your children go to school here where you can see them." Do you not see that that sort of influence is calculated to hinder the Indian going away to school? Then, these reservation influences demand that no child shall be taken away from the reservation without the child's consent and the parents' consent, given in writing before the agent,—which adds to the difficulty of getting recruits; but we do get them. Carlisle never had so many students as it has this fall. We are in better shape than ever, and ready for the winter campaign.

I contend that the person who will hold the Indian to his narrow reservation influences is himself narrow, and the person who will push the Indian out into the wider opportunity of good civilized surroundings has the broader better plan. That is the spirit of Miss Collins. She said she wished more could go to the Eastern schools. We shall have the Indian problem just so long as we have distinct communities of Indians. We must in some way break up the Ind-

ian community. We must help them to move about into our civilization, and when we consider that there are only about 250,000 Indians and that we can annually take in 500,000 Italians, Hungarians, and other immigrants and scatter them about in our great American community, and when within two and a half centuries we can bring from the tropical zone and the other side of the earth eight million of black savages and civilize and citizenize them as a useful part of our population, it does seem that in three or four centuries our Indians ought to be brought into the same condition. If the reservation system is so good, why not pass laws to establish reservations for Italians, for Hungarians, and other nationalities each with its agent, and have Hungarian and Italian Commissioners in Washington each with a great bureau? What a mess we would have!

No one can say I am opposed to missionaries. I have probably contributed my fair share to sustain home and foreign missionaries. I believe in them, but I do believe also that all of the influences at work on the Indians should be directed toward this emigration movement, if you can call it so. The Nez Percés are worse off now than they were four years ago before land in severalty was given to them. They are drinking and becoming so debased that it has become a problem whether we shall save any of them or not. Such are the conditions among their people at home that of their own notion the young people at Carlisle from that tribe have determined to stay at Carlisle. This conference will perform its highest duty to the Indians by helping them to break up their tribal relations and escape from their reservation influences and the hindrances to their development coming from being banded together as Indians.

QUESTION.—What portion of your students settle down in the East?

Capt. PRATT.—Very few. Do you want to know why? The Indian Department thinks it is a good thing for Indian youth to go back to their tribes, and it offers to all capable graduates and others place and salary for work among the Indians. They are thus lured and enticed to go back. That is the reason we do not have more of them in the East, not because there is not to be found plenty of work for them to do East. Rations, annuities, lands, and other enticements also abound. Many of them if they go back are not obliged to work. An Osage Indian is paid two hundred and fifty dollars a year in quarterly instalments. What incentive has he to work? He can live on that without work. Many of them hire the white men to work for them.

There are twenty to thirty Apaches belonging to the same band as the next speaker who are earning their own living in Pennsylvania. One of the Apache boys is employed in the great Pennsylvania Steel work at Steelton. He is a skilful blacksmith. The superintendent was at Carlisle at the last commencement, and this young man showed various articles that he had made, and this superintendent offered him a job if he would come over; and he has been there ever since last March working successfully and really causing some anxiety among white men because he has been promoted to a higher

salary and responsibility than the white men who have been there longer. We have skilful housekeepers and nurses among our Indian girls. No nurses in this country have received higher praise for their untiring watchfulness and care and for their skill than some of my Indian girls.

President GATES.—We have learned that the problem is very complex, that different tribes of Indians have different characteristics, and that all these workers are accomplishing something toward the solution of the problem. We are to hear next from a young Indian who was taken captive during General Crook's campaign. He was brought East in 1880 and shifted for himself, doing such work as he could, until he attracted the attention of the Bureau of Ethnology for which he did some work in preparing for the exhibition at Chicago. He is now studying at Exeter, N.H. I will ask Mr. Antonio Apache to speak.

Mr. Apache spoke in substance as follows :—

Mr. ANTONIO APACHE.—It gives me great pleasure to find so many friends of the Indians ; for often I have thought that we had none. The Indians have been mistreated in many ways ; and they will continue to be unless they have more friends than at present. I have visited nearly all the tribes in the United States ; and I know that the Indians are willing to take care of themselves if we give them an opportunity. I think that rations are detrimental to the Indians. When I was at the Sisseton Agency, they told me that ten years ago some of them had good farms ; but when government began to give them money they stopped farming. I never found a man who would work if money was given to him.

The way to help the Indian is to help him to make his own way, and give him something practical to do.

As to schools,—the children go to school, but they cannot learn anything at home. And, when they come out of school, and go home, they lose what they have learned. The only way to educate them, and make them self-supporting, is to take them away from their surroundings. They learn more by imitation than in any other way.

In visiting the different tribes I have found less vice and crime in proportion to their numbers than in civilized communities. I have found some good hearts under a buckskin shirt. The great trouble is there has been too little justice given to the Indians. People have talked a great deal about trouble with the Apaches ; but the Apaches have usually been justified. Troubles arise from disturbances occasioned by the white people in the vicinity. Much of this has been brought on by lack of management on the part of the officers in charge. These officers are not appointed for ability or fitness. I have found many men among the Indians who were not qualified to take care of them. The agent has got to be a broad, liberal-minded man. I have seen farmers, too, who had not visited the farms of

the Indians for two years. You can't expect to make farmers of Indians under such instructions. I have seen men sent out as agents where irrigation had to be developed; and they did not know anything about it, and cared less. I don't know whose responsibility this is; but I think it ought to be the responsibility of the government to see to it. In some places the agents do not care anything about developing the resources of the reservation. In some cases, too, many are made the tools of the agent. There is room for improvement here. The only thing that the Indian asks is that your country shall be their country, and where you make your home their home shall be, and your God shall be their God.

Bishop H. B. Whipple was invited to speak.

Bishop WHIPPLE.—I always listen with great pleasure to my friend Captain Pratt. Perhaps you do not know that we were fellow-soldiers in this warfare twenty years ago. He had a number of Indian prisoners at St. Augustine, and we conferred together and organized a school, and several nights in the week I preached to them the dear old story of the love of Jesus Christ. I love Captain Pratt because he is a man of intense convictions. He is quite sure of his foundations. He is every inch a soldier, and in his line he has done a noble and grand work for the country and for the Indian; but I think you will agree that he has not told you all of the missionary side of the Indian question. I have no argument about missions. I have no story of hardships connected with missions. As I look back upon my life I see that I have learned lessons among the Indians, and in the mission work, that I should not have learned. I have seen sorrow. I have had eight hundred of my fellow-citizens lying in nameless graves, and in that sorrow what did I do? I read again the story of the hopefulness of Jesus Christ for humanity. In his love I tried to love all that he loves. I wish I could tell the story to-night of how this passion for humanity has drawn hearts together and how it has brought forth the most abundant fruit. More than twenty-five years ago I, an Episcopal bishop, was asked to be present at the annual meeting of the Quakers of the United States assembled in Baltimore. They asked me to talk to them about these poor Indian brothers. A few weeks later I was asked to the annual meeting of the Hicksite branch of the Quakers. Well, there came a day—and it was a dark day—that I received a message from the Indian country saying there was not food enough to last. I borrowed money from the bank to supply them temporarily; these Quakers from Philadelphia sent me \$2,000 to feed and care for these Indians. I have no tale of hardships, no tale of failure. The only failure is failure to do God's work. Just as certain as the promises of God are sure, we shall succeed if we work in God's way.

Among the Indians, where thirty-eight years ago there was drunken revelry, at my last visit a church that would seat four hundred persons was filled. One hundred of these were communicants.

I was there for ten days and I did not see a single blanket Indian. We have ten Indian churches there. That is not failure. Our Indian clergy are doing good work as pastors of the flock of Christ. I have seen the most beautiful instances of the power of religion in some of these men whom I first saw with painted faces and who are to-day living a civilized life toiling with their hands and helping to solve the problem that we all desire to solve.

I want to give you an instance in the life of that Christian worker, ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes. He was a great friend of the Indians. He tried to do Christ's work. You know that the South felt that the vote of Florida and Louisiana had been stolen for Mr. Hayes from Mr. Tilden and that Mr. Hayes was unjustly elected president. This must be remembered as I tell my story. I am one of the oldest members of the Peabody Trustees, and we have a rule that when there is a vacancy in the Board of Trustees it shall be filled if it is in the North by a Northerner, in the South by a Southerner. The chief justice of Tennessee had died and the nomination for his successor fell to the Southern trustees. There was Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, Richard Taylor, the right hand of Stonewall Jackson, H. R. Johnson, Governor Aiken of South Carolina, and other Southern men. But Alexander Stuart said the Southern members asked the privilege of nominating a Northern man to fill the vacancy, one whom they wished to honor for his high Christian character, his incorruptible integrity and his even-handed justice to the South,—Rutherford B. Hayes. I thought of that incident as I listened to the speech of that earnest Christian woman this morning.

I know something about the Navajoes. Thirty-eight years ago I began to investigate the history of the different tribes, and as far as possible I read everything I could find connected with the history of the Indians, and so I learned about the Navajoes. When we bought New Mexico, we bought a war with the Navajoes. We sent Kit Carson down to conquer the Navajoes; and he said he found one orchard of twelve hundred peach-trees. At the end of the war the Navajoes were moved, and put where it was impossible for them to live. They were dying off. General Sherman visited them. An old chief came to the general, and said, "My people are dying." The general asked the chief, "Where do you wish to go?" The old chief put his finger on the map, and pointed out his old home, and said, "We want to go there." "Well, you shall go," said Sherman. "My people are sick, and cannot travel," said the chief. "Well, I will send them in wagons," said Sherman. And the old chief looked at him for a moment, and said, "I call you my brother, but my people will think you are God"; and he threw his arm round General Sherman's neck. General Sherman was an old Indian fighter, and I have had as many spats with him as with any man I ever knew; but he loved me as a brother, and I loved him; and, in that famous report of his, he said, "The Indian problem will be solved, like a good many others, by a sentence in the old Book, which says, 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.'"

In a paper which I wrote thirty-six years ago on this Indian question, I emphasized these things: first, the folly of teaching Indian children in their own language; after learning they have no books to read; second, the impossibility of the Indian becoming civilized without government. And, let me say, we have not reached that point yet. Many of the difficulties of which Captain Pratt speaks can be solved the moment we give him exactly the same protection as we give to the white man. Third, individual rights of property. These, with the religion of Jesus Christ, will give to the Indian, as it has given to man all through the ages, manhood and freedom. There is no room for being discouraged. Let us put our shoulder to the wheel, and do all we can. God's hand is over us, and the end is sure.

Bishop Whipple closed by introducing Assistant Bishop Gilbert. Bishop Gilbert was invited to speak.

Bishop GILBERT.—In the old days, before I knew this side of the Indian question, I thought Bishop Whipple was an idealist, and that he allowed his heart to run away with his judgment. Now I have entirely changed my mind, and am an entire convert. For many years I lived among the miners of Montana; and I never heard one of them say a good word of the Indian. When I was elected as assistant to Bishop Whipple, I said, "I am perfectly willing to do the work which will be laid on my shoulders, if so he will not ask me to look after the Indians." But the first summer after I was elected, the bishop came to me, and said, "I am not strong this summer, and I want you to go up and look after the Indians." I said, "Well, I suppose it is my part to obey"; and I came back a convert, because I saw the work that was going on. I saw the same kind of Indians I had seen in Montana, with like degradation, elevated through Christian education. Treat the Indian as a man because he is a man. One of the leading lumber-men of Minnesota said to me a year ago as I was returning from my annual trip,—he was not a Christian man: he was a hard-headed, rough-and-ready business man,—“Bishop,” he said, “I want to tell you my own experience. When I first began my lumbering business I began by employing some of the Indian young men. I paid them seventy-five cents a day, and gave them their rations,—the very poorest rations I could find,—because I thought that even that was better than they had been accustomed to, and it would do for them. I bought the cheapest clothing, and sold it to them at exorbitant prices. But the Indians shirked their work, and, after a few days, they would go off. I then ceased to employ them. The next year, as I was about to put my crews to work at Red Lake, an old chief came down one day to see me, and said, ‘Are you going to employ my young men?’ I said, ‘No: I have had bad experience with them.’ He replied: ‘You are a young man, and I am an old man. Let me tell you one thing. Treat my young men as though they were men; treat them as well as you treat your white men; give

them the same wages and the same kind of food, and clothe them with the same quality at the same prices; and you will see how they compare with the white laborers.' The chief spoke so earnestly that I consented to try them; and to-day I would rather have those Indian young men as my laborers than the average white man." That showed the wisdom of treating the Indians as men.

As to the effect of the Indian missions, let me relate a single instance. One year ago, as I was about starting on my trip, a gentleman came to me and said that he would like to go with me. He was a man of seventy years of age, of culture and large experience in public affairs. He said he was very anxious to see the work among the Indians. When this man was a boy he had been brought up as a Christian and in his early manhood had been an earnest Christian man, but since coming West he had laid aside his Bible and had lost his anchorage. Well, he went with me; and as we passed through White Earth Reservation we were joined by one of our missionaries, who has given twenty-five years to the salvation of those people. As we went to the different Indian missions and the Indians gathered around us I could see the puzzled looks of this gentleman. We came one morning to Leach Lake. The Indians there had at one time been the most degraded band in Minnesota. It was not safe for a man to linger among them without protection. It was a beautiful September morning, and in the church was gathered a great congregation of the red children of the forest. It was packed to the doors,—men, women, and children. They received the holy communion and then returned solemnly to their seats one after the other. I was about to close the service when I looked back and there was that old gray-headed man of seventy, that man who had lost his faith, that man who had despised the Indian and did not believe that anything good could come of him, rising to his feet. He came up the aisle with his knees trembling and the tears running down his cheeks, knelt before the altar where he received once more the blessed symbol of Christ's love. He had found there in the wilderness, among those people he had despised, the faith of his mother once more. He had knit together the cords of the anchorage which bound him to hope and to God.

When men tell me that missions are a failure among the Indians I simply ask them to see the impression on this man of the world which the Christian life of the Indians makes. Thus everywhere work good and true is the unanswerable argument.

There is hard work in connection with it. We do get disappointed. Men that were expected to be good Christians do fall back; but is not that equally true among other people? There is, however, one village upon Red Lake where every soul in it is a Christian. It is the only village of the kind in the United States. It is full of honesty and morality, and I have seen nowhere a better illustration of the Christian virtues than among these Red Lake Indians. So we go on. When the reservation system is broken up and the Indians stand forth among their white brothers as men to work out their own salvation, they will be prepared for it by such

work as Captain Pratt is doing and by such work as Christian workers are doing, and by such work as we ministers of God are trying to do. The Indians will then be ready for citizenship ; and the time will not come until they are ready for it.

On motion it was voted that a message of greeting should be sent to Miss Sibyl Carter who was kept from the Conference by sickness.

Adjourned at 1.30 P.M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 15.

The Conference was called to order, after prayers conducted by Bishop Whipple.

Miss Smiley read a greeting to Miss Sibyl Carter, which had been prepared by a committee consisting of Dr. Cuyler, Mrs. M. G. Fiske, and herself: "The Fourteenth Mohonk Indian Conference sends loving greeting to the Indian's most devoted friend, Miss Sibyl Carter, and extends to her most heartfelt sympathy and the earnest hope that her health and strength may be restored, that she may continue her noble and beautiful work."

The subject of the day was then taken up, "The Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory and the Relation of the Government to them." Mr. C. F. Meserve, President of Shaw University, was the first speaker.

THE FIVE NATIONS.

BY CHARLES F. MESERVE, A.M.

Before entering upon a description of the trip among the Five Nations, the reader would doubtless prefer me to place before him the legislation creating the Dawes Commission, its report, and the legislation proposed to remedy the present condition of affairs. In a brief report like this, only a synopsis or salient features can be given, though nothing essential will be omitted. Section 16, of the Act creating the Commission, approved March 3, 1893, is as follows:—

The President shall nominate, and by and with advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint three Commissioners to enter into negotiations with the Cherokee nation, the Choctaw nation, the Chickasaw nation, the Muscogee (or Creek) nation, the Seminole nation, for the purpose of extinguishment of the national or tribal title to any lands within that territory now held by any and all of such nations or tribes, either by cession of the same or some part thereof to the United States, or by the allotment and division of the same in severalty among the Indians of such nations and tribes aforesaid, or each of them, with the United States, with a view to such an adjustment, upon the basis of justice and equity as may, with the consent of such nations or tribes of Indians, so far as may be necessary, be requisite and suitable, to enable the ultimate erection of a State or States of the Union which shall embrace the lands within said Indian Territory.

It will be seen from the above act that the Commission had only the authority to negotiate. There was no power to bring about any

result by force. Nothing could be done except by the voluntary consent or agreement of the respective nations with a subsequent approval by the United States, and all in accordance with treaty stipulations.

From the report of the Commission to the Secretary of the Interior, under date of Nov. 18, 1895, and from testimony given by members of the Commission in various hearings before the House Committee on Indian Affairs at Washington during the month of March, 1896, I learn that the Five Nations declined to negotiate, and, in some instances, treated the Commission with disrespect or declined to even reply to their communications. The report and hearings set forth that the Indian Territory has been overrun with white people, who are there in large numbers; and because not only of the encouragement but invitation of the Indians themselves, that crime is rampant; that the timber, the coal, and the land are monopolized by a few to the detriment of the many; that large towns have been built up by the whites; and that all these operations and enterprises are illegal, having no foundation in right or equity; that the governments of the Five Nations are corrupt; and that the United States, when it set apart this country for the Five Nations, never dreamed of such a condition of affairs as the Commission declares to exist there.

The Commission has been criticised for not leaving the Territory after the Five Nations had declined to "negotiate." These critics claim with much emphasis that the Commission had only power to *negotiate*. This criticism contains the essence of absurdity. What would be thought of a man who was sent on a mission and promptly came back and reported failure without stopping long enough to familiarize himself with the conditions that caused or even contributed to the failure? I have found no one who criticised the *failure* of the Commission to negotiate, but rather the *investigation* and *statement* of the condition of affairs that caused this failure.

The Indian Territory possesses the possibilities of a great State. Her area is 30,000 square miles. Her deposits of coal are enormous and of untold millions of dollars in value. Building-stone, equal, if not superior, to the best Cotton Wood Falls limestone of Kansas, and Longmeadow freestone of the East, is found in abundance. The supply of asphalt is practically unlimited. Although largely a prairie country, the river bottoms are filled with valuable timber, while in some portions are large areas of pine. The entire country is well watered by the Grand, Arkansas, Canadian, Washita, and Red Rivers. In the north-eastern portion the streams and brooks are as clear and limpid as in northern New England or Michigan or Colorado. The rainfall is usually so plentiful that a drought, causing a loss of crops, seldom occurs. The population is estimated at 465,000, of whom 400,000 are whites, intruders who have no legal right in the Territory. There are many towns, some having a population of 5,000 and claiming twice as many; towns provided with electric light, fine hotels, large business blocks, and elegant residences. No one has a legal right to the house or lot he

occupies; it is merely a title of occupancy, not of possession, and yet real estate agents thrive as they do in the States. There are six lines of railway, running daily twenty-four passenger trains and a large number of freight trains. The country is beautiful beyond description, and its resources, the development of which has scarcely begun, are almost beyond comprehension. I travelled in and near the Indian Territory over 1,300 miles by rail, and 300 miles in a carriage in the country at a distance from railways. After having travelled for days over the beautiful prairies, along the river bottoms in the midst of heavy timber, among the coal mining towns, over mile after mile of fenced pastures dotted with thousands of fat cattle, by fields of corn and cotton almost boundless in extent, I understood full well why the white man was here in such large numbers.

The Indian in the Indian Territory will soon be a "man without a country" unless the United States steps in to aid him in the preservation of his domain and the maintenance of his property and political rights. The land, grass, timber, coal, etc., are nominally, and originally were, common property; but, if you are looking for some marked instances of "Wealth against Commonwealth," come with me to the Indian Territory, and remember when you enter the Territory that all of this vast domain with its tremendous natural resources belongs to the *Indian*, and that this property is all held (theoretically) in common. But whom do you see? *White* men, *white* men everywhere. The scarcest object is an Indian and this in the *Indian* Territory, set apart by solemn treaty obligation for the *Indian*. You see here and there large gangs of men cutting, curing, and pressing hay, and loading it into freight cars for shipment to Kansas City and Chicago. You hear the sound of the woodman's axe and the crash of the lord of the forest as he falls to the ground, and anon the whirl of the saw and the hum of the planer and other machinery preparing the timber for use in the States, where it finds a market. Now and then you pass a long line of cars heavily laden with coal. Here is a string of coke ovens. Yonder a stone quarry or a vast deposit of asphaltum is giving employment to busy hands. Then you come to square mile after square mile of fenced pasture with innumerable herds. Here in the rich Arkansas bottoms is a field of a hundred acres of cotton, and another of a hundred acres of corn. The cotton will yield a bale to the acre and the corn fifty bushels or more, and all this without a pound of fertilizer. The bottom is three miles wide and the soil black, deep, and rich. This property all belongs to the Indian, but it is white men who are cutting and shipping his hay, white men who are felling, manufacturing, and shipping his timber, white men who are mining and shipping his coal, white men who are handling his stone and asphaltum, white men who are harvesting the corn and cotton from his rich acres, white men who are pasturing his beautiful waving prairies and shipping the fat herds to the stock-yards of Kansas City and Chicago. It is the white man who is omnipresent. The common Indian is well-nigh an alien in the land of his fathers.

He is a *rara avis*, about as hard to find as an Irishman in Ireland or a Yankee in New England.

As all these extensive operations are illegal, it may be interesting to see how this condition of affairs was brought about. The territory occupied by the five civilized tribes was ceded to them by the United States more than sixty years ago. It was to be held in common and for the equal benefit of all the Indians of these tribes. The land, the grass, the timber, the minerals, were for the common use of all. They could not be bought or sold. Among Indians, as among other races, there are men more able, more scheming, possessing in a greater degree than others foresight, business ability, and selfishness, and a greater desire for money. Such an Indian would say, "This tract of land, miles square, is mine." Some white cattle-man agrees to fence it and pay the Indian so many hundred dollars a year for a term of years. In some instances an enterprising citizen, a citizen either by birth or marriage, has in this way taken possession of a large tract, fenced it and stocked it with cattle. The legislative bodies have established rates of royalties to be paid into the national treasuries: a quarter of a cent a bushel on coal, a dollar a thousand on logs, fifty cents an acre on hay, to be paid to the Indian claiming the right to cut the hay, and twenty cents a ton as royalty. A certain sum yearly is charged for the "permit" to occupy a residence or business lot in town. All these operations are plainly illegal and in violation of solemn treaty rights and obligations which provide that the land shall be the common property of all the Indians; and each tribe respectively is a party to the treaty as much as the United States.

The extent to which monopoly has been carried is alarming. The common every-day Indian, honest, quiet, shrinking in his nature, and, as a rule, living by himself away from the town and railway, is being crowded to the wall. Young men are bitterly complaining, as they ride over the wide pastures of the Indian and white cattle-barons, that the land is all taken up, and they can find none upon which to make a home and start out in life. In one nation there are 3,000,000 acres of land, and 1,300,000 acres are controlled by 61 individuals. The following would be amusing were it not alarming because of its truthfulness. Some twenty years ago there came to the Territory a white man from a neighboring State, whom we will call H. H. Carbon. He wooed and won a dusky maid, and thereby became a citizen of the tribe to which his wife belonged. He was bright and shrewd, and saw and seized his opportunity, and has become during these two decades a man of property and influence. A few months ago an entertainment was being given in one of the towns in the coal-mining district. The well-known farce, "The District School," was the feature of the evening. When the teacher called the class in "jogryfy," she asked who could bound the Choctaw Nation. Johnnie raised his hand, and as soon as recognized, jumped up and said, "The Choctaw Nation is bounded by a barbed wire fence with H. H. Carbon inside of it." The laughter that followed showed that Johnnie's reply was the sentiment of the

community. I have given this instance because such an incident will indicate the exact condition of affairs much better than the statement of a person consciously or unconsciously (but necessarily) colored because of his personal interest in the continuance of present methods, or the pathetic plea of a paid Indian or white attorney before some committee in Washington, who pretends to be so concerned, when before Congress, about the welfare of the common Indian and the fulfilling of solemn treaty rights and obligations. The weeping attorneys are pulling at the teats on one side of the Indian's cow and the monopolists on the other side; and when the milking is finished, they get together by themselves, drink the milk, curse the Dawes Commission, and laugh in their sleeves at the Indian, who takes care of the cow and keeps the rack well supplied with fodder.

When I asked a white man in the Seminole Nation to give me a definition of an Indian of the present day, he promptly replied, "An Indian is a trustee of the title to the land in the interest of the white man." He thoroughly understood the situation.

The record of corruption and crime, as given by the Dawes Commission, I firmly believe. I thought it incredible, when I read it; but I have paid special attention to these two points, and do not hesitate to say that the picture has not been overdrawn.

To one who only looks on the surface, the statement of the Commission that life and property are insecure, and official corruption is common would seem untrue. At first I found it difficult to get people to talk. But after a while, when I made known that I was a representative of the Indian Rights Association and that I was after the truth in the interest of the Indians, and upon my personal assurance that I would not in any way use their names or localities, the evidence came; and it is evidence from reliable sources.

A permit for a railway to go through one of the nations was obtained only after paying money. The council in session wanted \$30,000, but the railway attorney finally got it through for \$7,000. The innocent reader need not think this money went into the National Treasury.

An Indian who cannot get credit was appointed as a judge. He will not pay his bills and is a general dead-beat.

The boodle business is denied only by the delegations who visit Washington. When the Dawes Commission first reported and stated they had failed in their attempts to negotiate, they were twitted about not *coming down* as the railway syndicates do.

Money will buy admission to the citizenship rolls. An Indian woman told me that upon her return she paid \$200 to get her name put upon the roll, from which it had been stricken because of several years' absence in the States. An official told her that she had gotten through the lower house all right, but it would take \$200 more to get through the upper. She declined to pay the money, and will put her case into the hands of the Dawes Commission, who will see that she has justice.

A company was organized to run a railway through two adjoining

nations. There was a provision in the charter, granting the corporation every alternate section of land on either side of the railway for a distance of six miles through the richest coal land. It would have given millions of dollars to the railway, but when the common people of one of the nations heard of it through work done by the Dawes Commission, they said if this provision was retained in the charter, they would repeal it with their Winchester. It was necessary for the two nations to agree. Only one had acted, and as the other failed to agree on account of the powerful Winchester argument, the railway corporation did not receive a present of a magnificent setting of black diamonds, whose estimated value was ten millions of dollars.

An Indian was eloquently pleading for the rights of the poor common Indian, but upon investigation, it was found that he was at that very moment himself controlling eight thousand acres of land.

A reliable white man informed me that fifteen men control, in one of the nations, one million acres of land.

An Indian judge stated that he could get the chairman of the citizenship application committee to call a meeting of the committee by paying \$20 if he had plenty of whiskey, otherwise \$50 would be necessary.

The method of paying the large sum of money received from the sale of the famous Cherokee strip was corrupting and demoralizing in the extreme. There are nine districts in the Cherokee Nation, and a payment was made in each district. It is common talk, that nobody pretends to deny, that the Cherokee officials having the payment in charge, agreed to locate a payment at Vinita, a bustling and thriving town, if the citizens would pay them \$2,500. After much hard hustling, the sum was collected and paid over to these unselfish and patriotic citizens of the Cherokee Nation. A payment was accordingly located at Vinita, accompanied by its inevitable train of evils. At another place of payment the sheriff rented the courthouse for immoral purposes. The upper floor was given up to gambling, and the lower — where gathered Indians, Negroes, low whites and lewd women — to drinking, carousing, and fighting. After two nights, the lower room was closed up, complaints were so numerous; but the room above was kept running. Gamblers, fakirs, two hundred lewd women, from each of whom the sheriff collected tariff, and thugs generally, camped for days a few miles from this place of payment, and strove in every possible way to get the money paid the Indians. When the sheriff was remonstrated with for the wicked course he had pursued, he said: "Well! the present order of things is not going to long continue; the land will be allotted, and the form of government changed, and I am going to make as big a haul as possible." A prominent Cherokee, a man of intelligence and refinement and who loves his people, said with reference to these payments, that the loss to his tribe in moral status could not be overestimated. "It was simply appalling. It would have been better for the Cherokees if they had never received this money. Nothing can compensate for the loss of a woman's honor."

In one nation three families control 30,000 acres of land. In some instances, a poor man with a large family has to get along with a few acres; in some rare instances, six or eight. Almost everybody is preying upon the country. Very few seem to be praying in it, or praying for it. I met, in the Cherokee Nation, a bunch of horse-traders, so-called, but really a bunch of dead-beats, living off the Indians' country. They would camp a week in one place, and then move to fresher pastures. There was a nondescript company of twenty-four human or inhuman white folks,—or would have been white, had they been clean,—of all ages and sizes, and of both sexes. They had six wagons, twelve work horses, and thirty trade horses.

In one of the nations there is an organized association, the object of which is to obtain citizenship for its members. Large numbers of intruders have joined this association. The head of the association assesses the members, and he makes a fine thing out of it. He has his salary and Washington expenses. He poses as the great factor in securing the creation of the Dawes Commission. But the Commission is looking after the interest of the Indian, while the association is trying to rob him. I rode some distance with a full-blood Indian, who said there was corruption everywhere. He thought allotment would be best, if the Indians could be protected and the land secured for them. He did not understand, until I told him, why the Commission was in the Territory. He thought it was there to get the intruders on the roll of citizens. This is one of many instances that might be given to show how persistently and relentlessly the Commission is misrepresented and maligned.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

ADDRESS BY HON. H. L. DAWES.

Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen.—Mr. Meserve has relieved me of very much which ought to have been said about the Indian Territory, and in a much better manner than I could have done if it had been left to me.

The Dawes Commission (as it goes by that name in the Indian Territory), when it was announced to them that they were about to be investigated, were glad enough to find into whose hands it was committed, for they felt that they would be safe in the hands of any one so intelligent, so faithful, and so persistent in pursuing the right as Mr. Meserve. I will say for myself that, although investigation sooner or later overtakes most public men, it did not reach me till rather late in life; and I must confess that when the charge was made that I was lacking in respect to the rights of the Indian I rather took it to heart.

I shall devote myself, for the little time I have, entirely to trying to relieve those people who were properly enough sensitive at the idea that something was going to be done by me, and by those associated with me, to violate the treaty rights with the Indians.

I think that a stranger, studying the character of our country, would hardly be surprised at anything so much as to be told that there was in this country, under the common Constitution of the United States and under the same flag that floats over its capitol, still another people, claiming under this very authority an independent power to govern and control itself, without regard to the government or laws of the United States. If he should seek further for the reason, for the authority under which such a claim of independence is based, he would be puzzled far more to find either reason or authority in the Constitution or in law for such a condition of things. He might wonder how it could be, how it were possible, that there could be carried on here any *imperium in imperio*; how there could be another nation within this nation, yet independent of it. He would want to know why it came about, and by what authority it could be built up, by, or under, or through the same Constitution. If he sought it in the fact that it was a small community that had grown up incidentally, and of so small relative importance that it did not matter anything, he would be mistaken, for it has a domain of 31,000 square miles,—four times as large as the State of Massachusetts, and two-thirds as large as this grand State of New York. Ten Rhode Islands and Delawares put together could be placed inside of it, and still there would be room.

If he should inquire whether it might not be because of the peculiar character of the people in this independent Territory he would still be mistaken. Since I have been in public service I have voted upon the admission into the Union of thirteen or fourteen States made up exactly of such a community as this is. The two States of Dakota were one Territory made up of whites and Indians in almost all respects like this. The State of Minnesota, the State of Wisconsin, the State of Utah, the State of Nevada, the State of Oregon, the State of Washington,—all of these States were made up exactly of the same kind of community and people. It was not for that reason.

Was it because there are but few of them? Well, of these thirteen or fourteen States there was not one that had as many inhabitants in it when it became a State, after it had gone through the pupilage of the Territory, as are now residents in the Indian Territory, a population of from three hundred and sixty to three hundred and seventy thousand.

Can any one give a student of our institutions any answer why it is then that, of all the territory in the States we have in the Union, there has been left this one, neither a State, nor a Territory of the United States, with no State or Territorial government at all, inside of this Union, at the same time under this Constitution and this flag?

There is no answer to this question in law or in the Constitution,

much less in the possibilities of continuance. It grows out of the belief of a large portion of the people of the United States that somehow and in some way they have bound themselves to let it be so; the belief that the United States has abdicated authority over this people. If it is really and rightly so, it is to be respected and adhered to so long as public safety will permit *and no longer*.

I respect those people who sent Mr. Meserve to the Indian Territory. I respect the sentiment that became anxious and solicitous lest we should be at work violating the treaty rights of these people. But I for one am unable to come to the conclusion that we ever did, or if we ever did we had the power to, abdicate our authority over any one foot of the territory governed by the Constitution and the flag of this country. I am happy to be able to believe that I shall show you, from the books, that we never attempted to do that, and I want to say to you that, if we had, it was beyond the power of this government under the Constitution to do it. The Constitution is the measure of the power of every branch of this government. The Constitution says this and this only about the territory of the United States, "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States."

Congress must make the rules, Congress must govern the territory. No other authority exists in the government to govern or control any foot of the territory of the United States outside of the District of Columbia except what I have given you, which requires Congress to do one of two things: make all needful rules and regulations concerning it, or else dispose of it,—one or the other. They did dispose of this territory. They granted the titles to these lands to these people for a purpose; but the rules and regulations concerning it, the government of it, they not only never did sell to them, but they never could have sold, if they had undertaken it. Mark you, it is *Congress* that must do this. The Congress of the United States has never attempted to do this. Whatever was done was in a sort of treaty not made by Congress, made by the Executive with these people as if they were a foreign nation, and there was not a jot of authority in the Constitution for them to set up a government over a portion of the people of this country that shall be independent of the United States.

But they disposed of the title to the land, and for what purpose? They conveyed the title to these nations for the benefit of the nations. Was it that the nations could sell it and dispose of it and make money out of it? Did the nations take it as you and I take a conveyance of sale? Not at all. They put it in the hands of these nations as *trustees for each and every one of the citizen Indians*. It is not worth while to go back of 1866, although the original arrangement was made seventy years ago, before this people had any idea that there cou'd be such a thing as individual ownership by an Indian. That is why the title was put in the tribe or nation for the use of the Indian and not in the individual Indian. Land in severalty is a revelation of thirty years afterward. They took these people

away out into this country, which was then six or seven weeks distant from civilized life, to make an atonement for the wrongs inflicted upon these nations in the States from whence they took them. They said to them, You may do as you please out here.

At the time of the Civil War these Indians went to war with us, and they broke up by this the relations which had existed before 1866. After the war the United States and these so-called nations made new treaties and established new relations. Afterward it came to be revealed that the way to advance civilization with Indians was not to isolate them but to put them on their own feet,—to make individual citizens of them.

Every one of these treaties made since 1866, contemplates two things,—first, that they shall hold this land strictly for the use of each and every Indian, share and share alike; and secondly, they provided that the old system should pass away. It was provided that whenever they chose they might take land in allotment, and the United States would survey and allot the land for them at its own expense; and that whenever they chose they might establish Territorial government and legislate upon subjects prescribed whose scope and limitation depended on the approval of the President, subject also to the Constitution and laws of the United States. Provision was also made for United States courts in the Territory, post roads, post-offices, and United States mails, and railroads under the United States laws. A perfect surrender of autonomy, if it ever existed. Then they stipulated how the land should be held.

From a single treaty made with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, who held their land jointly, I read as follows. The same thing is more or less clearly expressed in all the treaties of 1865–66:—

REVISION OF INDIAN TREATIES.

(Page 276. *Lines*, 12278–12287.)

TREATY OF JUNE 22, 1855, WITH CHOCTAWS AND CHICKASAWS.

And pursuant to an Act of Congress approved May 28, 1830, the United States do hereby forever secure and guarantee the lands embraced within the said limits to the members of the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes, their heirs and successors, to be held in common; so that each and every member of either tribe shall have an equal, undivided interest in the whole; provided, however, no part thereof shall ever be sold without the consent of both tribes, and that said land shall revert to the United States if said Indians and their heirs become extinct or abandon the same.

That is what the United States solemnly guaranteed they would do; and when they do that and restore to every one of these poor Indians his equal share in every foot of that land and in every one of those coal mines and of those vast possessions, the end has come. Those who hold power there will unloose their grasp and have no further interest in opposing any proposition that will bring these tribes into harmony in their own relations and in their relation to the government of the United States. That is what this Commission has been importuning the United States at one end, and the

Indians at the other, to do. That is what those who hold the power to gather the fruits of their iniquities, grasping them with greed into their pockets, have resisted to this day. This Commission has asked for the violation of no treaty obligation, however questionable might have been the power to enter by treaty into any such relation. They ask that these treaty stipulations may be enforced. They were charged from the beginning to say to these people: "We want none of your lands. Our desire is that you shall do this yourselves." Every word that we uttered was taken down in shorthand and reported to the President of the United States. Of every communication we made to them a copy was sent to the Executive. In every one of them it has been made plain that we were there to present to them the reasons why this condition of things, so graphically reported by Mr. Meserve, could not continue in the midst of these people and in the midst of this government. It is our conviction that this condition grows worse and worse every hour that it continues. The courts all around there are filled up with trials of men for murders committed in the Indian Territory. One judge, who has been there ten or fifteen years, has sentenced something like one hundred men to be hanged for crimes committed in that Territory. There is no description that can compare with the reality; and it was our duty to impress upon them that a change must come, and we showed them the way. We showed them how their fathers in 1866 contemplated the having of this land in allotment. We have not troubled ourselves about the Territorial government or about their becoming a State in the Union. We knew full well that the moment they took their land in allotment and each one had his own possessions and came to know the value of his own home, all the rest would follow. He would be for having a government, law, and protection, and he would become a part of the United States and of the citizenship of the States like all the rest. That was our duty, and we have adhered to it.

I am glad to say to you that the light is breaking in upon them. The Congress of the United States imposed new duties upon this Commission last winter, after being convinced that we had not violated any of the treaty rights of the Indians and that we were not departing from the path of justice. They imposed on us the duty of settling forever this question of citizenship, and there are now pending before the Commission, that are to be decided by the tenth of December, the final judgments of the Commission upon 7,300 cases of claimants for citizenship in that Territory. They see that the end is coming. The men who have the grasp there begin to see that they cannot tell where they will be when the end comes, and they propose to try the experiment of negotiating with us now. At this moment the Choctaw Nation, which a year ago came within one vote of passing a law making it treason to negotiate with us, has this fall at its election chosen a chief in favor of allotment. The Creek Nation, which has upon its statute-book a law making it a penalty of death to petition the United States for a change of their government, have appointed a Commission, at the head of which is

General Porter, whom all the men who have had anything to do with Indians know. Even the Cherokees, bound up more than any of them in the grasp of these men who have taken everything that is valuable, have appointed a Commission to confer with us; and stalwart Bushy Head, who was relegated to private life from the chieftainship some five years ago because he was in favor of allotment, was the man appointed at its head. It has been impressed upon them that the Congress of the United States is going to take this matter in hand if they do not choose to do it themselves.

But suppose they have an independent government now. Who made it? The government of the United States made it, and if the government of the United States made it, it can unmake it. While the property conveyed to these people is a vested right that can never be taken from them, the political status is not a vested right. There is no political condition that is a vested right in this country. It is constantly being changed by the power that made it, and the power that made whatever independent authority there is there was the United States, and the United States has the power to resume it.

Now there is another way out of this. These nations hold their title—as I have read to you—in trust, for the use of the people. What have they done? They have misappropriated the trust. They have taken that use from the whole people, and have put it in the hands of a few for their own private use, and what is plainer in a court of equity than that when a trustee violates a trust he may be removed?

There are many ways out of this, not only to absolve ourselves from attempting to violate treaty obligations, but to take to ourselves some credit for enforcing the right. It is in behalf of the poor Indian despoiled of his heritage, not of the white man, that we were sent down there; and it is in behalf of the Indian that we plead to have his possessions allotted to him either by his own act, or by the government of the United States, or by some court in equity.

I ask this Conference, at whose hands those at work for the Indians have received so much support in times past, to understand that you have approached now what seems to me the most important of all the questions that confront you. Here is this vast territory belonging to fifty-four thousand Indians, less than one-fourth of whom have any participation in it. All the others are driven off. I appeal to you in their behalf. Set them in the possession of their rights and then the remedy will be worked out after that. Give them, each one of them, what belongs to him, and he will see to it that what is necessary under the laws of the United States he will have.

Dr. LEMUEL MOSS.—If I understand it, the United States in conveying this land no more alienated its authority to legislate there, than when conveying a quarter-section to any individual.

Mr. DAWES.—Precisely. I do not suppose the conveying of the land conveyed the right of government. It is a distinct, separate right. The soil I may own, but I have no right to govern myself be-

cause I own the soil. The Indians claim that, in addition to the conveyance of the land, the power of government was abdicated to them by the United States.

President GATES.—Our whole treaty system has regarded the Indian as a foreign power. That is a humbug which is giving way gradually.

Mr. DAWES.—It has been forbidden by statute, and is no longer possible.

Mr. WELSH.—It may be desirable to explain why the Indian Rights Association undertook the work which was carried out, and has been reported by Mr. Meserve. I want to say first how heartily and completely I concur in all that Senator Dawes has said, and to remove any impression that that investigation was undertaken in anything like a hostile spirit. It was not. I was absent in Europe last spring, and upon my return to Philadelphia I found that one or two members of our committee had become somewhat disturbed over this question of the Indian Territory, and had taken the view that possibly the rights of the Indians were being overlooked and disregarded. I stated to them what had been the general attitude of the Association from the beginning, and what had been the views of such men as General Armstrong and Mr. Painter, and that the whole condition of affairs there was an anomaly which must come to an end soon, and that although I had not followed the movements of the Commission recently, I had no doubt their work was in the line of that idea. But this feeling was strong and had to be met. A number of newspapers had taken up the question, and had attacked the position occupied by the Commission. A gentleman connected with the Philadelphia Press had made statements that the allegations of the Commission as to the amount of crime existing in the Territory were not well founded. I felt that an investigation made by a perfectly fair man might be of value. I suggested that we send some one out to look over the whole field and report as to the actual state of the facts; that, while my general views were what I have stated, it might be well to look into the matter. I did not send our general representative Mr. Leupp, because his views were clearly like mine. I did not wish to send any one whose mind was made up in advance. I looked over the list of suitable men, and thought no one could be better than Mr. Meserve. I knew of his experience, of his entire fairness, his high character in every way, and I asked him, on behalf of the Indian Rights Association, to undertake this work. He did it, and has made the report, the substance of which has been read to you, and which, I think, has had a marked effect upon the minds of those who have heard it.

Mr. SMILEY.—I presume many of you have been flooded with reports hostile to the Dawes Commission scattered by men interested in the preservation of the present condition of things. A great deal of money has been expended in collecting testimony against the Dawes Commission and circulating it over the country; and they have inveigled many prominent men, who did not understand the situation and who feared that treaty rights were to be vio-

lated, into putting their names to statements which are not correct. These hostile reports have done no harm except where people did not know the facts; there they must have done harm.

Gen. EATON.—It is in the interest of these three hundred thousand people who are preying upon the Indians in the Indian Territory to send out these documents assailing the Commission. They emphasize the idea that the Commission proposes to break faith with the Indians. "*We* are the faith-keeping people," they say. But we have seen here this morning that the proposition of the government, of the President, of Congress, and of this Commission, is to keep faith with the Indians. It is a movement in favor of the sacredness of treaties and the sacredness of human character and of those great rights and privileges for which this government exists. My thanks are tendered to those gentlemen, and to Senator Dawes especially, for showing us this. There has been an attempt made to have the country believe that they were trying to get rid of treaties. No, no, it is an attempt to execute treaties; and I feel deeply grateful for having it shown that these gentlemen aim to keep the treaties solemnly made with these people.

Bishop WHIPPLE.—I desire to make a practical suggestion. Those who pity and love the Indians know that Senator Dawes is the last man that needs an apology for any of his work. But there is one fact of which I am sure the great body of the American people are entirely ignorant; namely, that these Indians forfeited all of their rights when they engaged in warfare against us during our late Civil War. They were received back into treaty relations under entirely different conditions. That is the very crux of this whole matter. Now I propose this,—that the business committee shall prepare a statement, embodying what has been said by Mr. Meserve and Senator Dawes, and put it into the hands of the friends of the Indian, that they may use it where it will do the most good. Familiar as I am with Indian wrongs, I have never had my heart more deeply stirred than in listening to Senator Dawes and to Mr. Meserve; and from my heart I can only say, God be praised for raising up such men to do his work.

Dr. DENNIS WORTMAN.—Senator Dawes says the national government has made each Indian nation trustees for the individuals of that nation. When the present government methods in the Territory are overthrown will the present proprietors of mines and those who hold property there be dispossessed? Will all the land be divided among the Indians? If so, what becomes of the proprietors of industries located on these lands? Will the retirement of the national trustee affect the rights conferred by the trustee before his retirement?

Senator DAWES.—The whole matter is full of difficulties and perplexities. Take the mining interests. There are millions of dollars honestly and fairly invested in the coal mines by outsiders. A law was made that any citizen Indian who would discover a deposit of coal should have the exclusive use of a mile all round it with power to lease it. So they went to Pennsylvania, where there are experts

in coal-mining, and got these experts and then went out and told these Indians where to discover coal, and they discovered it and leased the land to capitalists. The Indian never could mine coal alone. It requires hundreds of thousands of capital, and this capital has come from Pennsylvania and elsewhere and been invested honestly in these mines. It would be rank injustice to destroy all that property. It has got to be the work of negotiation and equitable disposition. The lands belong to all the Indians, not to the half dozen who have discovered where the coal mines are. The same is true of the town sites. Large towns of five thousand, three thousand, and two thousand inhabitants have been built by the whites on the land of these Indians, and vast sums of money spent upon them. I cannot tell you how it shall be adjusted. I only say to you what I have said to these men, "We will sit down with you, and we will try to work out a solution of this question that shall be not only just to you Indians but just to those men whom you have invited here and who have invested their capital in your work." All the South-western country depends on those mines. Millions of property are involved in the question. How it shall be settled I wish I knew. The Commission is trying to make secure every man's rights in that Territory.

Capt. PRATT.—If those who have charge of it will provide me with the matter and will send me lists of names, I will publish Senator Dawes's address on this subject, and distribute it without any expense to this Conference.

Mr. MESERVE.—In my full report I go into the solution of this problem according to my ideas, and append a copy of the Curtis Bill, introduced by Mr. Curtis, which passed the House, and was before the Senate when Congress adjourned.

President GATES.—A government that brought so many States through the period of reconstruction can safely be trusted to work its way through this difficulty.

Dr. FISHER, Pittsburg.—We can let our sympathy go to the innocent white men who have gone to the Indian Territory. That is part of the problem. It may be very difficult; but I think that side of the question might be emphasized. While Bishop Whipple is undoubtedly correct, I believe the whole question rests upon the argument which Senator Dawes has made, that there has been no disposal of the power of the United States to control that Territory. It rests with the Constitution. It is not because they have engaged in civil war. It should be kept before the people that we are not breaking treaty rights, but enforcing them. The power of this government over every portion of this Territory was settled by the Civil War. It was settled for the Indian. It was settled for the South. We must keep that before the country. But in regard to this great question which incidentally arises in the minds of men, we must keep also this thought, that there are innocent men who have developed this property; and, while the real estate may be of benefit to the Indian, we must consider it in the way of what it would have been to him if it had not been developed. I do hope this Commis-

sion will go on, and that there will be allotment of land, and that we shall get rid of this state of affairs.

MR. GARRETT.—While confessions are going on, I wish to say that I was one of those who were very desirous for light on this subject as to whether any treaty has been violated. I feel deeply grateful to Senator Dawes for his very able and powerful exposition of the subject this morning. He has shown that under the Constitution of the United States the treaty-making power had no authority to surrender the sovereignty of the United States, and that occurrences since have completely authorized and legalized the action which is now proposed. I feel quite satisfied with his statement of the case. Not only has the fact that the five civilized tribes having entered into the Confederate service during the war placed us in new relations to them so that our old treaties were set aside, but the trust has been so violated that there are now separate grounds for the proposed action. I repeat, I feel grateful to Senator Dawes.

REV. DR. H. A. STIMSON.—The government of the United States is itself a trustee. In all its legislation back of the specific act lies the recognition of the sacred trust that it shall always do that which shall tend to the permanence and safety of the nation, and it shall only do that which is in the interest of public morals. These two primary conditions underlie every act of this government, and they are indisputable. As a result of the action of this government in the past, there has arisen a condition which is only a concentrated condition of that which has existed in all Indian tribes,—described by the word “impossible.” Three times in our history we have found ourselves in that condition: once in regard to slavery, then in regard to the Mormons, and now in regard to the Indians. We hesitated in regard to slavery. Men were deterred by fear of violating a constitutional right and ignoring those conditions which lie back of all law, those which grow out of the condition of safety and public morals. At last we were compelled to break through all the meshes of intricate legislation in order to create a system of government, a condition of government, under which the nation could live; and we did it. Practically we have done the same thing in regard to Mormonism, and that is exactly the condition in regard to the Indian Territory. I lived for some years not far from the Indian Territory. A friend of mine who was there said that again and again he had been compelled to spread his arm over his wife and child and hold them in bed, lest, if they sat up, they should be struck by the shots fired from the street by drunken men, who wanted to drive them out because they represented religion and education. Such a condition of things is impossible. Any man who lived in the West when the Cherokee Strip and Oklahoma were opened must recognize that, no matter what were the treaties, any legislation which would put the people under conditions in which such scenes could occur must be wrong. When these conditions assert themselves, no matter what the word spoken is, no matter what the act of the Executive has been, it becomes the duty as well as the right of a Christian nation to wipe out impossible conditions, and to create conditions which

make possible civilization, the safety of the government, and the maintenance of public morality. Because of this I believe the time has long since come when the friends of the Indian ought to ask that every right and every privilege demanded for any Indian as an Indian be set aside that he may ask every right and every duty required of him as a man. When we do that we are on a firm foundation.

The next address was by Mr. Herbert Welsh.

INDIAN AGENTS, WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THEM?

ADDRESS BY MR. HERBERT WELSH.

I think that in approaching this subject perhaps it would be well for us to remember the general conditions which brought about the agency system. I will endeavor to sketch those as I saw them, and I think that perhaps the great majority of those present will agree as to the general facts expressed. We must remember that the Indians by the gradual occupation of their country were brought into a state of greater and greater friction with the whites. Constant conflicts ensuing, it was found necessary to limit them to reservations. This was a necessity at the time from which it would have been impossible to escape. The game was rapidly disappearing. It was necessary that a great majority of those who had subsisted upon the buffalo should be temporarily fed some other way. These people were entirely separate from us in every respect. They were in the condition of the primitive people of the stone age. That represented a high state of civilization which was flowing all around about them, and pressing upon them in a way which would have been utterly destructive. So the creation of the reservation, the evils of which we have clearly seen, was a necessity. It was necessary that some definite line should be drawn for a time between various Indian tribes and the surrounding people, otherwise they would have been destroyed as we see even now in some instances is the case while the system is being abandoned. It was necessary to keep them from liquor, from the broils and troubles which spring up between them and the whites, so that we may look upon the reservations very much as the temporary nursery of the Indian. It stood to the Indian for a given period as the nursery stands to the child. A nursery is a good thing for a while, but we do not keep our children there indefinitely. That, I think, is a fair analogy.

Now how is the government to be represented upon this area of territory, which seems to me precisely like an island completely surrounded by a sea of white civilization? What are we to do? We have put there a representative of the government, an Indian agent. We have given facilities for missionaries to do the work there in

trying to build up the character of the Indian. We have introduced a school system which is reaching a very high organization as compared with its condition twenty years ago, and for which we are spending a large sum of money. We have then these various forces of civilization working upon the Indian within the limits of the reservation.

The next most necessary thing to do was to ask the government to introduce a system by which its employees might be persons of the best intelligence and personal character, so that the enterprise undertaken by the government might be successful. We therefore asked that the merit system might replace the spoils system in the Indian service. We recognize the reservation as only temporary; and I, for one, think that in reviewing the past history of the Mohonk Conference some of us have been disposed to exaggerate and over-emphasize the real difference which existed among the friends of the Indian on that subject. I do not think there were any friends of the Indian who anticipated holding the reservation as a permanent thing. There were persons outside who represented this view. It was maintained by such men as Dr. Bland of Washington and others, who did feel that the reservation should be permanent, that a wall should be built up between the white men and the Indian. But there were no friends of the Indian known to me — and I will refer you to our reports — who took that view, that it was to be a permanency. We recognized that that sea of white civilization was beating on the shore of these island reservations and that the reservation was bound to diminish and disappear. We asked from the beginning that the Indian's character should be built up by the Church getting hold of his heart and life, that his knowledge of industries should be built up by his being taught to cultivate the ground, and in other ways that he should be strong enough to stand when the change came. We hoped that a better class of Indian children would be brought up who should go to our great Eastern schools. I think our conception from the beginning was a system which would use the reservation simply as a temporary nursery with the idea of getting rid of it as soon as we could adopt a system which would get rid of it.

You will remember how this Conference was in favor of breaking up the great Sioux Reservation, and stopped the first effort to sell half of it for inequitable terms, and obliged the Commission charged with that duty to sell it equitably; and how, with our co-operation and help that great reservation has had about half of its territory taken from it. We looked upon these reservation schools and the Eastern schools as mutually helpful. We never anticipated any antagonism in these two lines of work. It was, after all, the same work which was going on in various localities, the great Eastern schools dealing with as many children as they could, giving them the higher training and better knowledge, then sending them back under circumstances which were decided in each individual case to lift up the remainder of their people.

We felt that it was necessary to break down the old spoils system

by which each party used places among the Indians and in the service generally as spoils. We worked hard for the introduction of the merit system. Finally, we got it. We got at first 700 school teachers and superintendents brought under that system, so that those who were placed in these positions should not be selected for partisan reasons, but for fitness to do their work. I think every one will have to acknowledge that, whatever faults there may be in the details of that system, it is infinitely better than it was before. It is far better that a teacher shall be appointed not because Senator So-and-so desires it, but because he is capable of doing the work. I think there is a great concurrence of opinion on that subject.

We have worked along on those lines, and now we have not only got the merit system introduced, but largely extended over the service. So far as we can look at the results, they are good and wholesome. The new method is opposed in many cases by persons who have gone in under the old system, and sometimes new employees are made uncomfortable; but I think it is the general testimony that there is an advance.

In reference to the agent himself, we do not want a system built up which shall keep the agency as a permanency, with an agent whose power is maintained from year to year. We desire that, as the surplus lands are sold, as the Indians are brought to a clearer conception of civilization, the agency shall pass away. But, in the mean time, it is desirable to get good agents who shall, as quickly as possible, bring the Indian to a degree of civilization at which he shall be able to do without the reservation. How are we to do it? We have shown that we are able by asking the various Presidents to act upon the general principles of Civil Service Reform, to adopt the merit idea in practice. That means that they should not turn out an agent because he has been put in by the previous administration. If an agent is doing good work he should be supported, and if he is not doing good work he should be turned out. We desire that he shall be a good, faithful man while there. That is all we ask. We ask that they shall be appointed according to the spirit of the Civil Service Reform. We should be very thankful to Mr. Secretary Hoke Smith for a great many advances in that direction. There were several cases where he retained men who were put in by his predecessor, and several cases where he reappointed men who had been turned out of office. Major Steele, I think, was one. So there is a recognition of that principle. I do not see how we can depart from those general lines. This is not the enunciation of a new policy. It is the steady pressing forward of the old policy for which Mohonk has always stood.

Take the speeches made yesterday and the facts brought forward by such speakers as Miss Collins, Mr. Young, Bishop Whipple, and Bishop Gilbert. I think those speeches show the great moral work which is going on in reservations, which is going on in those sections of country where the Indians are kept by themselves, so that we may feel that most valuable work is being done there. How is it to be continued? By studying the facts of the cases as they

come up; by following up our regular policy; by keeping our hands very carefully on the facts as they develop; by getting a sound, true theory; by looking on the reservations as a temporary necessity but one that cannot be altogether dispensed with at present with safety; by following the idea that surplus lands should be sold. I should like to see them sold as fast as possible.

Another important thing that we must do is to prevent the destruction of the Indian through the selling of fire-water,—the “devil’s blood,” as the Delaware Indians used to call it.

Then the work on the reservation should have a definite relation to the work which is being done in the East. Captain Pratt told us last night that a large number of his pupils had to be sent back. He regretted it honestly and truly. But that is the great fact that we have to face. If it is true that they have to be sent back for one reason or another, then we must try to make these reservations while they last as good as possible so that the returned Indians who go to them shall have a chance there. How? By keeping in close contact with them, by finding out their difficulties, by taking up the little difficulties at which Miss Collins hinted, and by systematically trying to remove them. It is an evolution, not a revolution, that must be looked to to take the reservation out of existence.

I think when the new President comes in, that the way in which we are to carry forward the Civil Service idea in the appointment of new agents, must be very largely by public opinion in favor of reform. That is the most powerful means. In all the ways open to us we must go to the new President and say to him, “Now those who call themselves the friends of the Indians have built up this degree of civilization in the treatment of the Indians and they have created a certain structure of public sentiment, and we ask now that the goodly edifice shall not be destroyed.” I do not believe any one will dare to destroy very much of the edifice which has been built, and we must press upon those lines. I think in this connection, there is no new policy that should be formulated. What is needed is a certain radicalism on conservative lines. The different sections of the work must be brought into closer relation. Let us do our work harder with the old tools that have proved serviceable.

Dr. Hailmann has written that there is an increasing union of sentiment between the Eastern and Western schools. He is the representative of the great advance in the Indian work. His report will produce a great impression on your minds. You will feel that it is the report of a very wise, thoroughly-trained man with a deep knowledge of human nature seeking to take the newest appliances for the civilization of the Indian. Notice one of the things he has done; that is, to bring the Indian schools into closer contact with the whites. Wherever those schools have been lifted up to a high enough plane to justify it, he is trying to bring them under the care of the educational institutions of the States in which they are. Do you not see how the question is continually in process of solution, and how many of those difficulties are melting away, and how these people are being gradually brought into closer connection with our national life?

This is nothing new. It is like the gospel. The interest of the gospel of Christ lies in the profound wisdom there is in it. The more we study it the more we find that it has in it all the conditions of human life. We are inspired by that wisdom, led along those lines. These are the lines which we should follow out. Let us follow them to their conclusion. Let us not only say that the reservation is to be broken up, but let us put fire and spirit, and life, and thought, and hope, into the whole machinery of the Indian work, conserving what we have got and asking the new President to keep that and give us something more to boot. That is the way in which the island reservation shall be merged in the general commonwealth sea which beats about it.

Mrs. A. S. QUINTON.—I want to indorse what Mr. Welsh has said. He has epitomized the sentiment and work of the Indian Rights Association. Just that spirit and line of work has been that of the Women's National Indian Association. Because we were women some have thought that we must be sentimental. When we sent our petition asking for land in severalty, for education and for citizenship for the Indians, in 1881, we did it with the object of destroying the reservation system. That was the impulse and prayer under it all,—to destroy the system by giving individual property and the individual holding of land to the individual. You remember that measure did not become law until 1887. The idea is now with all workers for Indians that the reservation should be destroyed, root and branch, at the first safe moment. I believe that it could be done in a few years; sometimes I have thought in three, sometimes in five; but I do believe it could safely come soon if the constant change of agents among Indians could be avoided.

We rejoice unspeakably in the harmony of the views of all friends of the Indians. It does not always look harmonious as to methods, but the ideal toward which all move is the same. All believe that the Indian is a man; and our work is all in the line of helping him to cease being an Indian that he may become wholly a man. The work of our Association in every part of the country from Maine to Florida has been on this line.

We have not done much school work as an Association, because we believed the government could and would do that, but we have done some in destitute places. One of our schools we have just turned over to the government because it had outgrown our financial ability. It had forty-one boarding and forty day scholars now costing \$4,000 a year. Its work goes on under the same superintendent; and it is, as before, a Christian school, and it teaches citizenship as well as industries, and is doing just such work as you have here heard about from the missionaries, the churches, and the industrial schools. It is doing the same kind of work that is done in the schools in the East: as, for instance, in that noble institution at Carlisle. Not on so grand a scale, of course, not with so grand and broad a success, but on the same lines, because the grace of God is everywhere in the hearts of Christian teachers, and the work of his children meets everywhere like results. We here are all working

toward the same ends and with the motive of doing away with the reservation system at the first possible safe moment, in order that all Indians may, as soon as possible, become United States citizens and Christian citizens.

MR. ALFRED HARDY.—The school at Fort Defiance never succeeded because of continual strife between different factions on the reservation, between the agency employees and those connected with the school. This will continue in my opinion as long as the agency remains where the school is. The character of those about the agency does not improve the tone of the school. The men are often profane and loose in the presence of children, and it is almost impossible to keep the children from loitering around those places where they hear the sort of talk that you would be ashamed to have your children listen to. It is my hope that in the future the government will remove the agency to another part of the reservation. There is a place about fifteen miles north where it will be more central for the people. It will necessitate drawing supplies fifty-five miles instead of thirty, but it will get the children out from under the influence of bad surroundings. As to agents, I believe that the Indians have more respect for the missionary men than for the civilians, but I believe it requires a man of the best capabilities and of high moral principle and sterling qualities in every way to be an agent on that large reservation, which is as large as Massachusetts and Connecticut together. It includes the Moqui reservation, which is ninety miles to the west. The government allows the agent but one clerk, which requires the agent to be on duty almost continually, and he has no chance to get out on the reservation and study the different camps and know the conditions of the people or what is best to do for them. He has to be at his desk from morning till night and sometimes till ten or eleven at night. The best people that he has to help so far as the education of the people is concerned are the field matrons. The field matron is an excellent adviser and counsellor. The field matron is the right hand of the agent. She it is who understands the condition of every location within fifty miles, and she will take ten times as much interest in it, and will make twice as much effort to find the best conditions as any farmer will. I believe she will teach more farming, too.

I should like to say a word in regard to the distribution of tools and instruments. I hoped that Commissioner Browning would allow the agent through the field matron to distribute to the people in her immediate vicinity the necessary tools that were needed by those people. He said it could not be done because the field matron is not a disbursing agent. She was well qualified to distribute them, and could have done it at a saving to the government. They are doled out helter-skelter, some getting what they do not need and others fail to get what they do need.

REV. MR. TURNER.—I spent eight weeks with the Indians this year, visiting some of the north-western tribes, the Oneidas, Santees, Winnebagoes, Omahas, Crow Creeks, and others. I came back very much encouraged by what I saw. It is true there was much

that I wished had been different; but many of the things that I saw that were wrong were not always the fault of the Indian.

I was encouraged by the work that the government schools are doing on the reservations. There has been great improvement in the past few years. There are better buildings, and they are better equipped; there are better teachers, and the system of teaching in most of the schools I have visited emphasizes the importance of the use of the best methods. The parents are now glad to bring their children to the school. There was a time — and not very long ago — when the agent, in order to get the children into school, was obliged to withhold the rations from the family. That is no longer necessary. For not only are the children brought promptly on the opening day, but the Indian is taking a pride in his reservation school and its improvement, and at the same time appreciating more what it means to send his children to such advanced schools as Carlisle and Hampton. I was glad to find in one of the schools a large dairy which is managed and worked entirely by the Indian girls, who are taught to make butter and cheese, and to take the proper care of the milk and the cream. No machinery is used, so that when they go back to their own homes, they can do just what they did at the school. The good results are already seen. Some of the homes have their own dairies and are making their own butter. This means a great advance.

At Crow Creek I saw that the Indians were making efforts to support themselves. The government has built a large flour-mill there, equipped with modern machinery. The agent, Dr. Fred Treon, promised the Indians that if they would cultivate their acres and raise wheat, he would buy it of them at a good price, grind it at the mill, and issue it back to them in flour instead of purchasing the flour from outside. This has greatly encouraged them to till their land. This year the agent has bought 7,000 bushels of threshed wheat from them, paying them fifty cents a bushel. They are invited to visit the mill and examine the process by which the wheat becomes flour. The agent also told them that if they would raise cattle he would buy them: and this year he will purchase 100,000 pounds of beef from the Indians, paying them in cash. Now what do the Indians do with this money? Many of them are using it in the improvement of their homes, in buying farming implements that the government does not supply, in providing their wives with sewing-machines. Some have bank accounts. When you can get an Indian to be thrifty, industrious, economical, and saving, you have done a great deal for him.

This is a reservation where the ration system is continued. It seems to me that what the Crow Creek Indians need is to have this ration system given up. If not all at once, then a part each year, till they are rid of it. Many of them have shown that they are able to take care of themselves, and others are equally able. Give them a few more cattle, fence the reservation so that the cattle will not stray away, and the Indians will not need our flour or our beef, and their manhood will be the better developed.

Among the Winnebagoes I saw much to make me sad. The chief purpose in all education is to make true men and women. The head and hand cannot be educated at the expense of the heart. Character building is the supreme thing. The Winnebagoes need heart culture. Not long ago the Omahas were among the most advanced Indians. They were pointed out by the friends of the Indian as those who gave us the most encouragement. But to-day it is not so. When they were in this hopeful condition, missionary work was in full force there; but they began to decline just as soon as the missionary work was withdrawn. While I appreciate the good work accomplished in the reservation schools, and what the government is doing through its officials in the interest of the Indian, yet I believe that the progress of the Indian is largely due to the indefatigable labors of the men and women who have gone out there to establish the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ.

I cannot tell you how I have been impressed by the returned students, who have come from schools where Christianity has an important place in the life of the pupil. Those of us who visit the reservations and see things just as they are, must admit that there is a painful element of truth in the charge made of returned students going back to the blanket,—which generally means the vices of the white man,—and yet I have found that very few of them were Christians. These young Christian returned students are almost invariably lights in the community and in the household. They are in sympathy with the missionary and his work, and are always ready to aid the agent and school superintendent in furthering any good work. They are willing to talk with you and to act as interpreters. They stand ready to receive and help the students who are returning.

Christianity brings ideas to the Indian that the school cannot, though the school may be Christian. This is seen particularly in the treatment the wife receives from the husband. She assumes a new place and new duties.

The Indian is a proud man. This is a noble quality. But when it is not properly trained and governed, it makes him a selfish man. The unchristianized Indian needs instruction in humility and self-sacrifice. He has not learned the meaning of "Bear ye one another's burdens." He thinks too much about himself; and one who thinks of himself only, soon forgets principles of righteousness and loving kindness. Teach him that there is something better to think of than himself, something better to live for. Teach him to live for God, and to guide his life by the law of Jesus Christ, and his advancement is assured.

Miss COLLINS.—Our Indians are perfectly capable of raising a large amount of the cattle killed for beef and issued to them; but the Great Father in Washington does not think they are capable of killing them, so the cattle have to be driven a long distance to be killed and dragged about over the dirty ground, and then hauled back to their homes. This is the work of the government which helps to keep them like little children. If an Indian can raise beef, he ought to be intelligent enough to butcher it at home. Let the

cattle be issued once in three months on foot, and let each man be responsible for his own beef. The Indians are now far enough advanced to take this responsibility, and they would be kept at home by this means, instead of staying around the agencies, which is now most demoralizing.

Mrs. CLINTON B. FISK.— Chaplain Turner recalled to my mind a question which is asked me often by the members of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist church, whose servant I am, "Which would you do, educate or Christianize first?" My reply invariably has been, let them go hand in hand. I never turn my feet toward this mount of generous hospitality and of the widest justice to the down-trodden, but I wish that I might be able to say to you what the women of my society are trying to do for the Indians. But they are trying to do their duty as in the sight of God. And they are not only doing their duty by the Indians, but by other down-trodden people. An allusion has been made to the way that the Fourth of July was spent among Miss Collins's Indians. Our missionary women in New York spent the Fourth of July in superintending the actual scrubbing of the bodies of the Polish women and children who were held at Ellis Island. I feel that I am only their steward; but I pledge to you my own fidelity in missionary work, and the fidelity of the Methodist women who honor me with their chairmanship.

Judge CHARLES B. HOWRY, Assistant Attorney-General.— My estimate of the value of the noble work of this Association is so great I will respond to the invitation to offer to you a few suggestions which I think may be of service respecting the protection of Indian funds. My connection with the care of these funds is official, and began three years ago under a law that threatened the complete destruction of the funds of some of the Indian tribes and the serious impairment of the funds of nearly all of the tribes, including the civilized nations of the Indian Territory. This law provided for the payment of the depredations of Indians upon the property of white men, and is known as the Indian Depredation Law. In its inception it was unjust in that it was not reciprocal in its operation. As intended originally for passage the bills introduced in Congress contemplated that, for all acts of spoliation upon the property of the individual citizen by the Indian and the individual Indian by our citizens, that suit might be brought against the Indian tribes and the United States for the depredations of the Indians, and suit might also be brought in favor of the tribes against the United States for the depredations of white people. This scheme was not carried to final passage. After a most interesting debate in the Senate, participated in particularly by the New England Senators, that clause of the bill providing for the payment of the Indians for the depredations of white men was dropped; and the bill, as finally passed, provided for the payment to citizens of the United States for all acts of spoliation upon property committed by Indians after an adjudication by the Court of Claims on suits authorized to be brought by the act of Congress.

After the passage of this law, nearly 11,000 suits, aggregating in round numbers \$44,000,000, were claimed from the Indian funds. The great question immediately arose whether Indian tribes were liable for what individual members of the tribes or bands had taken or destroyed in time of war, and whether the law merely contemplated provision for payment for the trespasses, robberies, and thefts of individual Indians in times of peace. This question has been in the courts for several years. Innumerable side issues have sprung up along the lines independent of these vital considerations. Many technical questions have also arisen; but it affords me pleasure to say that since last winter, after litigation participated in by several thousand claimants, the results have finally been determined in the Supreme Court sustaining the views of the Department of Justice, thus disposing of probably 5,000 of the claims against the Indians, aggregating perhaps \$22,000,000. The Supreme Court, Justice Brewer delivering the opinions, decided that the Depredation Act of Congress meant only the trespasses, robberies, and thefts of individual Indians, and did not apply to acts of taking and destruction in time of Indian hostilities. So far so good. But amendments are now pending to this law, intended to evade the decisions of the Supreme Court in the test cases which have settled the meaning of Congress. It may well be understood that, in the pressure for judgment in so many cases, I have necessarily been obliged to be like the Irishman at the Donnybrook Fair,—ready to hit anything in sight; and so much so that a distinguished Senator, in a spirit of friendly interest, once informed me that if I undertook the defence of depredation claims, and pursued the policy that I had mapped out in their defence, a conspiracy would rise up to break me down. I am still here, however; nor have I been broken down for merely discharging public duty according to law.

I am an executive official, and, therefore, not in position to offer advice to Congress. But I think I can with propriety tender some suggestions to this Association which may be of value respecting the protection due to the annuities of the Indians.

In the first place, the law, as I have stated, is partial in its operation. In the second place, it is a law that admits of great imposition in the provision for the payment of stale claims growing out of transactions occurring many years ago. Without entering into particulars as to the vigilance to be applied to the defence of claims so old, I may state that upon one occasion I happened to have my morning correspondence before the House Appropriations Committee, which brought me information that an assistant in California reported that he had taken a stage ride 150 miles to ascertain facts with reference to a little claim for \$2,100, with the result that he had scaled the amount to \$600, and along with the same mail brought me another report upon a claim which probably disposed of a demand for \$60,000. These instances of imposition, however, ought not to affect the speedy determination and payment of just claims for the depredations of Indians; for there are undoubtedly many claims essentially just and proper under the law as it has been construed,

and I have earnestly endeavored to arrive at the truth in each case as it has arisen, and acted accordingly. But the United States should furnish means enough to put competent workers in the field for the purpose of examining every claim on the spot. More time and means should be used to investigate for the defence. If this association will give its attention to the legislation of Congress which threatens the integrity of Indian funds for depredations occurring from twenty to fifty years ago, such attention may do the Indian tribes much practical service. Undoubtedly there has been, and will continue to be, criticism against the Department of Justice for the vigorous defence of these claims, and I am not unaware that I am under constant criticism on this account; but when I leave this field I hope to leave behind me at least something useful to people who have none to defend their rights but those assigned to this duty by the government.

Bishop WHIPPLE.—I am glad to have a chance to perform a duty that I should like to have performed years ago. The person whom I have in mind was one whom I dearly loved, one not of the Episcopal Church. At the time that General Grant divided the Indian agencies between the different religious bodies, as we had the only mission among the Ojibways I naturally expected that we should have the appointment of an agent. I was informed, however, from Washington that the American Missionary Association had asked that they might have the agency of Minnesota. When President Grant sent me that word, I said, "I am perfectly content to give up our claim." They appointed Rev. E. P. Smith. Naturally, being of another communion, I watched him; and I know more of his administration of Indian affairs than of any Indian agent in the United States. If there ever was a faithful, devout, earnest disciple of Christ, it was E. P. Smith. Accusations were brought against him and I defended him. When persons suggested that I had better not put my head in chancery I said I should be ashamed of my manhood if I hesitated a hair's breadth to defend a Christian man of another communion because it might bring me into trouble. I was in Baltimore, something of an invalid, when all these accumulated troubles were heaped on the head of E. P. Smith. I telegraphed him that I would go to Washington to see him and say good-by, but I was not well. Upon that he came over to see me. As he entered the room he threw his arms round my neck and kissed me and said, "Bishop, till God calls me home I will pray God to bless you because you have defended me against false accusations. They have stolen my character and I shall die with a broken heart." He went to my uncle, Rev. George Whipple, and said, "I have been falsely accused of that of which I was not guilty; give me something to do." And my uncle said, "The only work we have at this time is to send a special agent to Africa." And he went there and died of the fever. As there are those here who loved him, and as a cloud has rested over that name, I tell you here in the sight of God that I honestly believe that a truer, more faithful servant of the Indian was never employed in this country. I am glad at this time to bear my testimony to one who has gone to the other home.

I wish to say one word more. My good friend, whom I love as a brother,—and thank God that there is a Herbert Welsh to fight these battles,—has spoken with reference to the appointment of agents. From my own experience I can say that personal appeals to the President are the best ways in which you can secure what you want in this matter.

Adjourned at 1.25 P.M.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Night, October 15.

The Conference was called to order at eight o'clock by Mr. Smiley in the absence of Dr. Gates, who had to leave. On motion of Mr. Smiley, Mr. Philip C. Garrett was elected president for the remainder of the Conference.

The subject of the evening, Education, was then taken up, and a summary of the forthcoming report of Superintendent Hailmann, an advance copy of which had been sent to the Conference, was given by Mr. Welsh. As the report can be had in full by applying to Dr. Hailmann, the abstract is here omitted.

Mr. Smiley said that he hoped some effort would be made to secure the reappointment of Dr. Hailmann.

Miss Scoville was introduced as the grand-daughter of Henry Ward Beecher, and was asked to speak ten minutes.

MISS SCOVILLE.—I am sure all the teachers who attended the Conventions this summer would indorse all that has been said of Dr. Hailmann. His work was broad and strong, and each one of us felt that we had received individual help in our work.

This is my first Mohonk Conference, and I came to listen, not to talk; yet, when your chairman asked me to tell you something about my summer among the Indians, I thought I had something to say. But I have learned, as I listened, that all that I have learned this summer you have learned long before.

There is only one thing that I *think* I can tell you something new about, and that is those Sac houses Mr. Leupp mentioned. I thought of them when one of the speakers yesterday said that often when we are discouraged it was because our own plans were failures, and we should remember that they are of no importance save as they build character. I believe that those houses stand for character. Let me tell you the story as I learned it on the reservation.

After the Black Hawk War the Sacs were removed into Kansas. And one party, called the progressive party, stood for the white man's plans; and the non-progressive party, the Foxes, as they were called, stood for the old way and claimed that from the white men they got nothing but vice,—that to be a white man's Indian was to be a bad Indian, and to be a good man was to follow the Indian way. That was the worst period of our Indian policy, and they were right in their opinion. They left the tribe, purchased the land in Iowa with their own money, and went there to be *good Indians*. They rejected the white man's house, the white man's dress, the white man's civilization, the white man's God, and the

white man's vices. How have they succeeded? They have lived surrounded by white people, but they have lived as Indians. They have supported themselves, receiving but little money from the government; they have lived carefully, and have worked hard in their way, making mats and baskets, weaving, and working in silver. To-day there is one white house, and that is a log house that was built by the government for the interpreter. For twelve years there has been a mission among them, but there is not one Christian on the reservation. Why? It is the policy of that mission — so one of the gentlemen told me — not to learn Sac because it encourages the people not to learn English. But English these people have rejected, and therefore they have no gospel. Their houses, which they have been forced to build of boards, they build as high as the gables; but, rather than make white man's houses, they make the gable-ends in the old way of mats and bark. It was not because it was too hard work to make them of boards. They are willing to work, but they are not willing to imitate the white man. And they have rejected the white man's vices that they said they would reject. It has been said that because they are surrounded by good whites there was no liquor. They have had good agents; but the white men told me that these Indians themselves give up to the law any man who sells liquor on the reservation. The family relation is preserved. They boast that there is not a half-breed under fifty years of age in the band. They earn their living as Indians; they dress as Indians; they speak as Indians. As Indians they stand and hope to die. One of the greatest Indian workers said to me that the Tama Sac Reserve was the most discouraging spot on the face of this earth. It is discouraging, but can we not utilize the character that is held there? Is it discouraging to find that the Indian has the character to stand that way? Cannot we use that character for civilization and religion?

Dr. JAMES M. KING.—It has taken many years to discover that the same process by which you can convert an Italian or a Scandinavian, or any immigrant who has come from a monarchical form of government, into safe citizenship must be applied in preparing these natives for loyal citizenship. The only power that will transmute the dangerously heterogeneous elements of our population into a safely homogeneous citizenship, is the free common-school system of education. I believe this to be true so far as elementary education is concerned, and I believe we are learning the lesson that under the leadership of Christian men and women the instruction which we give to our common citizenship in the government schools is accomplishing this end. Apply the same methods to make a good citizen of the Indian that you apply to make a good citizen out of your own child and you will be successful. Instruct the head with proper intellectual teaching and instruct the heart with the teaching of the Nazarene, and you have solved the Indian problem.

Secretary C. J. RYDER.—The first time I went out to the Indian Territory I saw a man so peculiar in his dress that I should like to

put him before you. He was typical of the condition. He had on buckskin moccasins with ornaments of beading and buckskin leggings. Round his tall figure was a close-buttoned Prince Albert coat which had shiny seams, like a minister's coat. There were holes in his hat and he had eagle feathers in one of the holes. He walked down the street with great dignity and I saw him plunge into an open door of—a Christian minister's house? No. Into a public school? No. Into the open door of a saloon. In that Indian nation which we were trying to bring out of barbarism there had been planted this institution of hell and over it floated the stars and stripes. I was once abroad when I saw the dear old flag fluttering, and I went across the street and stood under its shadow. How much it meant to me in that foreign nation! And the memory of the days of the war came to me and my heart filled and my eyes. But I confess to you, Christian friends, that when I saw the flag indorsing and permitting that awful iniquity in the Indian Territory I was almost ashamed that that flag was my flag.

In the first place, we must save the Indian from the evil influence of wicked white men. This is so self-evident and has been said so many times that it has become commonplace, and yet it is the nub of the whole question. After I had made a visit to several Indian reservations some months ago I was walking down the streets of Boston and met one of the editors of the *Advertiser*. He said to me, "How is Mr. Low getting on?" I answered, "Mr. Low would get on a good deal better if Mr. High would let him alone." The protection of the Indian from systematic outrages perpetrated by the government through corrupt agents is increasingly effective. The failure still, however, to get decent legislation to keep him from the encroachment permitted under our white man's government is gross and startling.

I was in Washington at the last meeting of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and I cannot get the impression out of my mind that was made on it when there came from the Ponca Agency that aged Indian, La Flesche. He stood there and pleaded that Congress should pass the bill to prevent the sale of liquor to his people. I remember his opening sentence: "I am an Indian, but I am also a man. Firewater corrupts and degrades me, not because I am an Indian, but because I am a man." It was a disgrace to us that that bill was not passed.

In order to bring the Indian into civilization we must civilize Congress and the white men who come in contact with him.

But, again, we must remember also that the Indian is an important factor in the Indian problem. He will never become a white man, and it may be better that he never should. The racial peculiarities of the Scotch, the Irish, and the English are distinct and definite. Each retains his own peculiarities when he becomes a part of our body politic. This is not weakness, but strength, political and sociological. The same is true with the Indian. He must be treated physically, mentally, and morally as an Indian if we would better his condition. I have been much interested in studying cer-

tain psychological facts and questions concerning the Indian. What is the content of the Indian mind? What does the Indian child bring to the school before he begins the study of books? What has the Indian learned as a race during his wild and wandering life?

It seems to me in the first place the Indian must be to some extent a logician. The logical faculty may be assumed. As a race he has been reasoning all his life from effect to cause. When hunting, or on the war path, he must determine from the footprints of the animals or men certain facts concerning those that made them. Is this moccasin print in the sand of the river that of a friend or an enemy? Which way was he going,—to an attack, or was he fleeing? This has been a constant process in the mind of the Indian during centuries. We can assume, then, that the logical faculty, at least in embryo, exists in the Indian's mind.

When I was at Oahe the last time, a young lady was to go to the East (an Indian girl), and it seemed to us that it would be well to have her recite an address which she proposed to give in the East. So she stood in the little chapel before us, and her opening sentence was not unlike that of the Indian in Washington, "I am an Indian and I am a Christian." In dealing with these people and in providing them a system of education we must recognize that they are Indians, and we must do all possible to develop that already possessed by the Indian mind.

Then, again, we must develop and not crush the nobler moral instincts planted by nature in the Indian heart. I cannot see how it is possible by force to take children from their homes without violating the love of the Indian mother's heart. This is a natural, moral instinct. Parental love is perhaps the highest that exists in the untutored mind, planted by God. It cannot be rudely treated without irreparable loss to the Indian. The violent and rough way in which agents and others have forced children from the Indian tepees and trampled upon the love of parents have not been civilizing forces, but those making for savagery. Compulsory education of red and white children we all believe in. The methods that I have seen adopted, however, in Indian homes have been enough to stir the blood in a frozen heart. Our Anglo-Saxon race would have risen in armed opposition to the methods sometimes employed by government in getting children from Indian homes if such methods had prevailed toward white people. That this parental love is deep and abiding in the hearts of the Indians no one familiar with them can doubt.

A pathetic illustration of this came to my knowledge when I was at our American Missionary Association hospital some time ago. A Christian woman was the physician there. Among other patients was a little brown Indian baby, very sick. The doctor took me into the ward where it was and showed me its condition, and told me that there was no hope for the poor little fellow, that he was going to die. "But," she said, "we can make him more comfortable while he lives." As she talked with me about this baby, which was in her

arms, I heard a rustling at the window, and there, pressed close up against the panes, were two brown faces, a man's and a woman's, the parents of this little baby; and it was their only child. They had brought him into the hospital that he might recover from his disease, and they had planted their tent outside; and there they had heard the moaning of the baby, and had come to see what was being done for him. It was their brown faces that were looking in. The doctor said to me, "Don't you think that when they see this baby tucked away in its nice clean bed I can go out to them in their tepee and tell them better of the Great Physician, who came to heal not bodily diseases alone, but soul disorders?" We have got to appeal to this natural instinct of maternal and paternal love, and not crush it out in dealing with this great problem.

It has been most delightful to hear from dear Bishop Whipple during the sessions of this Mohonk Conference; and I have been almost converted to the Episcopacy. I am positive that the doctrine of apostolic succession is true, and that the spirit of the beloved apostle has breathed itself into the heart of our honored bishop. As Bishop Whipple and his associate bishop told of the work in Minnesota during the many years that are passed, our hearts were thrilled, as they always are, with the account of that wonderful work. The element in it that most impressed me, however, was the generosity of the Indians and their frequent responses to appeals for support and enlargement of the Christian work among their people. And this accentuates another natural instinct of the Indian.

The Indian is instinctively generous. An Indian woman in the old life would never keep two shawls. If she came into possession of more than one, she would divide with her more needy neighbor. Of course we must develop the desire for possession, or "land hunger," as political economists call it. But, in doing this, we must not crush out this natural instinct of generosity. It is to be directed in wise and wholesome channels of civilization and Christianity. It is not to be annihilated. The occupancy of a certain amount of land in severalty by one Indian means the exclusion of every other Indian from the same holding. This is contrary to his tribal instinct, and violates his innate principle of generosity. Gentleness, deliberation, and great care, are necessary, or we shall rob the Indian of his large-hearted generosity, and make him only a hard, grasping, selfish money-getter, such as are all through our country among the white men, and a burning disgrace to our race.

I am rejoiced to say that it is possible so to direct this natural instinct of benevolence as to turn it into wise and wholesome channels. Let me read you the contributions of an Indian church on the prairie, consisting of sixty-two members. This is the contribution of a single year. The church is made up almost entirely of Indians, with a few faithful missionaries sprinkled in. The following is the record of their yearly gifts: To the work of the American Missionary Association, \$246.07; to the American Board, \$76.26; to the Congregational Home Missionary Society, \$46.42; to the Col-

lege and Education Society, \$15; to the Sunday-school and Publishing Society, \$13.75; to the Dakota Native Missionary Society, \$140.44; to Burrell Chapel Building, \$15.09; aiding Bazile Church, \$6.72; making a total of \$559.75. In addition to this they contributed largely to their own self-support. It is a tremendous sacrifice for these Indians, who never have a dollar that they do not need, thus to pour into the Lord's treasury this magnificent offering. Professor Frederick B. Riggs, who is following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather in his splendid work at Santee Normal Training School and on the prairie, wrote me of this fact; and it melted all our hearts in the American Missionary Association office as we read it. This record shows that this natural instinct of generosity need not be crushed nor violated. It may be turned into proper channels and prove of greatest blessing to the Indians as a whole in their noble struggle toward Christian civilization.

I sometimes doubt whether army officers, who naturally look upon the Indians as a "subjugated enemy," can treat them with such gentleness and patience as are necessary to develop these intellectual and moral qualities which the Indians possess to the highest and best degree. I have witnessed so much that is harsh and rough and inconsiderate, not to say brutal, during the past twelve years that I have doubted whether the Indian problem could be settled under such conditions. The problem before us in the Indian field is not to subjugate and dominate a terrorized people, but to lift up the ignorant and superstitious and pagan until they shall stand on the plane of intelligent citizenship and of Christian consecration, of pure, self-reliant manhood and womanhood. That this is being done through the quiet work and self-sacrificing lives of the missionaries of the various churches on these prairies, no one familiar with the field can doubt. A most interesting proof of the influence of Christian truth upon the dullest Indian mind came to my knowledge some months ago when I was West. As I rode over the prairie one day an Indian reached up his hand, and said to me, "How!" and we shook hands. I noticed that he had only a part of a hand; part was gone. It had been shot off in fighting on the pagan side at the battle of Wounded Knee. He lived in his village seventy-five miles from any Christian mission; and he had come out to hail us, to see if we had anything that told about Jesus in the Sioux language that he could give to his people. He said, "I have found Jesus; and he is so dear to me that I want to tell the other people of my village about him." God works along lines and in ways that we little dream of. His spirit had found its way over the prairie, and this soul had been born into the kingdom of God. With the earnestness and faith and love and joy of the new-born soul the world round, he was reaching out that he might bring his own people to see the same blessed experience. When this is accomplished universally, it is *the solution of the Indian problem*.

I have in my hand a preamble and set of resolutions drawn up by the members of the Dakota Indian Missions under the care of the American Missionary Association. A copy of them was sent to the

Commissioner of Indian Affairs and is now receiving his attention. I desire to present them here that they may be referred to the committee on the platform, and, if it seems wise, the matters to which they relate may receive attention in the platform. The tenor of the resolutions is to urge a uniformity in the methods of keeping records of marriages among the Indians, and a demand for greater care on the part of the agents in the adoption of intelligent and honorable methods by them in granting divorces. I submit these resolutions to the Conference.

I desire to correct an impression that perhaps was received by some who heard me last night. I have been asked whether I meant to say that I did not believe in the outing system. I am heartily and entirely in favor of that system. I believe that it is an important factor in the solution of the Indian problem. But I know also that the great mass of the Indians are residing and will continue to reside for many, many years in the places where they now are; and, since they are there, the gospel of Jesus Christ ought to be sent to them.

The resolution was referred to the business committee.

Dr. FRISSELL.—It would be a good thing for this Conference to make an appeal to the Christian Church to support missions. It is a shame that such work as Bishop Whipple's and that of the American Missionary Association are not better sustained. I am beginning to feel that it is not worth while for us to send back Indians into the West where there are no Christian missionaries and churches, nothing to help them to stand when they go back.

I have been very grateful for what has been said here. We have been helped through these days. I am glad of the unity that prevails here. I do not believe Mr. Smiley understands how much good it does us to be here, because he gives us a chance to look over the whole field and to understand our relation to the whole; and that is a grand, fine thing. We understand better what the other workers are doing and can adapt our work to theirs. We learn to appreciate better what the bishop and Miss Collins and the others are doing in the West. If we do not appreciate the work of others it is a shame. Hampton has always had the missionary idea. General Armstrong, who was born in the Hawaiian Islands, was the son of a missionary, and when he founded a school it was with the idea that the young people should go out not merely to live for themselves but that they should be leaders of their race. It would not be possible in such a school and such a founder to have any other ideal than that the young men and women should be the leaders and teachers of their own people.

Now we feel that, just as we have seen men like Booker Washington sent down to help the Negroes, so we need to send to the West young men and women who shall be such leaders there. This is what the Indian race needs. The whole creation groaneth and travaileth waiting for the redemption of the sons of God. I believe

that is what the Indian race is waiting for, to be led out of ignorance and superstition. The great thought at Hampton is to make men. We do not care so much about making scholars, but we want to make men who will stand when temptations come. And we have been able to make some men and women and send back into that Western country who have stood and who have become leaders to their people.

There are greater demands upon us now than ever before. We begin to feel that we must have better industrial and academic teachers than we have had in the past. We should feel grateful to God that he has raised up such a man as Dr. Hailmann. I have been at some of his conferences, and I have seen his grand army of teachers. They are earnest, thoughtful, faithful men and women. And he is calling upon us at Hampton, and on Carlisle, to furnish him people of the Indian race who shall be as good teachers as any of the white race. We have therefore decided on an advance normal course. Our training is not sufficient; and we mean this next year, with Dr. Hailmann's advice, to start this course so that we shall be able to send out well-trained young men and women as good as any from the normal schools of the North or West.

We must have equally good industrial teachers. We must have Indians at Hampton and Carlisle who will become thoroughly trained mechanics, who will understand about physics and higher mathematics. We are going to open next month a trade school, the Armstrong and Slater Memorial Trade School, and we hope in connection with that to train these young men. We are also trying to make better agriculturists. We have fifteen acres of land for an experiment station. We believe the solution of the Indian problem is largely in the cultivation of the land.

And most of all, we must give them training in the Christian religion so that when these Indians go back to the missionaries they may go as helpers. So we must have the spirit of General Armstrong and the devoted spirit of Captain Pratt in every one of these Indians.

I am now going to ask a young Indian to speak to you. He has learned the machinist's trade and has made a steam-engine, a very excellent piece of work. He will tell you what he thinks of industrial training and what it can do for his people. I introduce Mr. Samuel George, a Seneca Indian from the State of New York.

Mr. SAMUEL GEORGE.—I was born and raised in the western part of the State of New York, but the most valuable part of my raising was at Hampton. I went there a boy, four years ago, with little education; but, if I live to see June, I shall leave with a trade certificate. This will prove that I am capable of earning good wages anywhere as a machinist. Others have done it and I can do it too. There is Charles Dixon who is working on the New York Central; there is another in a machine shop in Detroit. Others are in Massachusetts, Ohio, and New York. Working with the hands is one of the chief ideas of Hampton, and it is an idea that every young man should have. To have a trained hand as well as a trained heart

and head is a great thing for young people. When one enters a shop at first it is discouraging, because we have to do the lowest and smallest things first. But that is the way, to begin at the bottom. When we build a house we begin at the bottom and lay the foundations first. Why can't we Indians, with our quick eyes and skilful hands, be of some value to our country the same as any other citizen? Of course, if we seek to do our best, we can. The New York Indians who have graduated at Hampton have done well at trades and as teachers. Three have gone out West. One young man is drill-master in one of the government schools in Colorado. One young man is teaching in Dakota and another in Nebraska. None of these things could have been accomplished if Hampton hadn't trained them for their work. A great many people have wrong ideas about the New York Indians. They think they need no help because they have civilized surroundings. But they are badly mistaken. I was one of those Indians surrounded by civilization, and I know if I had not come away I should never have learned a trade,—not because I was lazy, but because there was no trade that would make me of value to anybody. Now I am going to stick to my trade and be a self-supporting citizen of the United States.

President Smith of Trinity College was asked to speak.

President GEORGE WILLIAMSON SMITH, of Hartford, Conn.—I have been interested in Dr. Jackson's report of work in Alaska, and have read with great satisfaction that the natives have been treated as men. The Territory is of enormous extent, and a very large part of it is left without any courts or representatives of the United States Government. On the north-west coast a revenue cutter appears for about ten days in the summer, and the captain exercises such authority as circumstances call for. The rest of the year authority is unknown. There are mission stations up and down the Yukon River, at long intervals, and also along the coast, even above the Arctic Circle. The most interesting to me are those at Point Hope and Point Barrow. At Point Hope there is a medical missionary, who, with his associates, also maintains a school. The character of the instruction is rigidly defined by the circumstances in which they are placed. The children cannot be taught farming because there are only about six weeks in the year without frost; and only the surface of the ground, for a few inches, is ever melted by the summer sun. There can be no industrial training in wood or metals, because there are no forests and no metals in the neighborhood. Such simple industries as are possible have already been perfected by the natives to meet the necessities of their condition. The school work must be intellectual and evangelistic,—not industrial. The children are bright and anxious to learn. From one of the schools I have seen letters written by boys and girls who had been taught only fifteen months which were expressed in better English than letters written by Japanese who had studied our language for eight years. Now, please remember the difficulties under which they labor. For

half the year they have to study altogether by candles or lamp-light, as there is hardly the ghost of a day for six months at a time. It is so cold that the thermometer is generally in the neighborhood of sixty degrees below zero in the winter; and, with all the appliances that can be furnished, the discomfort is very great.

The chief difficulty arises from the fact that there is no government officer there, and consequently no protection for persons or property. There are white men there,—outcasts who have fled from the law,—and they are free to plunder and maltreat the natives at discretion. A few years ago, one of these men taught the people to distill rum from the molasses which they obtained from the whalers in exchange for furs and whalebone. In a very short time several murders were committed by the natives, who are naturally peaceable and gentle. These whites have also infected the people with loathsome diseases, which threaten to exterminate the neighboring tribes in a few years. A gentleman just returned from a visit at Point Hope reports that it is useless to maintain that mission, as there will be none to teach in less than seven years. The Indians in our older territory are almost in paradise compared with those in the dark places of the earth. But the spirit of Christ has moved one here and one there to go out from among us to seek and save the lost; and there, as elsewhere, the love of Jesus has touched the heart. In the simplicity of missionary work in Alaska, in its restriction to spiritual interests, the production of Christian character may be directly sought. The higher purpose is constantly kept in view. They have but little to hope for here; but they may secure in the end a better inheritance,—even an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away.

I thank you for permitting me to say a word for those noble Christian men and women who, in the midst of comfort, have remembered the Eskimos above the Arctic Circle, and gone forth in the name of the Redeemer to carry the glad tidings to those benighted souls.

Miss M. E. Ives was asked to speak.

Miss Ives.—For seven years I have worked for Indians in my own quiet way. I organized the young people's department with the idea of instilling into them a love of the Indians, that they may know them better and feel interested in them. I have often wondered whether I was doing more good for the Indians or for the white people. I hope I am building their character as well as doing something for the Indians.

From the first I have felt a great interest in the government schools. I have been in close touch with them. Within the last few years I have taken to sending Christmas boxes to the Indian children. Last year I sent eight thousand Christmas presents to the Indian children in the schools. They went from all over the country, from forty States of the Union. The young people have made sacrifices to get these presents, and they have packed them

themselves and so have come into personal touch with the Indians. They send directly to the schools and hear from them in return. We have also furnished agricultural supplies and helped field matrons. If any one here can interest young people and would send to me for an address for a Christmas box I shall be glad to send it.

QUESTION.—What do you put in the boxes?

MISS IVES.—I put in useful things, also games that they can use in winter during the study hour, which they are trying now to make a pleasant evening hour. I put in dissected maps, pictures, and books with simple reading. We also send dolls and knives and toys that children like. One lady said if I would send soap and combs, the children would be delighted.

MISS SPARHAWK.—A few years ago I talked to a little Indian meeting in Cambridge. There were three Indians present, a young man and two Indian girls. The young man was working in Cambridge. He had been setting type at the University Press and the girls had been at a Boston School. I wanted him to speak, but I did not dare to tell him beforehand for fear he would have time to make up his mind and would not do it. So when he was called upon he came up to the desk and looked round over the audience and the first sentence he said ran thus, "I am a Cambridge man." That man worked till his eyes gave out, and then he did anything that came to hand; but that was little, and he decided to go back to the West where he had land. I have heard from him there. He has been farming and has built a house and is living on the outskirts of the reservation. An old uncle keeps house for him, and he raises vegetables of different kinds. They have had to watch to keep the bears from the corn, but he was hopeful and happy. He asked to have some papers because he wanted to know how the Boston people felt about politics. I thought it might be a good thing to send campaign literature out there, and I asked the Republican Club to do so. The two girls were at the Boston High School. They were Carlisle graduates. The teachers were kind to them and they won the admiration and friendship of these teachers and of the girls in the Young Women's Christian Association where they boarded. The superintendent there said it was rare to find such girls as they were. They graduated at the school; and it would have delighted you to hear the applause as they came forward to take their diplomas. This acquaintance came about through the Indian Library work which is sending reading to the Indians.

The Indian Industrial League has been established in the hope that it will lead Indians to help themselves. Not long ago there came a letter from two young Indians on the Oneida reservation, one a graduate of Carlisle, and the other had been there. They were very anxious to do something for themselves. They wrote that they had an opportunity to buy a steam-engine which could be used for the threshing of wheat and running a saw mill; that they could buy it on instalments for \$1,000, and that if we would lend them money, they would pay interest. So the League has lent them \$75 for a year at 3 per cent. If they pay it back we shall have it for

some other use. If not, they can probably have the use of it longer, but the wife wrote me that some days her husband had earned fifteen dollars. I ask you to help our League.

President Taylor of Vassar was asked to speak.

PRESIDENT TAYLOR.—One of my theories of education is embodied in that vital word of Rousseau, when speaking of a youth, "*To live* is the profession which I would teach him." While it may be that our modern education may fail to produce better results, regarded merely intellectually, than the older education did, I think perhaps we may well ask ourselves if, nevertheless, we have not learned something in the direction of a broadening of theory that augurs well for the future. Our education formerly was often designed but for one or two or three professions. As we broadened our views, we came to see more and more clearly that not only the mind and spirit must be built up, but that the physical system also needs building; that through it are the gateways of intelligence. We have learned that if men are to be educated, we must begin with their hands. We must begin by training them industrially if we are to be able to educate their brains to the utmost. When we go to the West, which is pushing the best educational methods with more power and breadth than we are in the East, we find in many more schools than in the East this industrial idea underlying the whole scheme of the school. They are educating youth physically as well as mentally and spiritually. It seems to me strange that as we go on there are still so many who keep believing that man is principally mind. We may be justified in scepticism on that point. Certainly boys are not principally mind.

I have seen Hampton; and the man who has seen that school with some attention has had a beginning of an education. I remember, too, at the great procession at Chicago which inaugurated the World's Fair, the most impressive part of the procession was that brigade of Captain Pratt's boys; and as they marched down the street splendidly drilled, but not with guns, bearing implements of all sorts of industrial pursuits, that the cheers rang out for them continuously. There was nothing like it in all that great procession. That struck the chord of the right idea of education. I am not sure but it is going to revolutionize our ideas of professional education. I ask whether we are right about the education of ministers and teachers, of those who are certain to enter professional pursuits? Are we wise to begin with anything but industrial training? The same question may be asked for the Negro, for the red man, and for the white man. Begin by training their hands, teach them to see straight, to act with accuracy, and then there is some basis for a broader intellectual training. I believe that the greatest mistake that has been made in the education that has been so widely diffused among the colored people has been in the direction of forgetting this point. There has been a vast improvement, but a great mistake has been made in forgetting that there is no use in training these

men as teachers unless they can be the industrial leaders of their people. That is the only way to lift up the race. It is the men who have trained their bodies first, and their minds and their spirits side by side with these,— it is such men who have become the leaders of their people. In that sense intellect should be disciplined. The intellect which is cradled in a well-trained physique finds its highest utterance in the expression of a well-trained spirit. The word of President Robinson, of Brown, recurs to me, "A disciplined intellect asks no favor but that of God."

Dr. WARD.— One of the finest things and most hopeful things that have been said here, was said by Mr. Frissell when he told us that he proposes to have at Hampton something more than a lower industrial education, higher normal instruction for the Negro and Indian. I believe that we want industrial education, but we want also the higher education which will give us teachers. It will be a great error in Indian education if we conclude that their leaders must be white men; if we conclude that their best education shall be education which shall instruct the hand and shall teach them to be mechanics. Of course we want just as far as possible to bring them out from the old relations and their old connections into the great mass of our community. I have no doubt Captain Pratt is right, and we all agree with him. But so long as they are where they are, cramped and cribbed, cabined and confined by government, shut up in that way, it will be an unfortunate thing if we cannot give them leaders who are of their own race; and leaders are always men who are trained not so much in hand as in brain. We want thinkers and scholars, men of highest education. Dr. Taylor is no doubt right in what he says about the physical education; and he is also right in his own practical way in the education of the brain. He is not conducting an industrial school. He is giving us leaders among our women; and Indians and Negroes want leaders in the same way. I rejoice that Hampton is seeing that we must bring forth teachers with intellect, with cultivated brains. I rejoice when Indians get industrial training; but I rejoice a hundred times as much when they come to Harvard or Yale and prepare themselves to be of that class who make leaders; for it is the higher education, the higher culture, that always has force in the world. That is my doctrine.

On motion it was voted that the usual Washington committee should be appointed, consisting of President Gates, Mr. A. K. Smiley, Mr. Philip C. Garrett, General Eaton, and Dr. Ward, with permission to add to their numbers if necessary.

Adjourned.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 16.

The Conference was called to order at 10 A.M., after morning prayers, Mr. Garrett in the chair. Miss Collins asked leave to present to Mr. Smiley on behalf of the Sioux a stone pipe of peace.

Miss COLLINS. — It seems to me very fitting, since Friend Albert has done so much for us, that we, as a tribe who were once considered the greatest warriors in the land, the Sioux, but who now are coming to know the blessedness of peace, should come to this Conference bringing with us the pipe of peace which has been used in the council and in the camp, and around the home circle in our Dakota land. Take it, Friend Albert, it comes to thee from the Land of the Dakotas. I give it to thee in the name of our Indians, your friends and mine.

Mr. SMILEY. — The world is full of surprises, and this is one of them. This pipe is a most acceptable gift, and I thank thee and the Indians who sent it. It is especially appropriate as coming from them, for when I was appointed on the Board of Indian Commissioners seventeen years ago, the first place I went to visit was this very Sioux reservation on the Missouri River; and that is the place where this Conference was born. We met there Bishop Hare, Dr. Williamson, Dr. Strieby, Dr. Ward and others, and we had a three days' conference with the Sioux Indians. At that time I said, "Friends, all of you come to Mohonk." And so we started this Conference. This pipe is made of a very choice piece of stone, and I shall value it most highly.

Mrs. KINNEY. — I want to ask a question about the Narragansett Indians. They bring forward a grievance of two hundred years' standing. They claim that they have been cheated out of 130,000 acres of land. I do not know that their claim would have any standing in the court, but they seem to think it would. They tell me that they have had several lawyers looking into the matter who carry it a certain distance and then stop as soon as the money gives out. If any one here knows anything about the Narragansett Indians I should like to hear from such person.

Dr. Joseph Anderson of Waterbury, Conn., was asked to speak.

Dr. ANDERSON. — It is a great thing to be born late in the ages; we get the best of everything. And it seems to me a great thing to be born late into the Mohonk Conference, for a similar reason. I feel

that, while I have lost various things in not becoming acquainted with you heretofore, I am experiencing certain pleasures and novelties which you cannot now experience. I came to this country in my childhood and grew up without the sense of having any special place in the world. I had neither brothers nor sisters, nor had I uncles, aunts, or cousins within thousands of miles. After twenty years I returned to my native land, the north of Scotland, and there I soon came to feel that I had a large place in the world by virtue of these connections. On this first visit to your Conference I have a similar experience. I have been interested in the Indian question for twenty years. During this time I have met many who seemed to care nothing for the Indian, and few who had any great interest in him. I come here and I find hundreds whose interest in him is deep and abiding, and I feel like congratulating myself and them upon the work they have been doing.

My work has been on different lines. My interest has been largely ethnological and philological. I was directed to the scientific study of the red man through my connection with a society which proposed to divide up the whole realm of science and literature among its members, one taking one subject and another another. I chose ethnology as my special field, and it is interesting to me to look back and see how many things I have learned in this way, and how they have deepened my affection for the Indian. It was in an interview with an ethnologist, a good many years ago, that I heard of that man in California who prided himself upon a necklace which he exhibited, made of the teeth of Indian squaws, which he had knocked out of their mouths with the butt of his pistol. Do you wonder that this aroused in me a strong sympathy for the Indian?

It was in that same interview that I was told of certain white men (Christians, so called) who had placed pocket handkerchiefs in contact with the bodies of persons who had died of smallpox and had sent these handkerchiefs out among innocent Indians that they might become victims of the same disease. This aroused my indignation at white men's wickedness and sympathy and sorrow for the objects of their cruelty. These things made a great impression upon me. I began to look into the Indian's history and life; and as I went on in my studies I could not but conceive a growing respect for a race whose achievements were so great,—a race that had developed, for example, such languages as those of the American Indians. The Indian languages number not one or two, but hundreds, some of them standing high in the records of the world's philology. A gentleman asked me at breakfast to-day which of these languages best deserved preservation. It reminded me of the little girl into whose home triplets had come, who asked her father anxiously which one of them he intended to save. I should hate to have any of these languages destroyed, but I suppose many of them must become extinct. The time will come when our only knowledge of most of the Indian languages will be derived from the text-books and translations we have made. When I hear such languages as the Cree, beautiful in its music; or the Ojibway with its

elaborate verb-forms; or that spoken by the Nez Percés, bearing the stamp of intellect; or the stately and classical Dakota, or the Mohawk with its sixteen personal pronouns; or the Mexican, which in its vocabulary spreads out like a great flowing river,—when I think of these products of human ingenuity, it seems hard to decide which should be destroyed out of the world's knowledge. Let us preserve them as far as we can; and let us remember that the more diligently we explore them, the more we shall be convinced that here was a remarkable people, a race which while the nations of the old world were busy with wars and tumults was trained in a quiet way by divine Providence on this Western hemisphere for results which we have not yet begun to appreciate. So, too, when I look at a stone axe and know that it may have been begun by a grandfather, handed down unfinished to his son, and brought to completion after many years by his grandson, thus representing in its symmetrical outline the work of two or three lifetimes, and all this done with a little stone hammer; when I remember that the Indians had no tools but tools of stone,—it brings before me the patient work of these people extending through the ages. We cannot but have respect for a race that has come through such difficulties, physical and spiritual, as the red race has encountered; and we must feel that such a race has better things to come.

And when it ceases to require our philanthropic care it will still present itself as a subject for our thoughtful investigation. A vision rises before my mind which, if our worthy host be willing, may be realized at some day not very far off,—a vision of a magnificent structure built of these mighty rocks, adorning one of these lofty hillsides, substantial, fire-proof, attractive in every way, containing within its solid walls a museum to match that of the Smithsonian Institution, and a library into which have been gathered the tens of thousands of books and pamphlets relating to the American Indians. That building will be known to all America as the Smiley Institute of Aboriginal Research.

MR. GARRETT.—This Conference has under its care the legal needs of the Mission Indians at California. I will ask Mr. Joshua W. Davis to speak to us about that.

MR. DAVIS.—Ten years ago, after the return of Professor Painter and another member of the Mohonk Conference from an investigating tour in California, and on a report made here as well as to the President of the United States, five thousand dollars was raised for the defence of the Mission Indians against the aggressions of the water companies and the land owners adjoining the reservations. That fund has been in use in the defence of the Indians since then, and several suits have been prosecuted and settled in favor of the Indians. There is still one suit remaining, brought by the owners of Warner's ranch seeking to dispossess the Indians there of their land and thus secure the control of water there. That suit has been before the Supreme Court for four or five years, having been decided

in favor of the Indians in the District Court and appealed. The claimants are wealthy and have sought to tire out the friends of the Indians, but we have not wearied yet and will hold the defence still. There is danger that, by delay, our witnesses, the aged Indians, will pass off the stage and we shall lose the advantage of their testimony, as it is claimed that this testimony shall not be received in the form of deposition; but we do not relinquish the hope that that suit will yet be determined in favor of the Indians.

There is another in which there is hope of a full settlement under a compromise. It is a similar case respecting possession and water. And there is still one other case which may cause us to go into court, which we are trying to avoid because the expense is too great. We have still \$518 remaining out of the \$5,000.

The agreement with our attorney on the Warner's Ranch case was for a definite sum for the struggle until it should finally close, and there will be therefore no large claim on this remaining fund from the attorneys, but the court expenses on the Warner's Ranch and the new case will require this amount of money and possibly more.

Dr. Dreher, president of Roanoke college, was asked to speak.

Dr. DREHER.—When I came here first five years ago I listened with fresh and eager interest. When I returned four years ago I wondered if I should be as much interested, and found I was. The third time I was even more interested, and so my interest grows. For twenty-six years we have had Indians in Roanoke College. Not very many have completed the course and taken a degree (only three), but a great many have taken the partial course. The first one went to Yale afterward and is now a clergyman. Three years ago one was the valedictorian. Last year we graduated another who expects to be a lawyer, taking a post-graduate course. Several who have studied with us occupy prominent positions in the Indian Territory. We have been encouraged to believe that good work has been done for them in our institution. We feel a deep interest in the Indian question.

Mr. Garrett stated that Mr. Albert Smiley would be placed on the Law Committee in place of Dr. Austin Abbott.

Mrs. Quinton was asked to speak.

Mrs. QUINTON.—The law proposed by Commissioner Browning was very important. It made it a penal offence to give or sell strong drink on an Indian reservation or to an allotted Indian or to an Indian citizen anywhere. It passed the Senate year before last, but last year failed. I suppose it is enough to say that all friends of Indians can help secure that greatly needed law by corresponding with, and earnest appeals to, our Representatives. It strikes me that is the place for real work.

There are two things specially needing to be done for Indians; first, to give them always the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, to help

strengthen missionary work, and to occupy the destitute fields in order to get the leverage that lifts in all right directions. Then we must help to control legislation by correspondence with those who represent us in the government. I wish the members of Congress could be flooded with original, personal appeals, and letters on the subjects needing immediate attention.

May I give you two pictures? Take the case of the Omaha Indians of Nebraska. They were well forward on the path to citizenship and civilization and the hopes of their friends were very bright in regard to them. The sellers of strong drink on the edge of the reservation came among them and they fell. They were fine men and women naturally, but they yielded to temptation. Then there came the withdrawal of the mission. Strong appeal has been made to their own manhood and womanhood, but a great deal of outside help is needed also.

Again, take the case of the Mission Indians in California. Their situation is full of difficulties. The seller of strong drink locates just outside the reservations and quickly takes all that the Indians can earn in a year. It does seem as if Christian men and women should use all their influence to right this state of things. We have here heard of Indians who themselves have strictly enforced temperance legislation, but all are not so wise and strong, and it is our duty to help to do the needed legislative work for their defence.

Mr. Galpin, formerly connected with the Indian service, was asked to speak.

Mr. S. A. GALPIN, of Connecticut.—It is many years since I have had much to do with the Indians; and yet, as I listen to the story that is told here, it seems to me as if the problems were the same now as then. I remember very distinctly a trip I made to the Indian Territory in 1875, when the government and the religious bodies were co-operating more closely than now, and when the agencies there were under the control partly of the Orthodox Friends and partly of the Hicksite Friends.

At that time the salaries of the agents were distinctly less than now, each one, no matter how difficult or exposed his task, receiving from the government \$1,500 per annum. The Friends, in order to secure competent agents, in many cases supplemented their salaries by contributions from their own funds. Under the efficient supervision of Agent Miles, at the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency were started many of the experiments which have since come into so general use in the Indian schools, and which have proved of such value. It was Agent Miles who, in order to give his Indians work, decided to do all the carting of his supplies by Indian labor, although he was thus compelled to "receipt" for them at Arkansas City, the then nearest railroad station, and so assumed personally the risk of loss and damage during the 150 miles of wagon transit. It was at this agency also that our good friend Mr. Seger, who is, I am informed, still active in Indian work, made such a success of

his industrial school. When this school was first started, the Arapahoes joined readily; but the Cheyennes, who always looked down upon the Arapahoes, refused to send their children. After the Cheyenne chiefs, however, had seen the enthusiasm of the children themselves, and the manifest success of the school in its school herd and its kitchen garden, their attitude changed. They begged for the places which they had previously refused, and showed their earnestness by offering to give even as many as ten ponies, if thereby one of their children could be admitted. If the promise of those earlier days could have been realized, and there had been no disturbing outside influence, both of these tribes would by this time be entirely independent. As a matter of fact, however, when the inevitable change in officials came, so that Mr. Miles and Mr. Seger both left the service, their successors failed to maintain their influence over the Indians; and, in some way which I do not clearly remember, the interest of the Indians was dulled, the school herd was divided and eaten, and the bulk of the tribe still remain a charge upon the government.

The truth is that our government is not a Christianizing or civilizing agency. It does not seem to me that it will ever succeed greatly in Christianizing or civilizing the Indians. It is organized for general purposes and not to carry on a distinctly missionary work. Such work can be done better by an agency more flexible, and not operated under a general law,—a law beneficial, perhaps, in some cases, but distinctly harmful in others by reason of its lack of adaptability. The work is missionary work and individual in its character, and our good friend from Hampton was entirely right in advising us to appeal less to Congress and more to the Christian people of this country. It is quite time that the Christians of our land should recognize the missionary character of the Indian work, and settle themselves in earnest to do it by agencies of their own,—earnest, faithful, flexible, and persistent.

Rev. J. E. Roy. — I was out among the Crow Indians last month, and was glad to see the field of Custer's battle, and the monument which the government has put up, marking the spot where 246 men fell,—without a living creature to tell the story, except Curry, the scout, who ran away. I found the agency ten miles up the valley, and everything seemed to be in the best order under the government. They have a good school under Christian and devoted superintendent and teachers. I found a missionary at the American Missionary Association, Mr. Burgess, who had been there three years. He was greatly encouraged. He had secured a home and was allowed to use the school-house for a Sunday-school in the morning. There are about one hundred scholars. At the evening hour he gives them a Bible reading. Now that the contract system has passed away, in the process of evolution, this seemed to me a possible way by which the government and the missionary processes might go together without any union of church and State. The agent was favorable to the missionary. The school was prosperous,

as the Sunday-school and the evening services were. Mr. Burgess goes out during the week to the camps and preaches to the people by an interpreter. He commands the respect of the people at the post, and of the Indians. He came from Scotland originally. He studied for three years in the Moody Institute in Chicago to prepare himself for this work.

Dr. JAMES M. KING.—As the representative of "The National League for the Protection of American Institutions," I wish to make a brief report with reference to educational matters, so far as the action of Congress is concerned.

This Conference has taken step after step until, two years ago, it asked all the religious organizations to withdraw every application for government money for Indian education. All the denominations withdrew by the action of their highest legislative bodies except the Roman Catholic. The same appeal was made to them and in precisely the same phraseology, and a very interesting discussion in good temper took place between the authorities of that Church and those making the appeal.

This is the final action taken on the Indian Appropriation Bill at the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress: The House of Representatives, by a vote of 93 to 64, provided for the immediate discontinuance of all appropriations for sectarian Indian education. This met with opposition in the Senate, and, as the result of repeated conferences, the following became a part of the bill.

And it is hereby declared to be the settled policy of the government to hereafter make no appropriations whatever for education in any sectarian school: Provided, that the Secretary of the Interior may make contracts with contract schools, apportioning, as near as may be, the amount so contracted for among schools of various denominations for the education of Indian pupils during the fiscal year 1897, but shall only make such contracts at places where non-sectarian schools cannot be provided for such Indian children, and to an amount not exceeding 50 per cent of the amount so used for the fiscal year 1895.

This work, initiated by "The National League for the Protection of American Institutions," and largely carried on for six years by this Conference, has finally reached this stage. I want to say a single word of exhortation in view of the results here secured. The appeals that were made last night, and especially by the president of Hampton, ought to be taken to heart by all Christian people and Christian organizations; and if the Christianising influence is to be extended, hand in hand with the educational efforts, it must be the result of the private contributions from those who believe that the Indian must be Christianized as well as educated. Personally, I want to express my gratitude for the unanimity with which this step has been taken by the different religious organizations. I want to say also that since this movement began, sectarian appropriations have been prohibited in the Constitutions of every new State admitted into the Union; and a number of the older States, in revising their Constitutions, have inserted such provisions, so that now twenty-six of the forty-five States have in their organic law declared

against the practice. Forty-two of the States have Constitutional provisions protecting the school funds against sectarian aggressions. It is believed that the time is not far distant when the remaining States will make such provisions, and when the proposed Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States will become a part of the organic law of the land.

General Eaton was asked to speak on education in Alaska.

Gen. EATON.—The report of education in Alaska shows decided progress, although the government has not advanced the appropriations that are necessary. They have 1,088 pupils in the government schools. They have had great difficulty in keeping the appropriations up where they were before, and it is especially necessary to have pressure brought to bear on the members of Congress to secure the needful appropriation. Dr. Jackson, who usually reports to us from Alaska, has been detained or he would have been here with his annual suggestions.

The reindeer herds have increased and they have now four stations. The plan is to create two permanent places where they will gather reindeer and train the herders, and from these places they will send out, as they have already begun to do, to other stations the products of these herds. Some of the missionary stations are now receiving benefit in this direction. You see the common sense in this movement. It lies behind all possible development for that region of country. We must learn the lesson of Northern Europe in this direction. This plan needs your co-operation and help. If it is carried out as Dr. Harris and Dr. Jackson planned it, it will furnish a means of support for people all over that region.

It should be said that Dr. Jackson tells in a private letter of finding the people at one of the mission stations at the point of starvation, but he was able to furnish supplies until their own came. The general work of education there demands your attention. Dr. Harris has asked advanced appropriations for it: instead of that they have cut down the appropriations. If you will sustain the Bureau of Education these people can not only be made self-supporting, but they will be of benefit to commerce and civilization. The great demands of humanity and Christianity will be met, and at the same time there will be a contribution to the commerce of the world.

I was greatly interested last evening in listening to the results in those things that we were struggling over years and years ago. I cannot tell how my heart swelled with gratitude when Bishop Whipple put before you the commendation of Mr. E. P. Smith. He was in the Bureau of Indian Affairs when I was in the Bureau of Education, and I suppose I knew more about his troubles than any other man in the public service, and I have always felt the injustice done him; and in a certain sense I had to suffer with him. I happened to be present with the Secretary when one of those assaults was made upon Mr. Smith, and because I had the means of witnessing to the truth I was pursued not only in public but in private.

The animus of that assault cannot be known or cannot be stated here; but it becomes us all, each in his place, to understand the facts in such matters, and, when a public officer is unjustly assaulted, to be able to defend him. Mr. Smith was one of the purest and most devoted men we have ever had. I was glad to stand by him.

Sometimes it is said that there is no longer need of going to Mohonk, that the Indians are now getting on by themselves. One of the greatest statesmen I ever knew once said that it was important to keep before the people aspirations. When I listened to the excellent report on education I had this feeling,—that there was now before us a clear enough view of what is yet to be done. All of the Indian youth are not yet in the schools, but there is still need for this Conference to hold up aspirations before itself and before Congress.

Senator DAWES.—Can General Eaton tell us the legal status of Mr. Duncan's settlement on Annetta Island?

Gen. EATON.—The island is held on the communistic plan, and he may be said to be the chief of the tribe. He has done a most wonderful work there, but there are no personal rights except the occupancy of the houses, and they are having difficulty already over the invasion of miners. Certain minerals have been found on the island, and Mr. Duncan has been trying to secure protection in Washington.

Senator DAWES.—Mr. Duncan, then, had merely permission to occupy the island.

Gen. EATON.—Yes.

Senator DAWES.—The trouble is that the moment the gold miners appeared there, there was danger that the miners would oust him. I do not understand, unless some change has been made, that he has anything more than permission to occupy that island.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.—Are there not men appointed by the government whose business it is to ferret out the whiskey cases on the reservations and prosecute them? I thought we had at one time a man appointed by the Department of Justice. I should like to know certainly about this because it will make some difference in our work.

Miss COLLINS.—Is not the Indian agent authorized to do it? It is so with us. He takes every means to ferret out the cases, and I have seen cases where men have been arrested and tried who are now in prison.

Mr. SMILEY.—The agent does it in California.

Dr. FOSTER, Secretary for New England of the American Sunday-school Union.—The American Sunday-school Union has been doing a large work among the Indians for years. This is a Sabbath-school organization working on undenominational lines. One of its superintendents, the late Rev. Dr. William P. Paxton, with his missionaries, has organized over one hundred schools among the Indians in the Indian Territory. This is a great work and is deserving of recognition. It is conducted in this way. Missionaries go

out and find one or two Christian people who are willing to support and manage a school, and then bring together the children and organize a school. Thus, in a quiet and effective way, a missionary work is set in motion and carried on. Of course this is not feasible where the Indians are still heathen and apart from Christian influences; but where they have been touched by the gospel, or where there are Christian workers among them, it can be done successfully. We have come to a point in our experience among the Indians where there would seem to be an opportunity for larger work of this kind. There are many Christian Indians scattered through the tribes who have been educated in Eastern schools and they have carried back with them more or less gospel conviction and purpose, and it would encourage their own Christian life and purpose if they were to undertake such work as this. If money could be secured for the support of a missionary of suitable character, an Indian if possible, the American Sunday-school Union would be glad to send him out to start union Sunday-schools in places where there is no missionary work carried on at present. In this way great good could unquestionably be done where nothing else would be likely to be so effective.

MR. SHELTON.—The Indian policemen have been spoken of. It was my privilege when I was on the reservation to see them in the experimental stage. We do not realize what it means to be an Indian policeman, to be clothed with the authority that they have, to be sent out thirty, forty, perhaps sixty or seventy miles without any support of any kind to enforce law and keep order. I think that every agent I have ever asked has spoken well of them. I have inquired, "Did you ever know an Indian policeman who abused his authority?" The answer would be, "Never." "Did you ever know one to make unwise use of his arms?" "Never." "Isn't it a little dangerous to give a man such authority as he has with his small amount of education, to give him arms and send him out with so much responsibility? Isn't there danger that he may make a personal use of it?" I have never found an agent who knew of any such case. I think this ought to be known and put on record in behalf of the Indian police. It is a tribute to the Indian character. It is a proof of the strong manhood and self-contained power of the Indian that we should recognize. In that most unfortunate attempt to arrest Sitting Bull, when the policeman received the order to make the arrest he started out having first bade good-by to his family and friends, assuring them that he might be going to certain death and yet not hesitating for a moment to carry out the instructions of the government and the fulfilment of that which he had sworn to uphold. I wanted to say these words for the Indian policemen.

MR. RYDER.—I have here a preamble and resolutions drawn up by the Indians with the purpose of sending them to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. A copy is now in his hands. I want to read them, and move that they be referred to the Business Committee.

Oahe, S.D., May 28, 1896.

HON. D. M. BROWNING, COMMISSIONER INDIAN AFFAIRS:

Dear Sir.—The Mission Council of the Dakota Mission, representing the Indian work of the American Missionary Association, at their annual meeting at Oahe, S.D., desire to express their conviction of the importance of a better regulation of the marital relations of the Indian people. As the home is of more importance than the land on which it is, so laws governing the formation and continuance of homes are more important than those concerning land. This matter is too important to be left to the individual judgment of an Indian agent, however wise. We think the Indian Department should make and send out to its agents the proper instructions, thus making the rules uniform and impressing upon the agents and the Indian communities more strongly the importance of right marriage relations. There has existed a want of uniformity in dealing with different parties on the same agency; and Indians in improper relations and of immoral character have been allowed to hold positions under government to the discredit of the service and the injury of the community.

We believe that Indians should come as soon as practicable under the marriage laws of the State in which they live, but in many cases this cannot yet be done. Meanwhile, for the transitional period, we would suggest that the Department make regulations which shall include the following:—

1. That Indian agents conform as nearly as possible to the law of the State in which their Indians reside in dealing with matters of marriage and divorce among them.
2. That the system of granting licenses for and making a record of every marriage already instituted on some agencies be uniformly carried out in all where Indians are not yet under State laws.
3. That the process of divorce in case of those who have been married in accordance with Indian custom, where necessary as a last resort, be deliberate. That six months intervene before final action, and at least a year before remarriage of guilty parties.
4. That no polygamist, nor licentious person, nor one not legally married, be allowed to hold any office under the government in the Indian service.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed by)

J. G. BURGESS, *Moderator*,
P. W. REED, *Secretary*,*of Indian Council.*

C. J. Ryder, New York.

Dr. FRISSELL. — For a number of years we have had New York Indians at Hampton. Captain Pratt has had a number, and we have felt that good resulted from this. The government at Washington has refused permission to Captain Pratt and to us to receive more of the New York Indians, on the ground that when they spoke to the authorities of the State the answer was that New York could take care of its own Indians. The truth is that New York doesn't do it. These Indians who are surrounded by our civilization need the help that we can give them, and we think it would be a good thing for the government to allow them to come to Captain Pratt and to us. I should be glad to have this Conference express itself on this subject.

Miss COLLINS. — The foreigner who tried to eat an orange by biting through the skin did not like it. He did not know what was inside; and those of you who know the Indian only from the outside are in much the same condition. You do not know the real Indian. I am speaking of the Sioux.

My work has been largely missionary work among the Sioux. When I was sent out I used to go from house to house and read a

passage and pray and sing with them, and thought that was missionary work. But I find that we have to begin at the very bottom, on the dirt floor. We find the people in their tents, and in a great many cases knowing nothing about a higher civilized life. They know only that they are hungry; and, if it is possible to get something to eat, they will. They also know that there is a life outside of the reservation, for some have seen it; but a great many cannot understand it. We must bring this great outside world to their knowledge. We must bring into their homes higher ideals of the duties of the wife and mother and father and sister and husband and brother. We must teach the woman who has a husband with a quick temper, and who is apt to speak harshly when he goes home hungry, that if she is quick to say something sharp in return, it will be much better to have his supper ready for him; that is the best thing to have awaiting his return home. That is missionary work, one part of the gospel teaching which goes into the daily life. But it is beautiful to see in the best Indian homes the courtesy and dignity and fine manners of these people. An Indian child is taught from infancy that he is a child. They have not come up to the latter-day doctrine that the children are the kings and queens of the home. The children stand back and the father and mother come forward. In an Indian home the little child is taught to be polite to his elders always. One morning when going past the chapel I saw an Indian chief, Grindstone by name, passing by, when a little boy of seven or eight years of age, who had been in the day-school a little while and was beginning to be civilized, called out in a free and easy way to him, "Hollo!" and the old man stopped and said, "My grandchild, what right have you to speak to an elder person until he speaks to you first?" That is the way the children are trained. The Indians easily believe in the gospel of Christ. They have themselves no God of love, yet there are people who say to me, "Is it worth while to go among these people, who have such beautiful characters and who already believe in the Great Spirit, to do missionary work?"

My friends, did you ever realize that the Indians have no God of love; that the Great Spirit simply means to them the Great Unknown; that they offer sacrifices, not to gods made with men's hands, but to the sun, moon and stars, the trees and the waters; that they bow down to stones and call them grandfather, that they may propitiate them, that they may prevent sorrow and death and danger? And when we hear of that wonderful maize dance, what does it mean? It is that the Indian feels that he must make gifts to the gods so that his crops may not be destroyed, that he shall not starve; and what does the sun-dance mean? It means that they may sacrifice their own bodies that they may propitiate the gods. For this reason they cut their flesh and dance round the pole from the rising to the setting of the sun. And if they do not fail, they consider that they are the favorites of the gods. Do not such people need the loving gospel of Jesus Christ? When they hear of the sorrow of our Saviour's life on earth, when they hear of his suffering and death, it

brings tears to their eyes and many are ready to accept that gospel, because God so loved them.

I have here a medal which comes from an old Indian man nearly ninety years old, who said to me when he was dying, "Take this, Winona," — the name by which the Indians call me. (These medals were given to Indians who were loyal to the government during the times of trouble, and those who rescued white prisoners). He said, "I have kept it all these years. Now I am dying, I am going to leave my old wife, and I have no children. There is no one to take care of her. I have kept this medal because the Great Father gave it to me. I do not know what it means, but I think perhaps it means that when I am no longer here the Great Father will take care of my wife, and I wanted to show it to him and tell him that I prized it."

It is sometimes said that the old people are not worth trying to save. "Let us take the boys and girls and educate and care for them, and let the old Indians die." Dear old Wounded Head, a man who had fought many battles against his enemies and who knew nothing of Jesus Christ until within a few years, when he was over seventy came into my house one day trembling and weak, and I gave him a lunch for him and his wife; and, when they sat down to eat, I left them alone, thinking they would rather eat by themselves. When I went back they had not eaten, and I said, "Why do you not eat?" He said, "We do not know how to pray, and we know that Christians ask a blessing, and we should like to have you bless the food." So I asked the blessing, and they ate. His hand had been wounded, and, though I am not a surgeon, I bandaged it as well as I could. He lived six miles from me, and when he was sick I would go to visit him. One day he said, "When you do not come to see us it is as if the darkness closed in about us." It was not I who was light to him, but it was the gospel which I carried. I read to him of that land where there would be no more hunger and no more thirst. He said: "Read that chapter again. Tell us again of that land where there are clear waters and beautiful trees and fruits." You who live in this part of the country do not know what it means to think of a land where there is always clear water and where there are trees and fruits. We in dry and barren Dakota understand it.

There are many of these old people for whom the darkness has fled away and to whom the light has come in these last days, and their influence is wonderful over the young people.

It has been asked why it is that in the last few years the Omahas and Winnebagoes and some other tribes have gone back to the old-time dance. One cause of this return is because our Indians have been allowed to go into shows to exhibit the old savage ways. The white people like to look at them, and these things ought not to be allowed. Those Indians who have been exhibiting their savage life are going back to the old customs in every single case.

We have a work to do as Christians. Every denomination represented here should have missionaries somewhere among the Indians and should see that these missionaries are furnished with money to

carry out their work. If we do our duty the work will grow, but we must have the church back of us. And the churches must do their missionary work themselves and not ask the government to pay the expenses.

We have all we can do to direct the Indian wisely on the reservation because of a great many questions that come up. It has been my policy never to antagonize the agent or any government employee. I think it far better that our Indians should suffer wrong rather than be led to constantly think of their wrongs. It is bad for them to dwell on these wrongs. When an Indian comes and tells me that he has been insulted by an employee, I say, "That may be true, but don't you know that in our line of work we are trying to help you up into a position so that by and by you will not need an agent? You are going to be able to take care of yourselves, and we will not waste our time and strength in quarrelling about what the employees at the agency do. We will learn and study and work for the uplifting of our people so that we may not have these employees but can take care of ourselves. We must learn to be men and stand alone."

I have never antagonized the school superintendent, or the teachers employed on the reservation. I have stood by them as far as I could, and when I cannot defend them conscientiously I keep still. And yet I have no doubt that I have often been spoken of as that meddling missionary who ought to be sent off from the reservation.

In regard to the *election* of judges of police courts, instead of appointing them, it might be worse than it is now; we might become civilized enough to be bought up, and something worse might come of it. But it does not seem that it could be worse than it is now, and it might be better.

As to the superintendence of schools, Dr. Hailmann could be general superintendent and the agency superintendents be responsible to him. I think Dr. Hailmann is doing excellent work. I believe that he is a Christian man and that he is interested in the Christian work of the missionaries. I only spoke of having a superintendent on the reservation because we have a condition of things there which a man in Washington cannot understand and cannot look into from such a distance.

Mr. SMILEY.—It is very evident that Miss Collins has had a great deal of experience with the different traits of Indian character. I should like to ask about their honesty, for instance.

Miss COLLINS.—Recently I had a talk with one of the traders. He is a good friend of the Indians, but is not at all sentimental. I said to him, "What do you think of the honesty of the Indian in settling his accounts in the store?" He said, "Just before the time that the Sioux were to receive the money payment which the government has begun, in payment for the ponies which the government had taken away from them, that were shot in the Custer battle. I trusted those Indians to the amount of about thirty thousand dollars, and carried it on my books. After the Indians received

their money I did not lose a hundred and fifty dollars on the whole transaction, and that I lost from a half breed who did not live on the reservation." The Indian is an honest man. There is nothing he dislikes so much as to be considered dishonest. A man rarely steals anything. If a boy does, he brings disgrace on himself. I remember one case when a boy saw a bright towel on my window and carried it home, and the mother came back, and the child carried the towel. The boy was trembling and frightened, and the mother said, "Here is my boy. He stole a towel out of your window and I have made him bring it back. I do not want to bring up a boy like an old woman who will steal." I must say that our civilization in some respects will do away with a part of this old feeling. It is a hard thing to say, but when they deal with many men who are constantly dishonest and try to rob them they will learn dishonesty. They will learn that the white man does not expect every man to be honest. The Indian is far from perfect, but he has the making of a manly man in him.

As to his religion, the Indian is naturally a very religious man. All their dances are religious dances. The smoking of the peace pipe is a religious act. The tobacco and willow bark are prepared in the centre of the room on a clean spot, and there is one appointed to fill this pipe, and that one must have clean hands and pure heart. The pipe is filled and handed to the guest of the house. It is lifted with a motion to the four winds. That is a prayer. It is smoked a little by each one and is then laid down. It is worship. You never see an Indian with a pipe or cigar in his mouth till he learns it from white men, never. An old-time Indian does not care so much for tobacco as you think. He cultivates a taste for it as he becomes civilized.

If a man makes a vow he keeps it. There is on record one man who made a vow and failed to keep it. He had a brother-in-law very sick, and he vowed that if he got well he would never again eat wild turnip; and his brother recovered. He kept his vow for many years; and then he failed to find game and was almost starving, and there was nothing to eat. Finally, forced by hunger, he took wild turnip, and from that time whenever he pulled up tipisini it turned into a ghost of a turnip. And they say, "You see what would happen to our people if they should break their vows."

The love of Indian parents has been spoken of. Just as I came away from home I was travelling over the prairie and met a man and his wife, and they seemed to me very sad. There was no smile when they met me. I asked what was the trouble; and they said, "Our only little baby is lying in the box in the wagon. We have been visiting friends and it died." And they were travelling eight days and nights to carry this little body to bury it at home. They do love their children. One of our young men, when his child died, walked for many, many miles with the dead body of his baby on his back, to carry it to the reservation for burial. There is nothing to me more beautiful than the love of the Indian father and mother for their children. They never correct a child. They never punish

or strike a child. I have never known a father or mother to whip a child, or give any kind of corporal punishment, but the children are expected to obey. They are expected to be manly, and the very worst thing I have ever heard a father or mother say when provoked was, "You are very unmanly." There is no way of scolding the children in Dakota, or of swearing at them, and they never would raise an arm to strike a child; yet we have obedience in the home, and the children pay the parents the most loyal respect. I never heard an Indian child call its father or mother by any nickname, not even "governor." They always speak of them as "my father," "my mother." And in the presence of the children no one ever speaks the name of the father or mother to him. If, for instance, the child's name is "Many Buffaloes," you must say "Many Buffaloes' father and mother." When I was new to the work and did not understand this, one of the children was once crying, and I said, "What is the matter, what are you crying about?" And he said "George Grindstone said my father's name right before me." It was a terrible insult to him. There are many such things that we do not understand, but the children are brought up strictly and are taught to obey all of these rules.

Let us save all this respect if possible. It seems to me that in our government schools, and in mission schools, too, there is a great mistake in compelling the little girls to speak too loud at the first start. It is very mortifying to them. There is no higher compliment that you can pay to an Indian girl than to say, "She is a good girl, she is very wise, and she never says anything."

MR. JENKINS.— Do you speak of Indians in general or only of the Sioux?

MISS COLLINS.— I am speaking of the Sioux. I have been among them twenty-one years.

QUESTION.— Do you need any locks to prevent stealing?

MISS COLLINS.— I have never had anything stolen. I lock my door for the reason that the Indian has grown up without doors, and he has no idea of knocking at any one's house; it is not always pleasant to have them walking into your house without your knowing anything about it.

QUESTION.— Is there not a law that beef shall be issued to the Indians from the block?

MISS COLLINS.— The beef is butchered by the Indians and not issued from the block.

QUESTION.— Could not the use of soap be encouraged by the field matrons? Or could not the field matron have the power given to her to distribute soap?

MISS COLLINS.— She can and does encourage its use. If things work smoothly on a reservation, there is no trouble. The agent will respect the field matron's wishes in this respect and issue soap where the field matron thinks it will be used. But all agents are not so wise, and soap is often given to non-progressive families and not to progressive ones who need it and would use it. Many agents do

not wish to have suggestions made to them, for is not an Indian agency a little monarchy?

Dr. HENRY HOPKINS. — Something was said last night of the discouragements which come from the lapsing of pupils who have come back from the schools in the East. It occurred to me that the Indian is not the only man who comes under this law of the reversal of type. It is true, I believe, that the English lord and the Harvard graduate are the most desperate kind of cowboys in the West, who, as a rule, are generally a pretty clever and good sort of fellows. If the Indian does sometimes go back to his old surroundings and become worse than he was before, it is only a part of the development of our universal human nature. I remember to have heard that General Miles said of Sitting Bull, after he had had an interview with him under a flag of truce, when the old chief had a thousand armed warriors behind him, that Sitting Bull was a very religious man. He said that in the interview he raised his eyes to heaven and said, "God Almighty made me an Indian, but He did not make me an agency Indian, and I do not intend to be one." I think we all applaud that sentiment. The average idle Indian at the average Indian agency is certainly not a person to be envied, and any of us would prefer to be Sitting Bull with a thousand braves behind him, rather than be that kind of an Indian. It seems to me we need to make Christian environment the watchword of our endeavors. If we do not destroy the Indian languages as a part of the knowledge in which we are interested as scholars, we do want to do more toward breaking down the organized barbarism of the Indian, so that we shall be able to do for him what needs to be done. Dr. Bernardo, who has done such a wonderful work among the street Arabs of London, says that there is almost no case where, if there be an environment of loving care, the whole character of the child may not be changed. I hope that all the efforts that are being made by Captain Pratt in this matter of putting Indians out among farmers, where they will be away from the old life and in new circumstances and surroundings, may receive our thought and care.

Mr. WILLIAM HARKNESS, of the Brooklyn Board of Education. — I have always been puzzled to know why Indians should be kept on a reservation at all. If you would take any number of people and place them apart from the rest of the world it would be pretty hard to civilize them. If you could only distribute the Indians among the people of the country you would probably solve the problem. I was interested in what Miss Scoville said of the hatred of those Indians for the whites. Why should they hate the whites? Because they have been ill-treated by them. We must gain their confidence and love before they can feel that they are a part of us. Why should clothing and food be given to Indians?

Mr. SMILEY. — They are furnished by treaty.

Mr. HARKNESS. — But why should they not be made to work and earn their own living? That young man who spoke here impressed

me very much. He says he is an Indian; but more than that he is a man. He has fitted himself to support himself in a machine-shop. Isn't he much more of a man by so doing? Why shouldn't the Indians be scattered about among the people? Why should they be kept together any more than any other class of people? I do not see how you are going to civilize them if you keep them away from civilization.

Mr. GARRETT. — Mr. Harkness is a good disciple of Captain Pratt. That is exactly the position we all take.

Dr. YOUNG. — Miss Collins's wonderful testimony about the Sioux could equally well be given of our Indians. An Indian who would steal is beneath the contempt of the race. In one of my long journeys with my dog trains we had occasion to make a *cache* in the fork of a tree. When we came back my Indians looked at it and said, "Somebody has cut a piece off." I did not think so, but I did not argue it. About two weeks later an Indian came in with a fine haunch of venison, which he threw down, saying, "That is for you. It belongs to you. When I was out hunting and I did not get anything for three days and I was very hungry, and I saw your *cache* and I knew it was the missionary's, the friend of the Indian, I pulled it down and cut off a piece of the pemmican and tied it up and put it back, and now I have brought you this venison." He had brought it sixty miles on his back!

When the Indian becomes a Christian he makes a good one, full of missionary zeal and fervor. I only wish we could get these men off from the reservations and settled as citizens of the land. We must keep in them all the good qualities they have; but we have in Christianity all these beautiful things,— respect, love, tenderness, honesty. We must bring them up to this high plane.

Birth Session.

Friday Night, October 16.

The Conference was called to order at 8 P.M. Mrs. Eldridge was asked to speak.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE.— I find the general characteristics of our Navajo Indians are very much like those of the Sioux. You can but respect them for their sturdy independence and their good working qualities, of which we make a great deal in speaking of the Indian. But I am sorry to say that we have the same differences in our Indians that we find among our white people. As you know, we have good white people, and we have indifferent white people, and we have bad white people; and those classes are represented among our Navajoes. They are very tender to their children, and the children are kind to the old people. They take excellent care of them so far as their means will allow. Years ago the Navajoes were very cruel when they were fighting. Not long since, in riding with one of our policemen far out upon the reservation, we came upon a cave to which he called my attention. He said that many years ago when the Apaches were fighting us they came over here and stole our sheep and our children, and we fought them. In this cave fourteen Apaches were found. They would not surrender and we roasted them. "Oh," I said in horror, "how could you do it?" And he said, "You must remember that the Mexicans were roasting us and the Yutes were killing us."

A year ago this month I was invited to go to the Cinza Mountains. It was strange to find there orchards. After travelling forty-eight hours we came to a natural gateway of stone. We passed through this gateway and found ourselves entirely surrounded by forests and a large peach orchard where we could see that the trees had died down many times and then grown up again from the roots. The trees were loaded with fruit. I asked who planted the trees, when a man who must have been nearly a hundred years old said, "Our great-grandfathers did not know who planted them." It was very fine fruit. They told me of a legend they had among their people that many, many years ago people came in there who went by the name of "The Man-who-drag-his-coat-tails." Evidently it must have been the monks. They told me that silver and gold were found in the mountains and that the able-bodied men were held as prisoners and put to work in these mines. At night the men were kept in stockades and the next morning put back into the mines to work. After they had worked many years they said to the rulers, "This is more than death," and they planned an insurrection. They said that

these men were killed and their bodies thrown into the mines, and it was walled up. Perhaps something of this tradition has reached the ears of the white people, and that accounts for the recent attempt to get hold of the Cinza Mountains.

I should like to speak of the death of one of our old people when we first went among the Navajoes. One of the friendliest of our visitors was a man nearly one hundred years old, bowed almost double. He was riding a burro, looking up his horses, which are the principal wealth of the Navajo man. He was very friendly to us, and came often to the mission, and I think that a great deal is due to him in our being able to get hold of these people. He was exceedingly intelligent. After a while he was taken very sick, and his sons came to us—bright, intelligent men—and said, "Our father is very sick, and we wish you would come to see him." So we went down and carried him little comforts; and we said to the sons, "We think your father is not going to live: he is very old, and cannot last many days." The elder son took care of the father during the daytime, ministering to him tenderly, and the younger son cared for him at night, holding him in his arms because he could breath better. At last the old man died, and they came for me. I went down to the camp and found them in a hogan,—a circular house without any roof. While their expression of grief was sincere, there was not the wailing that we find among some tribes, nor any great noise, but one could see that these boys and the women loved the old man. I asked what I could do, and the older son said to me, "You loved our father, and he loved you. He was the friend of the white people. Now, our Navajo way of caring for our dead is bad. We carry them away and put them in the caves of the mountains, and the mountain lions find our dead and they are destroyed. We love our father, and we want you to give him Christian burial. Bury him in the way that you bury your own dead. It is two days since we have eaten food, and our little ones are very hungry, and we should like to attend to this duty as soon as possible." We went to some of our white neighbors who did not love the Indians very much, and we had to be persuasive with our tongues and our purses before we could show them how to dig a grave for the old man. At last it was dug. We had no lumber for a coffin, but we went down with our wagon to the hogan where the body was, and the younger son very reverentially came in. Their hogans always face the east. But, according to their ideas, it would not be right to take the body out through the door; so an opening was made on the west side of the hogan, and the body was taken out through that and laid upon the wagon, with the fine blankets and the silverware that he had, and the bridle, and all the treasures which he had. These were all laid upon the wagon, and we were to drive two miles to the mountain where the grave was dug. As we went from the camp the cries of the people whom we had helped was something very sad to hear. I could but think that these people in their ignorance had no knowledge of the future. No word had been spoken to them of the future; and yet one could see, from

the preparations they had made for him to enter another life, that they must have some conception of a future life.

When we reached the grave, the younger son got down into it and made a bed with the blankets and skins, with the saddle for a pillow. Then the body was laid in and covered with more of the beautiful blankets, and the silverware was put in, and, as the grave was filled, the beautiful burial service was read; and I think I never saw a more reverent company than was gathered for the first Christian burial among them. The followers of this man to-day are our best men. They are hard-working people, and they have learned something of what there is beyond the grave. We are hoping great things for our Navajoes, because they are such good workers and because they are trying to make homes for themselves. The great Indian question we hear so much about can be settled easily if we put ourselves in the place of these Indians, and ask that they be treated just as we would want others to treat us were we in their places.

A telegram was read from Miss Sibyl Carter, expressing thanks for the message sent to her.

Mr. DAVIS.—The suggestion has been presented to you by President Gates and some other speakers, and a similar plea has been often made by the Indian Rights Association, for us to impress special points upon our Congressmen. Permit me to state the result of one very carefully made plea to a wide circle. I felt that the appeal should not go from Philadelphia alone, or from Boston. They would exclaim, "Those sentimentalists in the East and Friends in Philadelphia!—such appeals are a matter of course from them"; and they would then quietly lay the matter aside on the desk, I would not say in the waste-basket. I therefore wrote to gentlemen in various parts of the country and asked them to unite in a special effort to reach Congressmen. Among the various replies were several to the effect, "You will remember that the most efficient person in Congress, on Indian matters, is Senator Dawes, to whom I have sent your letter"; and I heard from Senator Dawes that his mail was considerably increased by the appeals that I had sent to Ohio, Illinois, and elsewhere, to have their own Congressmen reached. Such a failure to apprehend and do some earnest work for the cause with their own people, was then, and is often, very serious.

There needs, also, to be more confidence that you can do something. Many have answered such appeals by saying that they had no personal acquaintance with Congressmen; to which it is fair to reply, "Supposing one has no personal acquaintance, we must have some friends who have. Secure their influence and do not let it rest with one alone." Appeals made to the overtaxed members of Congress will be overlooked on their desks unless there is some more individual earnest influence brought to bear.

Ex-Senator DAWES.—I have had as much experience in this matter of petitions as most people. One of the Western senators came

to me one day with two postal cards, one from California and one from Boston. On the back of each was printed in identical words the same request; and I had to explain that a very able and efficient newspaper in New York had printed ten thousand of these, leaving a blank for the name, and had sent them out to different parties to distribute. When a member of Congress gets a printed petition, especially on a postal card, he doesn't read it through. A man once came to me in great distress about a provision in a bill which was going to ruin him and all his neighbors. He satisfied me that he was right about it and he wanted I should tell him how to get others interested in it. I said, "Go to some friend of every member of the House you can, and ask him to write in his own hand just what he wants his member to do, and sign it and send it on to him." In about a fortnight one member after another from different States came to me and said, "What does this mean? Half a dozen of my constituents have been writing me, asking me to do this thing." The result of it was that the thing was done. If a man will write what he wants in his own hand, and will not get it printed or put on a typewriter, and will sign his own name to it, his Representative will be exceedingly glad not only to read it but to give it a favorable consideration if possible. There is too much machine work about getting up petitions in these days, and they have lost much of their force in consequence. Another mistake is that of pouring them in upon a man already right, overwhelming him, and overlooking those who need to be urged to do the thing desired.

Mr. GARRETT.—During the past year, three gentlemen who have heretofore taken a more or less active part in our Conference have died. We miss them all. Captain J. G. Bourke, whose brilliant addresses and papers will be remembered by many, died in a hospital in Philadelphia. Rev. Mr. Harding, who long represented the Springfield *Republican* here, has also died. And we feel the loss especially of Dr. Austin Abbott, who has also passed away. For years he was one of the most active members of the Conference, and his gentle manner and strong counsel, especially on questions of law, will long be appreciated. It seems eminently proper that a resolution should be adopted by the Conference; and Dr. Foster has prepared one on which Dr. Cuyler will speak.

The following was then offered by Dr. Foster, who moved that it be printed in the records:—

This Conference this year greatly misses the genial presence and wise counsels of one who has been identified with it from the beginning. Dr. Austin Abbott, who has been called from earth during the year, was deeply interested in the welfare of the Indian and showed his interest by constant attendance at these meetings. His legal learning and practical good sense caused him to be greatly appreciated on these occasions and to be pressed into service. He was often a member of our business committee, aided largely in drafting our platforms, and was eagerly heard on the floor of this Conference. In all legal questions before the Conference his opinion was well-nigh decisive. In social relations we found him a man of a warm heart and of earnest Christian character.

The conclusions reached by this Conference were shaped in no small-degree by his counsels, and whatever influence the Conference has had in improving the condition of the Indian is due as much to him as to any one member of this body. We are glad to record our indebtedness to our departed friend for his untiring and able efforts in promoting the work of this Conference.

Dr. CUYLER. — I second the proposal. It seems to me that at almost every gathering we are called to lament the departure of some who have been active participants in the blessed work for which we are assembled. At the last meeting the distinguished brothers stood here side by side, with their earnest faces, their active brains and their large hearts consecrated to the work of this Conference. Through the last day or two we have felt what a gap it is that we have not had the brothers Abbott with us this time. One of them, Dr. Lyman Abbott, told me at the beginning of the week how much he regretted that an important engagement prevented his being with us; but alas! the eloquent voice of his brother Austin will never be heard here again.

Austin Abbott came of a family that was famous through two generations. His father, the Rev. Jacob Abbott of Boston, was widely known as a popular author. His name appears on the title-page of two hundred books as author or editor. But after all, his greatest work was in giving to this country those four noble sons. Benjamin Abbott, one of the three, became an eminent and successful practitioner and writer in the law. Lyman Abbott, as you all know, has made Plymouth Church visible and audible all over the continent. It still speaks out for God, for justice, freedom and human rights. Rev. Edward Abbott is well known in his own denomination as the rector of St. James's Church, Cambridge, and widely known outside of it as the editor-in-chief of the *Literary World*. Austin Abbott, the fourth brother, was born in Boston, I think in December, 1831, and at the time of his lamented departure was little more than sixty-four years of age. About forty years ago I first became acquainted with him. He and his young wife were in New York, and they came to my church, although they did not unite with it. I remember my acquaintance with that bright, earnest, unsophisticated fellow and his wife when they first came. I only regretted that his change of residence took him away. I received his first book, "Conecut Corners." He had an idea then of giving himself to a literary life; but God had a greater work for him to do, a wider and deeper far. He very soon grappled with the weightier matters of the law, and his fine strong intellect found full room for activity, not only in practice, but in preparing many valuable volumes which have become standards for the legal profession.

But it is not of Austin Abbott as an eminent pleader or writer of the law that we commemorate him to-night. Rather we think of him, not as one who taught the law, but as one who practised the beautiful gospel. It is not Austin Abbott, the eminent legal writer, but Austin Abbott, the lover of God and of his fellow creatures, who won our hearts and won his place among the reformers and philanthropists of our country.

You remember how he came here year after year, how he put the whole force of his legal knowledge and of his enthusiastic devotion into the deliberations of this body, and it may well be said no man exerted more power on this platform and in these annual deliberations than Dr. Austin Abbott. Let us therefore think of him to-night as one who loved the Indian and labored for him, who gave the very best of himself to better the condition of the Indian. All that he did, he did from sheer, pure love. I suppose as a lawyer he received his fees for what he did; for what he wrought for humanity he received a more precious coin, the heart coin that the Almighty gives to those who do unselfish work for his glory and the cause of humanity. Good friends, that is the only coin worth having. It is Almighty God's gold standard that never can depreciate. And now when the good man is taken away many of you may have observed the tributes paid by the public press and by Christian men and philanthropists throughout the country. It was the tribute paid to the noble, fearless, earnest, and devoted laborer for God and humanity. Good friends, it is a very pleasant thing to be admired, it is a very pleasant thing to be honored; but it is an infinitely grander thing to be loved. Austin Abbott went down to his grave loved, and his name is embalmed in the hearts of many of God's people over our country, and by more than one of those poor fellow-countrymen of ours on the frontiers, who will remember the name of Austin Abbott as one of their unselfish and devoted friends. There are many who would rather thus write their names on humanity than on marble that may perish; who would rather write their names on human hearts, though that heart be behind a black or a red skin, but a human heart that throbs with gratitude to its benefactor. And so to-night it seems that the departed have come back to revisit us. It is not those that we see with the eye that we behold to-night. It is another group that we behold with the inner eye of affectionate memory. I see in this room to-night Rutherford Hayes and Samuel Armstrong and Clinton B. Fiske and Austin Abbott still mingling in spirit in our deliberations; still saying to us, "Brethren and sisters, be of good cheer. We have gone, but the cause remains. Men die, but the work goes on. Be of good cheer, for, by and by, it is our heavenly Father's good pleasure to give us the kingdom."

The resolution was then passed by a unanimous rising vote.

MR. HOWARD M. JENKINS.—In the warmth of the discussion this morning I felt as if there was something that I might have added to its bulk, if not to its value, but it is difficult to go back and revive the interest one felt at the time. I was much impressed, however, with the remarks that were made by Miss Scoville and Miss Collins and Dr. Young,—their uniform testimony to certain strong and honorable qualities of the Indian character. It awakened in my mind two lines of thought which I want to suggest. One is moved to ask whether, after all, it could have been a huge mistake for

Columbus to make his voyage, and whether the whole contact of the white race with the red has been a catastrophe. Because, as you study the question, the Indians seem to have had, from the very first time the whites came in contact with them, qualities which command our respect in the highest degree,—qualities which the contact of the white race with them has rather served to destroy than to enhance. One fact may illustrate this inquiry: so far as we have any evidence, there was not among the Indians north of Central America any knowledge whatever of the manufacture of any intoxicating drink. That is my own impression from what I have read, and I have talked here with our friend Dr. Anderson about it, and I believe it is safe to say that they had no intoxicating drink. The most notable gift, therefore, which the white people of Europe brought to these red people of America was that of intoxicants; and the account of their intercourse with us is the same story of drunkenness and demoralization, from the beginning of the seventeenth century so far as the English races are concerned, down to the present time. The Indians had at all times an appreciation of their own situation and an understanding of the misery and wrong which drink wrought, and they constantly asked that it should be kept from them. If you will read the records of the Colonial time, you will find there how again and again the Indian chiefs begged that rum might not be brought among them. Answer was always made to them, "We will try." But the cupidity of the white men, and especially the traders, was such that it was not then kept away, and it has never been kept away since.

Supposing all this to be true, I think the testimony to these admirable qualities of the Indian character ought to be encouraging to all friends of the Indian work, for it is certainly helpful to the desire to lift these people when we find they have these strong characteristics commanding our respect. I would adopt the suggestion made this morning, that, if we can bring to them our civilization in its civilized form, and our Christianity in its Christian reality, we can preserve among them these high qualities. It is to such end as that, I should hope, that the influence of the friends of the Indian can be and will be more intelligently and satisfactorily directed. We lose a great deal in all governmental attempts to improve the Indians by the failure to have consecutive and consistent administration. And all that government does must be done on broad lines and by general rule, and to some extent in a mechanical way; while the efforts of good people, such as are represented here from year to year, can be more flexible, and to a certain degree more intelligently applied to the maintenance and the conservation of those native valuable qualities which still survive in the Indian. I never have read of the Indians from the narratives of trustworthy witnesses, old or recent, without feeling impressed that in *some* ways they seem to have had better native qualities than the whites. It does seem to me that their fidelity to their engagements is greater than our average; and as to the one great offence that has always been charged to them,—cruelty and blood-thirstiness,—if you will

read the annals of our own race in detail, from the time when the white people came here, you will find that the cruelties they practised were equal to anything that we know of the Indian.

The three resolutions which had been presented to the business committee were read by Dr. Ward and adopted (page 95).

The platform was then read by Dr. W. H. Ward, who prefaced it with the following words : —

Dr. WARD.— In moving the adoption of this platform, allow me to say a word. There is a difference between a man of shifts and a man of principles, between a politician and a gentleman. The man who has principles has a guiding star, something which he can follow, something which will give him direction, while a man that has no principle has no pole-star. I suppose that one principle which controls us is our trust in truth ; and I suppose that the liberty of truth, and the liberty of discussion and of free thought, and the trust in the power of truth are about the first lessons that one needs to learn. John Milton, in his Speech in Defence of the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing, has given us that principle in the best form in which it has ever been put upon paper. It is one of the best pieces of English prose that exists. I would have every young man read it at least once a year. One who has learned the principles which are expounded there better than anywhere else in the English language has learned a lesson of the utmost importance,— that the free discussion of truth can be trusted.

There is another very important principle, and that is the unity of the human race. That principle lies at the bottom of this platform. It takes a good while to learn that principle. Against that principle is the whole custom of caste, is the whole thought that a man must be put under foot because he is not like us. That is something different from the solidarity of the human race. That is accomplished by commerce as men come into relation with one another. I am glad that the first history gives us the name *Adam* for the first man, a word which means *man*, and this includes the human race. Then we have the second Man from heaven, introducing into this human race, this one human race on the earth, the spiritual power, the divine life that comes down from heaven. And as by our origin we are all one, so through the divine life which comes to us from Jesus Christ we are also one ; and we have the right to demand that one race shall not be treated differently from any other race, for we are all brothers of one family.

I am not one of those who believe that the difference between races is anything essential. There are differences between individuals. One has larger brain, larger power, larger capacity, than another ; but that is no reason why he should not give the other the same privileges, so far as the latter is able to use them. But we must remember that, if the red man or the black man or the yellow man, as man, may differ in the amount of ability, may have a different amount of brain, yet the kind of brain is the same ; the same power

resides in it as in some large Caucasian brain. We have been told that if you take an Indian infant and put it in your home, and it grows up there, it will be to all intents and purposes like your children. The environment makes the difference. The difference is not in the nature of the soul that is there. If you take your white child—and many and many such a child there has been—and in infancy put him in an Indian home and let him be brought up with Indian children, he will grow red at heart in his sympathies and feelings as the Indians among whom he lives. I have seen such a man among the Arickarees. I believe we are all of one sort, if you come to the mind and heart. It is the environment, the surroundings, which make the difference.

So we hold fast to that principle, and we have got to apply it, and apply it in all those great concerns which govern us in our relations one with another. This principle must govern our treatment of the Indian. What do we do for our own children? We give our children such an education as will fit them for any sphere of life to which they may be called. We do not have a special Caucasian education. We want no special Indian education. We want to give the Indians the education which will make them good citizens. We cannot give the best education to every one, red or white, but we must give the choice Indian man a choice education. The same principle applies to citizenship. There is not to be a different kind of government for the Indian from what there is for the white man; and this is what we try to express in this platform. Just as soon as possible, put the government of the Indian on precisely the same plane as that of the white man. Why? Because he is a white man; because he is at heart a white man. When he gets the education and the surroundings of the white man he will be a white man.

Some years ago I was visiting the Arickarees and Gros Ventres with a friend, and I was told that, twenty years before, a United States soldier had come to see them and had made a speech, and he told them that in twenty years they would be white men. That twenty years was almost finished, and they were thinking that the time had come when they were to be white men. Like them, we want to understand that the Indian is to be a white man, treated like a white man, because of this one great central principle that I want to have put before us and fixed in our minds, according to which we are to guide our conduct in every dealing with them. So we are to give them such a government as we have. Let them have a free government without putting them under the bondage of dealing with the agency system.

One thing more; and that has to do with religion. The Indian has the right to just the same religion that we have. Not only is he to have the white man's school and the white man's government, but also the white man's religion. We are to understand that it is not part of our duty to try to preserve something about their customs or their manners because it is picturesque or peculiar or odd as a specimen in ethnology, something to keep as a sort of living museum to

be sent about the country in a show. We are to give them our civilization, we are to give them our religion, and we are to teach them to despise that which is low and that which is degrading.

And now let me say in reference to this platform, I believe it is such as this Conference desires to embody. At least it appears to put into form the principles by which this Conference is guided,—this central principle of the unity of the human race applied to the Indian race just as we apply it to the white race. And here I say, dear friends, we are practical. They may say that this is not practical. A practical policy requires that we should accommodate ourselves to this or that condition. But to let a bad condition continue is not practical politics, it is not real statesmanship. What we desire is that we should go forward in a straight line, what we must do is something practical and wise, and we must hew by the straight line of this great principle of the unity of the human race.

The platform was then read, section by section, and, after some discussion, in which Miss Sparhawk, Senator Dawes, Mr. Lippincott, Dr. Ward, Mr. James Wood, Mr. Jenkins, and others took part, was adopted as a whole as follows:—

LAKE MOHONK PLATFORM.

We, the members of the Mohonk Indian Conference, in this its Fourteenth Annual Meeting, gratefully recognize the progress made by our country during these years in the intelligent comprehension of the Indian problem and its equitable solution. The Century of Dishonor we trust is passed. The Indian has friends to watch over his rights and bring him the blessings of education and religion; while our government, in its legislative and administrative branches, seeks the same object. The main principles are settled, and the main lines of policy have been adopted. It is admitted that the Indian is a man; and it is coming to be admitted that he must be treated like other men. Our government is seeking to give all Indian youth an English education; the spoils system has received a deadly blow; and we are trying, as fast as is prudent, to put every Indian family on its own allotted land. But the right direction already secured needs to be maintained, and, while on the road to self-protection and citizenship, the Indian requires the protection of law, and the guidance of those who love him because he is a brother man. Accordingly we make the following recommendations:—

1. That the tribal system be abolished everywhere as soon as possible, and the Indian incorporated into the citizenship of the States and Territories.

2. That, accordingly, Indian agents be dispensed with wherever possible, especially where the Indians have been settled on their own allotments; and that, where it is necessary to retain an agent, preparation be made for his withdrawal in every possible way.

3. That legislation should protect the Indian against the land-grabber, the gambler, and the liquor seller; and particularly that

Congress should pass the liquor bill approved by Commissioner Browning, or some other bill equally stringent. We further recommend that special attention be paid to the subject of marriage and divorce among the Indians, so as to bring their family relations under the laws of the States or Territories within whose bounds they reside.

4. That the Indian agents should not be removed because of a change of administration.

Further, we commend the admirable methods of the present Superintendent of Indian Education, and we desire that he may be retained to carry out the plans that he has inaugurated.

5. That the Indian schools be incorporated in the school systems of the several States and Territories, the United States paying the expense of the education of the Indian youth so long as they are the wards of the nation.

6. That the work of surveying the reservations should as speedily as possible be completed, so that Indians may be enabled to locate their claims.

7. That Indians on reservations should not be allowed to connect themselves with shows travelling about the world to exhibit the savagery from which we are trying to reclaim them.

8. That the anomalous and deplorable conditions in the Indian Territory should be remedied. Convinced that this can be done with justice to all parties, we desire the speedy passage of the Curtis Bill which passed the House at the last session, with such modifications only as will promote its efficiency and enable the Dawes Commission to introduce the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes to the full rights of American citizenship. The utter failure of these tribes to protect the rights of citizen Indians in the tribal property lays upon our government the obligation to enforce the fulfilment of the trust which the tribal governments assumed in behalf of the individual members of each tribe; and the duty of protecting life and property in the Territory devolves upon the United States.

9. That it is of immediate importance that the natives of Alaska be put under the protection of organized Territorial law, and be prepared for citizenship.

10. That co-ordinate with the work of the government in providing the best facilities for the intellectual and moral training of the Indian must be that of the preacher and teacher of religion. We therefore urge all Christian people to vigorously re-enforce the work carried on by their missionary societies during this brief transition period until the Indian shall be redeemed from paganism and incorporated into our Christian life as well as into our national citizenship.

The following resolution was then presented by Dr. R. S. MacArthur, with a brief address:—

Resolved, That the hearty thanks of this Fourteenth Indian Conference be extended to Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley for their abounding, considerate, and delicate hospitality. Our honored host and hostess have given year after year

rare profit and pleasure to large numbers of consecrated toilers in remote missionary fields, and to many earnest workers in various forms of humanitarian and Christian endeavor. We hope that soon a just solution may be found for the Indian problem, but frankness compels us to say that we cannot without sincere solicitude contemplate the dissolution of this delightful Conference. From this hotel home have gone out influences in connection with this Conference, and more recently from the Arbitration Conference, which are girdling the globe, and which are already a great blessing to America, and are fast becoming a benediction to the nations beyond the sea.

The resolution was seconded by Dr. Bruce, and unanimously adopted.

Mr. Smiley thanked the speakers cordially, though he said he had repeatedly tried to get the Executive Committee to drop that feature of the Conference. He believed that great progress was being made in Indian affairs, but that the Christian people of the United States must not let go. "As soon as you get the Indian to become a Christian, you have settled the whole question in regard to his industry and his morality," said Mr. Smiley, "and I do not believe it can be settled in any other way."

Mr. Garrett closed with a few words of congratulation on the work that had been accomplished, and, after the singing of a hymn, "God be with us till we meet again," the Conference adjourned at

11 P.M.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

- ANDERSON, REV. DR. and MRS. JOS., Congregational Church, Waterbury, Conn.
ARBUCKLE, MR. JOHN, 315 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
AUSTIN, MRS. L. C., 891 Prospect Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
AVERY, MISS MYRA H., Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
BARROWS, MRS. I. C., *Christian Register*, Boston, Mass.
BERGEN, MR. and MRS. TUNIS G., 127 Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.
BRUCE, REV. and MRS. JAMES M., Associate Pastor Memorial Baptist Church, Yonkers, N.Y.
CAPEN, DR. and MRS. F. S., Principal Normal School, New Paltz, N.Y.
COIT, REV. JOSHUA, Secretary Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, Winchester, Mass.
COLLINS, DR. MARY C., Missionary Grand River, Fort Yates, No. Dak.
CRANNELL, MRS. W. W., President Albany Indian Association, Albany, N.Y.
CREEGAN, REV. C. C., District Secretary American Board Commissioners Foreign Missions, New York.
CUMING, THE MISSES, 28 West 12th Street, New York.
CUYLER, REV. DR. THEODORE L., Brooklyn, N.Y.
DAVIS, MR. and MRS. J. W., Vice-President Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston, Mass.
DAWES, HON. and MRS. HENRY L., Pittsfield, Mass.
DAWES, MISS ANNA L., Pittsfield, Mass.
DREHER, DR. JULIUS D., President Roanoke College, Salem, Va.
DUNNING, REV. and MRS. A. E., *The Congregationalist*, Boston, Mass.
DURYEA, MRS. SAMUEL BOWNE, Remsen Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.
DWIGHT, MISS, Stockbridge, Mass.
EATON, GEN. JOHN, Ex-Commissioner Education, Washington, D.C.
ELDRIDGE, MRS. MARY L., Government Field Matron, Nav. Ind., Jewett, N.M.
FERRIS, MR. ROBERT M. and MISS, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
FERRIS, REV. DR. and MRS. J. M., *Christian Intelligencer*, Flatbush, L.I.
FIELD, MR. FRANKLIN, Troy, N.Y.
FISHER, REV. DR. and MRS. SAMUEL J., Swissvale, Pa.
FISK, MRS. CLINTON B., President Woman's Home Missionary Society M. E. Church, New York.
FISKE, MRS. JAMES, Cambridge, Mass.
FOSTER, REV. ADDISON P., Eastern Editor the *Advance*, Boston, Mass.
FOUNTAIN, MR. and MRS. GIDEON, 34 East 64th Street, New York.
FRISSELL, REV. DR. H. B., Principal Hampton Normal Institute, Hampton, Va.
FRYE, MRS. M. E., President Maine Indian Association, Woodford's, Me.
GALPIN, MR. and MRS. S. A., Secretary Indian Rights Association, New Haven, Conn.
GARRETT, HON. PHILIP C., Board United States Indian Commissioners, Philadelphia, Penn.

- GATES, PRES. M. E., Amherst College and President Board Indian Commissioners, Amherst, Mass.
- GILBERT, RT. REV. M. N., St. Paul, Minn.
- GILMORE, PROF. J. H., University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.
- HALL, MRS. HECTOR, Troy, N. Y.
- HALLOCK, REV. and MRS. J. N., Editor *Christian Work*, New York.
- HARDY, MR. ALFRED, Indian Rights Association, Farmington, Conn.
- HARKNESS, MR. and MRS. WILLIAM, "The Margaret," Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- HATFIELD, The MISSES, 149 West 34th Street, New York.
- HINE, HON. and MRS. C. C., President Women's Indian Association, Newark, N.J.
- HOPKINS, DR. HENRY.
- HORR, REV. DR. ELIJAH, Worcester, Mass.
- HOWRY, HON. CHARLES B., Assistant Attorney-General, Washington, D.C.
- HUNTINGTON, RT. REV. and MRS. F. D., Syracuse, N.Y.
- JAMES, HON. DARWIN R., Board United States Indian Commissioners, 226 Gates Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- JENKINS, MR. and MRS. CHARLES F., Member of Executive Committee of Indian Rights Association, 1224 Race Street, Philadelphia, Penn.
- JENKINS, H. N., Editor *Friend's Intelligencer and Journal*, 921 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Penn.
- IVES, MISS MARIE E., New Haven Indian Association, New Haven, Conn.
- KENDRICK, MRS. GEORGIA M., Principal Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
- KING, REV. DR. and MRS. JAMES M., General Secretary National League for Protection of American Industries, 1 Madison Avenue, New York.
- KINNEY, MRS. SARAH T., President Connecticut Indian Association, 1162 Chapel Street, New Haven, Conn.
- LEUPP, MR. and MRS. F. E., Agent Indian Rights Association, Washington, D.C.
- LIPPINCOTT, REV. DR. and MRS. J. A., 110 N. 17th Street, Philadelphia, Penn.
- LUKENS, MR. and MRS. CHARLES M., E. Walnut Lane, Germantown, Penn.
- LYON, HON. WILLIAM H., Board Indian Commissioners, 170 New York Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- MACARTHUR, REV. DR. and MRS., Calvary Baptist Church, 358 W. 57th Street, New York.
- MCELROY, MR. and MRS. JOHN E., State Street, Albany, N.Y.
- MCKEE, MR. and MRS. R. W., 695 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- MEAD, MR. CHARLES L., Chairman Executive Committee American Missionary Association, 29 Chambers Street, New York.
- MESERVE, DR. CHARLES F., President Shaw University, Raleigh, N.C.
- MILLER, MR. and MRS. BENJAMIN H., Inspector Indian Department, Ashton, Md.
- MILNE, MRS. WILLIAM J., Albany, N.Y.
- MOSS, REV. LEMUEL, President American Baptist Historical Society, 3014 Berks Street, Philadelphia, Penn.
- PIERCE, MRS. MOSES, Norwich, Conn.
- PLIMPTON, MR. and MRS. G. A., 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.
- PRATT, CAPT. and MRS. R. H., Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Penn.
- QUINTON, MRS. A. S., President Woman's National Indian Association, 1414 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Penn.
- RIDLEY, MRS. EDWARD, Hotel Endicott, New York.
- ROBINSON, MAJ. H. M., Associated Editor *New York Observer*, New York.
- ROY, REV. J. E., Secretary American Missionary Association, Western District, 151 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

- RUDD, REV. EDWARD H., Albion, N.Y.
- RYDER, REV. DR. C. J., Corresponding Secretary American Missionary Association, Bible House, New York.
- SALISBURY, MISS, Minnesota.
- SCHIEFFELIN, MR. WILLIAM JAY, 35 W. 57th Street, New York.
- SCOVILLE, MISS ANNA B., Hampton Normal Institute, Hampton, Va.
- SEELYE, DR. and MRS. L. CLARK, President Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- SHAW, REV. DR. JOHN B., West End Presbyterian Church, New York.
- SHELTON, REV. and MRS. C. W., Eastern Field Secretary Congregational Home Missionary Society, Derby, Conn.
- SMILEY, MR. ALFRED H., Minnewaska, N.Y.
- SMILEY, MISS SARAH F., New York.
- SMITH, MISS HELEN SHELTON, 17 W. 17th Street, New York.
- SMITH, REV. DR. and MRS. GEORGE W., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
- SPARHAWK, MISS F. C., Secretary Indian Industries League, Newton Centre, Mass.
- STIMSON, REV. DR. and MRS. H. A., Broadway Tabernacle, New York.
- STRIEBY, REV. DR. M. E., Corresponding Secretary American Missionary Association, Bible House, New York.
- STRONG, DR. JAMES W., President Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
- TALCOTT, MR. and MRS. JAMES M., 7 W. 57th Street, New York.
- TAYLOR, DR. and MRS. J. M., President Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
- THOMPSON, REV. DR. and MRS. C. L., Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York.
- TILLINGHAST, MRS. I. N., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
- TURNER, REV. H. B., Chaplain Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
- VAN NORDEN, MR. WARNER, President National Bank of North America, New York.
- VAN SLYKE, REV. DR. and MRS. J. G., First Reformed Church, Kingston, N.Y.
- WARD, REV. DR. WILLIAM H., Editor *Independent*, New York.
- WELSH, MR. HERBERT, Corresponding Secretary Indian Rights Association, 1305 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Penn.
- WHIPPLE, RT. REV. H. B., Board United States Indian Commissioners, Faribault, Minn.
- WHITTLESEY, GEN. and MRS. E., Secretary Board Indian Commission, Washington, D.C.
- WILLIAMS, MR. and MRS. JOHN J., 401 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- WINSLOW, MISS F. E., Assistant Editor the *Churchman*, New York.
- WOOD, MR. and MRS. FRANK, Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston, Mass.
- WOOD, MR. and MRS. HENRY, Mt. Kisco, N.Y.
- WOOD, MR. and MRS. JAMES, Mt. Kisco, N.Y.
- WORTMAN, REV. DR. and MRS. DENIS, Reformed Church, Saugerties, N.Y.
- WYNKOOP, MR. FRANCIS and MISS, 159 W. 21st Street, New York.
- YOUNG, REV. Egerton R., Toronto, Can.

LIST OF SPEAKERS AND WRITERS.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Anderson, Dr. Joseph, 85.
 Apache, Antonio, 38.
 Collins, Miss M. C., 20, 23, 67, 85, 93.
 Cuyler, Dr., 107.
 Davis, Mr., 87, 105.
 Dawes, Hon. H. L., 50, 93, 105.
 Dreher, Dr., 88.
 Eaton, General, 24, 34, 51, 57, 92.
 Eldridge, Mrs. Mary L., 30, 93, 103.
 Fisher, Dr., 58.
 Fisk, Mrs. Clinton B., 68.
 Foster, Dr., 93.
 Frissell, Dr., 78, 95.
 Galpin, S. A., 89.
 Garrett, Mr., 33, 59, 102, 106, 114.
 Gates, President Merrill E., 7, 56, 58.
 George, Samuel, 79.
 Hardy, Alfred, 65.
 Harkness, Dr. William, 101.
 Hopkins, Dr. Henry, 101.
 Howry, Judge Charles B., 68.
 Ives, Miss M. E., 81.
 Jenkins, Dr. Howard M., 108.
 King, Dr. James M., 73, 91.
 Kinney, Mrs., 85.</p> | <p>Leupp, Francis E., 17.
 MacArthur, Dr. R. S., 113.
 Meserve, President C. F., 44, 58.
 Moss, Dr. Lemuel, 55.
 Pratt, Captain R. H., 35, 58.
 Quinton, Mrs. A. S., 64, 88.
 Roy, Rev. J. E., 90.
 Ryder, Secretary C. J., 23, 73, 94.
 Scoville, Miss, 72.
 Shelton, Mr., 94.
 Smiley, Mr. Albert, 56, 85, 93, 98, 101, 114.
 Smith, President George Williamson, 80.
 Sparhawk, Miss, 82.
 Stimson, Dr., 26, 59.
 Taylor, President, 83.
 Turner, Rev. Mr., 65.
 Ward, Dr., 84, 110.
 Welsh, Herbert, 23, 60, 56.
 Whipple, Bishop H. B., 39, 57, 70.
 Whittlesey, General E., 14, 23.
 Wood, James, 34.
 Wortman, Dr. Dennis, 57.
 Young, Rev. Egerton R., 26, 102.</p> |
|---|---|
-

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Abbott, Dr. Austin, 106.
 Agent, Miles, 89.
 Alaska, 80.
 Alaska, Education in, 92.
 Allottees, Sale of Liquor to, 16.
 American Missionary Association, 21, 90.
 American Missionary Association Hospital, 75.
 American Sunday-school Union, 93.
 Annetta Island, 93.
 Apaches, 38.
 Arapahoe Agency, 89.
 Armstrong, General, 11.
 Bad River Reservation, 18.
 Baskervill, Mr., missionary, 18.
 Beef Law, 100.
 Bland, Dr., 61.
 Bourke, Captain J. G., death of, 106.
 Browning's Law, Commissioner, 88.
 Burgess, Mr., Missionary, 90.</p> | <p>Canada, Work in, 26.
 Captain, Pratt, 12.
 Carlisle, 36, 79.
 Carter, Miss Sybil, Greeting to, 43, 44.
 Characteristics of the Indian, 97, 98.
 Cherokee Strip, 59.
 Chickasaws, 53.
 Children, Training of, by Indians, 99.
 Choctaws, 53.
 Christmas Boxes for Indians, 81.
 Church of the Sacred Herald, 21.
 Cinza Mountains, Orchards in, 103.
 Civil Service Reform, 62.
 Civilization, Indian in, 12.
 Cooper's Indians, 8.
 Court of Claims, 68.
 Cree Indians, 26.
 Crow Creeks, 65.
 Crow Indians, 90.
 Curtis Bill, 58.
 Dakota Indian Mission, 77.</p> |
|---|---|

- Davis, Mr., 87.
 Dawes Bill, 13.
 Dawes Commission, 44, 50.
 Depredation Act, 69.
 Duncan's Settlement, Mr., 93.
 Education, 72.
 Eskimos, 81.
 Ethnological Work, 86.
 Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory, 44.
 Five Nations, The, 44.
 Football for Indians, 35.
 Fort Defiance, School at, 65.
 Gilbert, Bishop, 11.
 Good-will School, 18.
 Hailmann, Dr., 14, 22, 63, 72.
 Hampton, 79.
 Hampton, Appropriations for, 15.
 Harding, Rev. M., Death of, 106.
 Harris, Dr., 92.
 Hayes, Rutherford B., 40.
 Hicksite Friends, 89.
 Honesty of Indians, 98.
 Hudson Bay Territory, 26.
 Ideals and Patience, 10.
 Indian Agents, 60.
 Indian Appropriation Bill, Action on, 91.
 Indian as he is, 8.
 Indian Bureau, Bill for Reorganization of, 15.
 Indian Church, Contributions of, 76.
 Indian Depredation Law, 68.
 Indian in Civilization, 12.
 Indian Industrial League, 82.
 Indian Languages, 86.
 Indian of Romance, 7.
 Indian Policemen, 94.
 Indian Rights Association, 64.
 Indian Territory, The, 13, 50.
 Intoxicating Liquors, Sale of, 16.
 Jackson, Dr., 92.
 Keller, Mr., Indian Agent, 18.
 Lac de Flambeau Reservation, 18.
 La Flesche, 74.
 Lake Mohonk Platform, 112.
 Land in Severalty, Dangers of, 9.
 Languages of the Indians, 86.
 La Pointe Agency, 18.
 Law Committee, 88.
 Leach Lake, 42.
 Legal Needs in California, 88.
 Lincoln, Appropriation for, 15.
 Liquor, 16, 63, 73.
 Logging Camps, 19.
 Marriage, Resolutions on, 95.
 Manual Training, 83.
 Mercer, Lieutenant, 19.
 Moqui Reservation, 65.
 Narragansett Indians, 85.
 National League for Protection of American Institutions, 91.
 Nature's Methods, 10.
 Navajoes, 30, 103.
 Net Fishing, 19.
 New York Indians, Care of, 95.
 Oklahoma, 59.
 Omahas, 65.
 Oneidas, 65.
 Orthodox Friends, 89.
 Paxton, Rev. William P., 93.
 Pettigrew, Senator, 19.
 Philological Work, 86.
 Pine Ridge, School at, 15.
 Platform, 112.
 Point Barrow Mission Station, 80.
 Point Hope Mission Station, 80.
 Presentation of Peace Pipe to Mr. Smiley, 85.
 Property, Power of, 11.
 Red Cliff Reservation, 19.
 Reindeer Herds in Alaska, 92.
 Reservation System Gone by, 9.
 Reservations, Visits to, 17.
 Resolutions Drawn by Indians, 95.
 Resolutions of Business Committee, 110.
 Resolution in Memory of Dr. Austin Abbott, 106.
 Resolution of Thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, 113.
 Revision of Indian Treaties, 53.
 Roanoke College, 88.
 Romance, The Indian of, 7.
 Rosebud Agency, School at, 15.
 Sac and Fox Reservation, 17.
 Sacs, 72.
 Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Allottees, 16.
 Salteaux Indians, 26.
 Santees, 65.
 Saw-mills, 19.
 Scarcity of Indians in the Indian Territory, 46.
 Schools and Homes, 13.
 Seger, Mr. 89.
 Selling of Intoxicants, 63.
 Sherman, General, 40.
 Sioux Indians, Reservation, 61, 95.
 Sisseton Agency, 17, 38.
 Smith, Rev. E. P., 70, 92.
 Smith, Secretary Hoke, 62.
 Standing Rock Agency, 21.
 Survey of the Field, 14.
 Tama Sac Reserve, 73.
 Telegram from Miss Sybil Carter, 105.
 Treaties, Revision of, 53.
 Treatment of Women, 67.
 Treaty with Choctaws and Chickasaws, 53.
 Treon, Dr. Fred, Indian Agent, 66.
 Visits to Reservations, 17.
 Washington, Booker T., 78.
 Washington Committee, 84.
 Welsh, Herbert, 14.
 White Earth Reservation, 42.
 Winnebagoes, 65.
 Woman's Home Missionary Society, 68.
 Women's National Indian Association, 64.
 Yukon River Missions, 80.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
OF
FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN
1897

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
1897



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
OF
FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN
1897

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
1897

L. S. Decent d
Rec'd. Dec. 27, 1941

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES, 1897.

President: PHILIP C. GARRETT, Philadelphia.

Secretaries: JOSHUA W. DAVIS, Mrs. ISABEL C. BARROWS, and Miss M. D. ADAMS.

Treasurer: FRANK WOOD, 352 Washington Street, Boston.

Business Committee: Rev. ADDISON P. FOSTER, D.D., Chairman; Rev. C. J. RYDER, D.D.; President WM. F. SLOCUM, President CHARLES F. MESERVE, Mrs. A. S. QUINTON.

Washington Committee: Hon. PHILIP C. GARRETT, Chairman; Hon. MERRILL E. GATES, ALBERT K. SMILEY, Gen. E. WHITTLESEY, DARWIN R. JAMES, W. H. LYON.

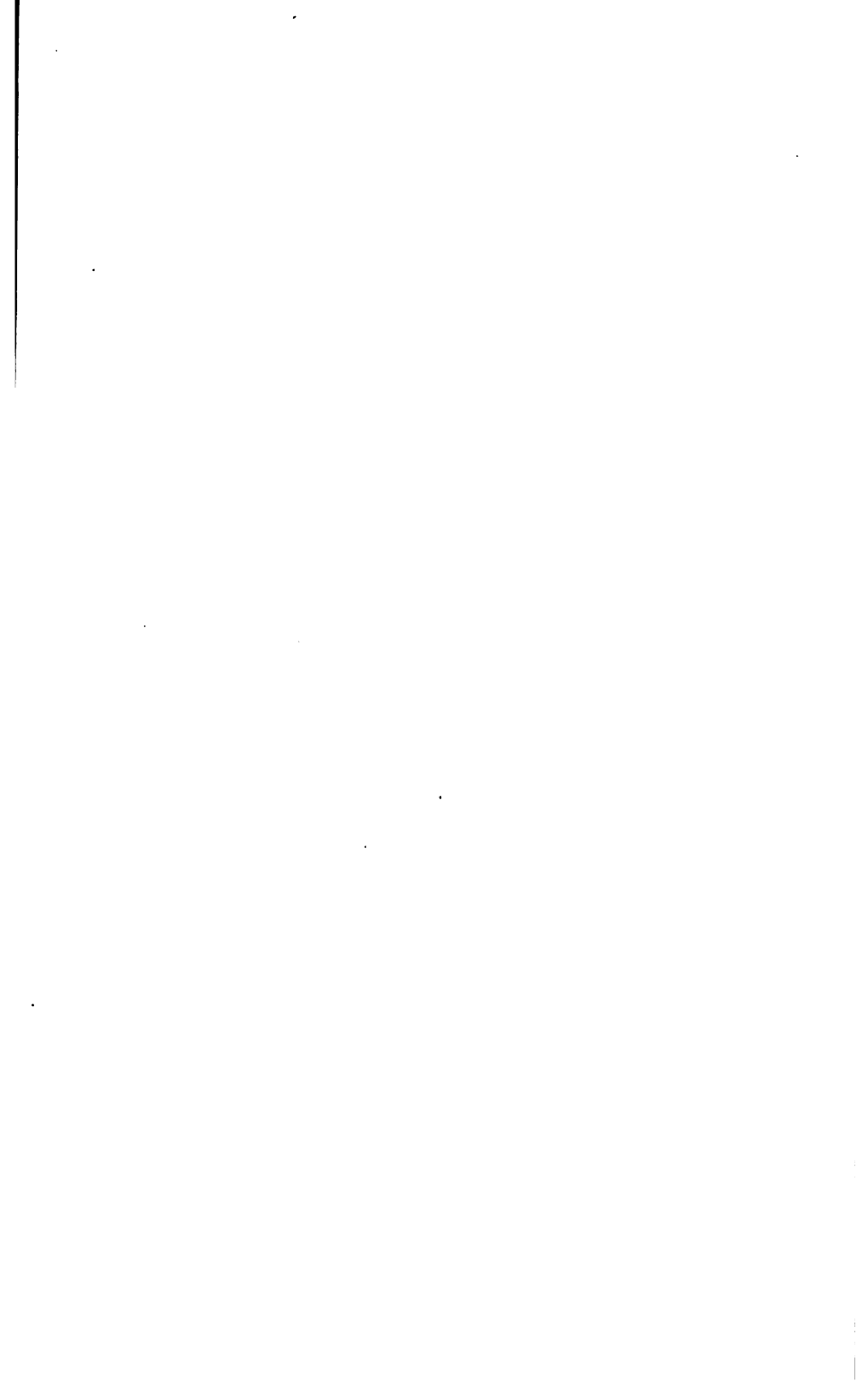
Publication Committee: FRANK WOOD, J. W. DAVIS, Mrs. I. C. BARROWS.

PREFACE.

THE never-failing hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley made possible another Lake Mohonk Indian Conference, the fifteenth, which was held Oct. 13, 14, and 15, 1897. There were a few who thought that the time for discussing Indian affairs was almost over, but the reports and addresses showed that there is yet much to do before all the Indians of the country shall have their rights. The spirit of the meeting was hopeful and sympathetic, and the speeches from workers in the field were full of cheer.

One copy of this report is sent to each member of the Conference. If other copies are desired, application may be made to Mr. A. K. Smiley, Lake Mohonk, Ulster County, New York.

BOSTON, December, 1897.



CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES	2
PREFACE	3
FIRST SESSION.	
Opening Words	7
Organization	8
Survey of the Field, by Gen. E. Whittlesey	9
Among the Indians of the West, by Francis E. Leupp	12
The Indians of Oklahoma, by Maj. A. E. Woodson	18
Brief Addresses by Miss Anna B. Scoville, Rev. A. E. Tead, Dr. Ryder, Dr. Shelton, Mr. Davis, President Seelye, and others,	25-31
SECOND SESSION.	
Current Achievements and Fresh Hopes in Indian Education, by Dr. W. N. Hailmann	32
The Indian Territory, by Hon. H. L. Dawes	38
The Indians of Minnesota, by Rt. Rev. H. B. Whipple	43
THIRD SESSION.	
The Mission Indians, by J. W. Davis	49
Educational Work, by President Chas. F. Meserve	52
Addresses by Miss Sybil Carter and Rev. Egerton Young	56, 57
Responsibility of the States for the Education of the Indian, by President Wm. F. Slocum	58
Missionary Reports	61-72
The Indian Question, by Rev. Oscar E. Boyd	73
FOURTH SESSION.	
The Early New York Indians, by Miss Myra H. Avery	76
Responsibility for the Indian, by Rev. T. L. Cuyler, D.D.	79
The Next Step in Civil Service Reform, by Herbert Welsh	80
The Abolition of Unnecessary Agencies, by Mrs. A. S. Quinton	84
The Practical Difficulties, by Hon. S. J. Barrows	87
Discussion	90
FIFTH SESSION.	
Discussion on Allotment	92-94
Education of Indian Children into Citizenship, by Rev. J. A. Lip- pincott	95
Brief Addresses by Dr. Frissell, Miss Marie E. Ives, Miss Scoville, Dr. Hailmann, Rev. Geo. W. Smith, Mr. Frank Wood, Mr. Ferris, and Dr. Mowry	99-107
Names of Indian Citizens, by Dr. Dunning and Mrs. Quinton	108

SIXTH SESSION.

The Literature of the American Indian, by Rev. Joseph Anderson	110
Our Attitude toward the Indian, by Howard M. Jenkins	113
Platform of the Conference	114
Our Work and its Results, by Rev. J. G. Van Slyke, D.D.	116
Education, Avocation, Legislation, Salvation, by Rev. Edward Hunting Rudd	117
The Universal Brotherhood, by Hon. W. M. Beardshear	119
The Apostles of To-day, by Maj. W. H. Lambert	121
Address of Rev. W. E. Barton, D.D.	122
Closing words	124

LIST OF MEMBERS	125
LIST OF SPEAKERS AND WRITERS	128
INDEX OF SUBJECTS	128

THE FIFTEENTH LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 13, 1897.

The fifteenth session of the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference began Wednesday morning, October 13, 1897, assembled by invitation of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley.

After morning prayers Mr. Smiley spoke as follows:—

I am overwhelmed with joy to see so many people gathered here to consult upon the best interests of the Indian. I am pleased to see so many of the veterans, some who have been with us at nearly every session; men who have been the leaders in shaping legislation for the Indians, and in directing Christian efforts for their elevation. We have much wisdom concentrated here with regard to the right conduct of Indian affairs. I hope to live to see the time when Indians, as good citizens, can take care of themselves. But I do not suppose that I shall, for it is not in a day that we can raise a feeble race.

My thought in forming this Conference was to get a company of men together who knew what they were talking about, that they might confer, and then act in harmony. It had sometimes seemed that the different denominations opposed each other, and the government opposed them; but times have changed. There seems to be now a general consent to work together. Members of Congress and men of affairs have not time to give to a close analysis of these questions. They must look to the intelligent Christian sentiment of the country for guidance and support. I think this Conference has had a great influence, and I hope the meeting this week will still further add to the help of the Indian, and promote the good of the race.

Mr. Smiley then introduced Mr. Philip C. Garrett, of Philadelphia, as the presiding officer of the Conference.

In taking the chair Mr. Garrett spoke as follows:—

I appreciate to the full the compliment paid me, and I am glad you, ladies and gentlemen, do not appreciate as I do the deficiencies of the new incumbent; however, I shall claim your indulgence.

We accept again the boundless hospitality of our host and hostess for the purpose of discussing questions pertaining to the welfare of the Indians.

In the moral gloom of Washington, amidst the political wrangles, and in the tangle of red tape there, it seems as if this question were to last forever, and as if all the complications that attend it were there to stay perpetually. But here we have a clearer atmosphere, and sometimes we are favored with a glimmer of the dawn; for "jocund day stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops."

I do not feel at all discouraged as to the Indian problem; I do not suppose any of us do. We seem here to have a glimpse of "the good time coming" when right, not might, shall rule the world.

As we look back on the century of dishonor and conflict, and then look at the present condition of things, and regard the quiet and peaceful progress toward civilization which is silently going on among the Indians, we have every reason to thank God, and congratulate ourselves, and look with hopeful confidence to the future, expecting the full realization of all that this Conference stands for. I do not feel sure that even the gray-haired veterans will not live to see the desire of their hearts, and be satisfied in the practical accomplishment of the civilization of the Indians, and their incorporation into the body politic of the United States. It does not seem to me so very far distant.

This Conference, not congress nor convention, but simply conference of the friends of the Indian, so brilliantly devised and carried out by our friend Mr. Smiley, seems, in the providence of God, to have been one of the chief agencies in bringing about a great revolution in public sentiment and legislation, and I think we have present in this room the five people who have been the principal factors, the agents in God's hand, in effecting this change. It is an interesting thought, and should inspire us as we enter upon our work this year.

And now we are ready to organize by appointing our committees.

On motion of Mr. Herbert Welsh, Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, Mr. Joshua W. Davis, and Miss Martha D. Adams were elected Secretaries.

On motion of Mr. C. F. Meserve, Mr. Frank Wood, of Boston, was elected Treasurer.

On motion of President Seelye, Rev. Addison P. Foster, D.D., of Boston, Rev. C. J. Ryder, D.D., of New York, President

William F. Slocum, of Colorado, President C. F. Meserve, of Raleigh, N. C., and Mrs. A. S. Quinton, of Philadelphia, were elected a Business Committee. The Chair stated that the Publication Committee would consist, as last year, of the Treasurer and Secretaries, unless there were objection, and it was so ordered: Mr. Frank Wood, Mr. J. W. Davis, Mrs. Barrows.

General Whittlesey was asked to make the first address.

SURVEY OF THE FIELD.

BY GENERAL E. WHITTLESEY, SECRETARY BOARD OF
UNITED STATES INDIAN COMMISSIONERS.

Mr. Chairman and friends of the red men.—The first subject of importance is the matter of education. The appropriations for Indian schools for the year 1897, the fiscal year ending June 30th, were \$2,517,265; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, \$2,631,771.35,—an increase of \$114,506.35. In addition to this, treaty provisions for the support of Indian schools amount to about \$600,000, making a total for this purpose of about \$3,231,771.35 for the current year. This seems like a vast amount for the education of between thirty and forty thousand school-children, but we must remember that in addition to instruction in intellectual and industrial pursuits it is necessary to provide for a large proportion of the Indian scholars their food and clothing for the entire year, so that the amount of over three million can be wisely expended. It also includes the construction of buildings, furniture, and the facilities for carrying on the school work. I think you will find when Dr. Hailmann, the accomplished Superintendent of Indian Education, addresses you, that Indian education is on a better basis now than it has ever been before.

The enrollment in the government schools, numbering 234, was, during the year 1896, 17,789; in the year 1897, 18,670, making an increase of 881. The average attendance in 1896 was 14,365; in 1897, 14,954,—an increase of 589.

I should say in passing that the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs has not been given to the public, and I have gathered these statistics from various sources, such as were available to me. I think they will be found substantially correct.

In the contract schools, numbering 38, the enrollment in 1896 was 4,429; in 1897 it was 3,124,—a decrease of 1,305. Several contract schools have gone out of existence; some have gone into the hands of the government. The average attendance in 1896 was 3,787; in 1897 it was 2,760,—a decrease of 1,037.

In the public schools of the various States, so far as I have been able to learn, the enrollment in 1896 was 413; in 1897 it was 303,—a decrease of 110. The average attendance in 1896 was 294; in 1897 it was 194,—a decrease of 100. But it should be said that from a number of State public schools, where now Indian children are received with white children, no reports have been available.

In the mission boarding schools there was an enrollment in 1896 of 835; in 1897 of 692,—a decrease of 143. The average attendance in 1896 was 736; in 1897 of 589,—a decrease of 147.

The aggregate enrollment in all the schools in 1896 was 23,572; in 1897 it was 22,799,—a decrease of 773; the decrease being in the contract and mission schools, and an increase in the government schools. The average attendance in 1896 was, in all the schools, 19,262, and in 1897, 18,497,—a decrease of 715.

The total number of schools of all grades—government, contract, and mission—is 289; of these, 234 are government schools. There has been an increase of 11 during the last year. About ten or twelve contract schools have been purchased by the government. The non-reservation schools have been enlarged, and their facilities greatly extended.

For the 37 contract schools the government made a grant in 1896 of \$257,928. For the current year the grant for these schools is \$156,760. Of this amount \$2,700 is granted to two Protestant schools, and \$150,760 to Catholic schools.

Many improvements have been made during the year,—improvements in ventilation, in heating, in sewerage, in lighting, in water supply, and protection from fires. There are now invested in the Indian school plant by the government between three and four millions of dollars.

The most elaborate new work undertaken during the last year was the organization of boarding schools on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations, where a most complete plant has been erected, with facilities for 200 pupils each. At the exhibit at Nashville 23 of our Indian schools were represented, and great interest seems to have been taken in this exhibition.

The next step of great importance, which we have considered every year at this Conference, is the allotment of land in severalty to Indians. During the past year 34,156 patents have been issued, 301 allotments approved, and 492 received but not finally acted upon. The total number of allotments that have thus far been made is nearly 60,000. In order that these allotments of individual farms should be available for the support of the Indians who hold them, it is necessary that many of the reservations should have irrigation provided. This has been done to a considerable extent on quite a number of reservations,—at Fort Hall, Crow Creek, Yakima in Washington, for the Utes on Tule River, for the Mission Indians in California, for the Moquis in Arizona, on the Cheyenne Reservation in Wyoming, for the Utes in Colorado, for the Pimas and the Shoshones in Nevada.

As the result of the long-continued and partially successful efforts

of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, allotments will be begun before long to the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and possibly to the Creeks.

One or two things I may mention as encouraging in the history of the past year, besides what I have already stated, as to the educational and allotment work. One is the law, approved Jan. 30, 1897, for the suppression of the liquor traffic among the Indians; not only those on the reservation, but among Indians who have received their allotments. Some prosecutions have been successfully carried through against violators of this law, and it is believed that great good will result from it, though in some regions it may be difficult to find juries who will convict the offenders.

The other thing which I may mention is the firm stand which our President has taken in behalf of the Civil Service Reform, and of its extension so as to require that removals from office shall be made only for cause and after fair investigation, giving those whom it is proposed to remove a fair hearing.

Some things have occurred that have been disastrous to the Indian, such as an assault upon the Navajo Indians, attempting to drive them from their lands by oppressive taxation; such as the attempt to eject the Indians from the Warner ranch in Southern California,—a case now before the courts. These indicate that vigilance and earnest and watchful care are still needed to protect the Indian from injustice, and that the time has not yet come for a relaxation of such effort, or for any *laissez faire* policy to be adopted. But I hope the time will come when justice shall be done to all Indians as well as to white men under the law in all our country, and when they shall stand by our side as fellow-citizens, supporting themselves without any further help from us or from the government. We hope the time will come when we can dispense with government Indian schools, and when the States shall take up the work of absorbing all our schools into their public school system. We hope the time will come when all the Indians shall be settled upon their homesteads; but this is looking forward many years, I fear. Much work remains yet to be done in allotting lands and giving homesteads to the Indians, and a vast amount remains to be done for their education. There is also a vast amount of work for our churches to do through their missionaries, and that is the thing in which I am most deeply interested. All our efforts, all the generosity of the government, and all the labors of superintendents, teachers, and others to educate Indians in industrial pursuits and to give them intellectual training, will be a failure unless there is a deep foundation laid under this instruction of earnest, religious training.

When all these things shall be accomplished then the Board of Indian Commissioners can close up its office; then the Indian Rights Association and the Women's National Indian Association can close up their work, except their missionary and religious work. Then, sad to say, there will no longer be need of the Mohonk Conference! But that will be years hence. We hope our good hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, will live to see all these things, and to hold a

grand thanksgiving celebration in this room; and some of us who will then be in some other Beulah land, on some other Delectable mountain, we hope, may be able to look down upon the work accomplished, and join our voices with the voices of our good hosts and the friends then gathered here in a glad song of hallelujah.

The Business Committee reported the order for the day, with the limitation of time to ten minutes for each address for the morning.

Mr. Francis E. Leupp was invited to speak of his tour in the West among the different reservations.

AMONG THE INDIANS OF THE WEST.

ADDRESS BY MR. FRANCIS E. LEUPP.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I have been requested by several persons to say a word about the condition of things in Washington, and the most crying need of reform in Indian administration there. In my opinion, one valuable measure of reform would be to separate the Indian office from the Department of the Interior. Mr. Smiley, I believe, disagrees with me, on the ground that that would increase the importance of the Indian office, and hence would impede the work which we all wish to encourage—the gradual extinction of that bureau, and the hastening of the time when the government will not deal separately with the Indians any more than with any other class of citizens. It does not seem to me that that would be the effect. No matter if we did cut the bureau loose, we could still prevent any dangerous increase in its influence and importance, which are bound to diminish as step after step is taken for putting the Indians on their own feet.

The trouble with the existing system is that the Secretary of the Interior has a great deal more work and responsibility than he can attend to properly. It would be a godsend to the public service if he were relieved of not only the Indian office, but a number of other bureaus. Just look at the list. The census office is under him; and when we come to have a permanent census corps, that will be a very much more constant strain than now. The education office is under him. The Pension Bureau is under him, with an expenditure of one hundred and forty million dollars a year. The general land office, with its immense ramifications through all the Western States, is under him. The Patent Office, which is an enormous institution by itself, issuing several hundred patents every week, is under him. The Bureau of Railroads, which has jurisdiction of all the land-grant railways, is under him. The Geological Survey, which looks after the mineral interests in

the public domain, is under him. The Bureau of Ethnology, the Smithsonian Institution, and the National Museum—though in a sense these have a partly independent foundation—require the Secretary's formal supervision. I do not think I have named them all; but, sweeping over this list that at once occurs to my mind, you can see at a glance what a relief it would be if a part of his responsibility could be taken from the Secretary of the Interior.

Another reform which would be welcome is the abolition of what started in a very insignificant way, but has grown to large proportions—the Indian division of the Secretary of the Interior's office. I hope that no one will accuse me of casting any reflection upon the persons who have administered that division in the past, or who are administering it now. I am striking simply at the system. Years ago, in view of the responsibility of the Department of the Interior for the Indian administration, the Secretary found it necessary to have a clerk at his elbow who could arrange his papers for him and supply him with details of matters treated in the correspondence of the Indian office. This clerk found his duties growing so large that he had to have an assistant; and the assistant had in time to have an amanuensis; and so the thing went on, until there are now perhaps a dozen or fifteen persons in that division. From having been simply an office of suggestion, the division has gradually assumed power to veto, or hang up, or pigeon-hole anything that comes over from the Indian office. To give an illustration: Last spring a simple question came up, which any person acquainted with business methods could have settled in short order, surveying the whole field and satisfying himself sufficiently. It was laid before the Secretary of the Interior by the Indian Bureau, which had passed on it thoroughly. Every agent and inspector concerned had given his views upon it, and all to the same purpose. A majority of the Board of Indian Commissioners were thoroughly acquainted with it, and a unit in favor of the plan suggested. Outside experts, wholly without personal interest one way or the other, had considered it and given one verdict. It need not have taken four hours to settle that question. As a matter of fact, it took four months!

It seems to me that the Indian office, if it is going to stay under the Secretary of the Interior, could just as well perform all the functions now performed by this division. I do not think there is a person of experience who will not bear me out in saying that that division has been a stumbling-block in the way of wise and successful administration, instead of being a real help. The argument has been urged that in taking any steps to do away with that division we should run counter to the interests of the people who compose it, and who would naturally object to being turned out into the cold. But that is a mistake. There is no necessity for turning anyone out. Every person in the division is under the Civil Service rules, and would simply be absorbed into some other equally good position in the public service if his present form of employment were suspended.

The second subject on which I have been asked to speak is my regular yearly visit to the Indian country.

The first point I made this year was Fort Sill, where the Chiricahua Apaches, who became notorious under the leadership of Geronimo during the troubles in Arizona several years ago, are now confined as prisoners of war. These people had already been in Alabama and Florida, and an effort was made by the Indian Rights Association to have them settled in some part of the North Carolina mountains, where they could be taught agriculture. But the Governor of North Carolina objected. He argued that his State was a model commonwealth, and that to settle these "red-handed assassins" there would deal a terrible blow to its peace and good order. They were sent to Fort Sill, therefore, and put under Captain Hugh L. Scott, of the army. Captain Scott is a thorough-going business man as well as an officer; he is also a hearty friend of the Indian. The work which was begun with the Chiricahuas in the South by Lieutenant Wotherspoon has been carried forward by Captain Scott, who has been making a practical agriculturist of himself. He subscribes for the leading agricultural newspapers, and discusses cattle and swine, and poultry and crops, with as much interest now as he discussed tactics five or six years ago. He has had the Indians build houses for themselves, they cutting the wood and drawing it to the spots where the houses were to be erected. He counseled with them as to the choice of sites, and divided them into villages. The sites were all selected from a sanitary point of view as well as for the landscape, and he has yielded, as far as possible, to the prepossessions of the Indians, so that they would have as little ground for discontent as possible. Each colony or village is formed of Indians related to each other. The patriarchal idea is carried out. The father has his family all around him, and there they live in a harmony which would reflect credit on many white settlements. In matters of discipline Captain Scott is judge, jury, and executioner. Some time ago, for instance, he learned that a young Indian had separated from his wife and contracted another marriage. Captain Scott sent for him, inquired into the circumstances of the case, and then told him that he had no right to contract his second marriage. The Indian thought he had, because his wife made herself so disagreeable. Said Captain Scott: "You will have to do as white men do. You are breaking the laws of Oklahoma Territory, which forbid you to have more than one wife at a time. I do not intend to make you live with your wife if she is as bad as you say, but I do intend that you shall not live with any other."

"What will happen," asked the Indian, "if I do not obey?"

"You will be locked up in the guardhouse."

"What shall I have to eat?"

"The barest diet that the government allows."

The Indian concluded to leave the wife he had just married, and do what the captain said. We met him one day as we were going through the hayfield, where he was at work. From the look he

shot at Captain Scott, he evidently had not forgiven him for interfering in his domestic arrangements; but he was conducting himself in accordance with the law of the land, which was more important.

Captain Scott has gone into his work with the Chiricahuas on a thorough business basis. He found that Fort Sill required so much hay every year, and that the government had been in the habit of contracting with white farmers for it, paying a good price and sending a great distance. He set his Indians to work cutting native hay and curing it. Then he quietly put in a bid, in their behalf, to supply the Fort. It was the lowest bid, and the Indians got the contract, worth \$5,000. Then it was necessary for the Fort to have a grain supply. Captain Scott had acquired a high opinion of Kafir corn, which grows well in a dry country where the common corn will not grow. It is dwarf corn, and furnishes food for man and beast. The Indians were able to raise it, and were using it for themselves and families. Captain Scott found there was a surplus, and put in a bid in behalf of the Indians to sell this surplus to the Fort. I have not heard yet whether he was the lowest bidder; but if he was, and the Indians got the contract, they will make \$2,000 off that.

When it became necessary to have wells for the Chiricahuas, they bought, at Captain Scott's suggestion, a well-boring machine, and learned to use it. Presently they were boring wells not only for themselves, but for their neighbors the Kiowas and Comanches, and even for the white settlers outside. They are paid for all this, and the captain is teaching them to save their money and deposit it with the local post trader. They have passbooks, which show their deposits, and I am under the impression that they are allowed a little interest by way of encouragement.

These are a few of the ways in which a sensible, hard-headed business man, trained in the methods of the army, is able to handle Indians. You will probably ask: When these Indians cease to be prisoners of war, why should not Captain Scott be their agent? I assure you he will not. He could not have done one half what he has done had he been an agent under the Interior Department. He is under the War Department, and that Department is willing to let him alone and allow him to do his duty without political or other interference.

Geronimo, the big medicine man who was the chief agitator in the time of the last Apache trouble, now does his honest eight hours a day of farm work, and tries to act as if he rather liked it. Moreover, he is wearing the uniform of a United States scout, and taking his place regularly in the inspections and other exercises. Captain Scott has never done anything to degrade Geronimo in the eyes of his former followers, but has simply set him down where he belonged, in the ranks. Geronimo does not wear a chevron on his arm. The men who do have shown special aptitude for their work and a disposition to help their people.

Captain Scott, by the way, had to get special permission to or-

ganize this scout corps. They make a curious-looking body, few, perhaps none, of them being perfect physically.

From Fort Sill I went to Santa Fé, the headquarters of the agency for the Jicarilla Apaches and Pueblo Indians. The new agent is an army officer, Captain Nordstrom. He has very decided ideas on the subject of handling these Indians. He found agency affairs in a rather lax condition, owing to the policy of indifference pursued by some of his predecessors. He addressed himself promptly to the task of straightening them out. Having got into the habit of having their own way, some of the Indians were inclined to be troublesome, notably the Zuñis, of whom there are about fifteen hundred. They had been specially petted by a number of scientists, and when an attempt was made to change any of their customs they complained that their religious freedom was interfered with. They thought they should have as much freedom as the Catholics, or Baptists, or Presbyterians, or any other denomination. Major Nordstrom said: "That is all right. I have no intention of interfering with your religion, but when it comes to committing crime in the name of religion I have certain prejudices in favor of other methods of worship." A test case soon offered itself. Among the Zuñis, if almost anything goes wrong, it is assumed that some one has bewitched the sufferer, and the rule has been to hang the witch until he confesses. In a recent instance mortal injuries were inflicted by this torture. In another, which came directly under the new agent's notice, the victim was saved only by the timely interference of a white teacher. Major Nordstrom investigated this last case, and said, "We must arrest the persons guilty of this outrage, and punish them under the laws of New Mexico." He found that former agents had tried to have arrests made by a small posse; but forty or fifty men could do little against fifteen hundred Indians. So he obtained permission from Washington to bring four troops of cavalry from the nearest garrisons, on the principle that what was worth doing at all was worth doing well. The Indians were indisposed to surrender the ring-leaders at first, but when they were brought face to face with four troops of cavalry they concluded to let Major Nordstrom have his way. And he did.

Miss Mary E. Dissette is Major Nordstrom's "right-hand man." He consults her on every subject connected with these Indians. She has been for several years working among these people, and is able to give him a great deal of valuable information and many suggestions, of which he wisely avails himself. The co-operation of two such public servants is bound to bring good results.

From Santa Fé I went to Fort Defiance. The only subject in connection with the Navajos which is necessary to rehearse here is the Coconino County outrage, concerning which the Indian Rights Association issued a special report last spring, causing wide discussion in the press. The Government had allowed a number of Indians to occupy certain public lands for pasturing their sheep while irrigation work was in progress on the north part of their

reservation. But the white settlers, who had been surreptitiously using this same land for their own pasture, did not like the arrangement. They could bring no complaint against the Indians, who were peaceable and well disposed. So a tax was laid on the Indian sheep by the white people, so extortionate that it was known in advance that no Indian could pay it. Twenty men, armed to the teeth, went with the sheriff and demanded the tax, cash down. The Indians pleaded to be allowed to see a lawyer, or even to consult their agent. But the sheriff's posse said: "No. Pay at once, or get out." So they were driven, in the midst of winter, from the land which the government had authorized them to use, and great suffering was the result, especially for the women and children. They had to cross a river, in which many of the sheep were drowned, or caught their death through being chilled by immersion in the cold water.

The government, after a long time, was induced to take some steps with reference to this outrage. An official report had been made soon after the occurrence, but it had got pigeonholed. When the Department of Justice finally took it up, and by order of the Attorney General the local district attorney was preparing to proceed against the white marauders, and to try to recover some compensation for the Indians who had suffered, the district attorney's term expired, and he had to make way for a successor of opposite politics. The new district attorney was of course unfamiliar with the case, and will have to make a study of it from the bottom up.

As I was in the neighborhood I crossed to the other end of the reservation and passed into the Moqui country, visiting the mesa nearest to civilization and witnessing the snake dance at Walpi. While there I had the unique experience, after studying the Indians for so many years, of being studied as a curiosity myself. Our party occupied the front part of a snake-priest's house in the pueblo, the family of owners having removed themselves and their belongings into the rear part. Their part, which was on a higher level than ours, could be reached most easily by walking through our room. The family and their friends came and went through our room by way of a ladder leading up to a large square hole, opening into their quarters. Through this hole we could see the Indians peering down on us at all times, like spectators in an opera box. If their friends came in to call, the hosts apparently showed us off as a special attraction. Whether we were eating and drinking, or performing our toilet, it made no difference to them. One old man, the grandfather of the family, was especially interested, and would lie for hours at the open hole, resting on one elbow and keeping his eyes glued on us.

The mother and daughters of the family did our cooking, set our table, and washed our dishes; and in watching them I was impressed with the good work which the Indian schools are doing. It is a common thing to say that when Indian children leave the schools and go back to their people, they become little barbarians again. That is a very narrow view to take. They do not become

barbarians again, in the sense in which they were barbarians before. The seed has been planted, and it is bound to sprout. These children will be the fathers and the mothers of the next generation, and their children will start life on a different basis from what they did. The children of the family with whom we lodged had been taught at the little school at the foot of the mesa, and the mother had been taught by the daughters what they had learned at the school. The beds were decently made and the room was kept cleanly, the cooking was fairly good as far as it went, and the dishes were cleansed and set on the table quite in the white people's fashion. I am convinced that the schools are doing good work of a practical kind. Even if they did no more than to rid the children of the present generation of their ancestral prejudices against white civilization, and thus prepare the ground for the work to be done with their children in turn, they would be worth all the time, and money, and effort spent upon them.

Rev. Dr. HAMLIN.—Before Mr. Leupp retires, I should like to ask him what would be the destination of the Indian Bureau if taken away from the Interior Department?

Mr. LEUPP.—I should put it on the same footing as the Civil Service Commission, or the Fish Commission, or the Department of Labor, or any of the other independent bureaus, which do their work and do it quite as effectively for not having a Cabinet officer to supervise them. However, the idea of separation is only one alternative. What I am contending for is the general proposition that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs should either be given such independent authority as is consistent with the dignity of his office, or else be relegated to the mere clerical rank to which his present narrow authority would be appropriate.

Major A. E. Woodson, U. S. A., Acting Indian Agent at Darlington, Oklahoma, was introduced.

THE INDIANS OF OKLAHOMA.

BY MAJOR A. E. WOODSON.

Perhaps I had better premise my remarks with the statement that my Army service of thirty-five years has been among the reservation Indians of the West, during which time I have had unlimited opportunities to study their habits and character; to observe the condition of their environments, and to formulate ideas in regard to their civilization and progress.

For many generations the Cheyenne and Arapahoes occupied that vast region of the Western plains: bounded on the north by the Platte River in Nebraska; on the west by the Rocky Mountains;

on the south by the Cimarron River in the Indian Territory to its junction with the Arkansas River; and thence north on the east to the junction of the North and South Plattes. Over this region they held undisputed possession until 1867, when by the terms of the treaty made near Fort Larned, Kansas, they agreed to accept as a reservation about four million acres of land, within the limits of the Indian Territory, in what has been commonly known as the "Cherokee Strip," but which a few years later they exchanged for a reservation of about the same area lying south of the Cimarron River, which was set apart for them by an Executive order.

In 1891, by an agreement made with the Commissioners appointed for that purpose, they accepted allotments of land in severalty, and disposed of the remainder of their reservation to the government for about forty cents per acre, which amounted, in the aggregate, to one million five hundred thousand dollars. Of this amount, five hundred thousand dollars was paid out to them in cash, while the remainder is held in trust in the United States Treasury, drawing interest at the rate of 5 per cent.

On the 22d day of April, 1891, their reservation was thrown open to white settlement; and on that date, at noon, forty thousand people rushed into it, eagerly intent on securing homesteads for themselves, in some instances unmindful of the rights of the Indians, who had practically been coerced into the relinquishment of all their lands, except one hundred and sixty acres for each individual. Imagine, if you can, the feelings of these Indians, who had been accustomed to believe that all this land was theirs, to have and to hold, for all future time. It was enough to fill them with terror, and to make them avoid contact with the white man. The feeling on the part of the white settlers at that time was that the Indian had been given a privilege that they were not entitled to, and that in consequence they had got all the best of the land, and they had to take what was left. We have to combat this inimical feeling on the part of the white people of Oklahoma, but by the use of tact we have managed to conduct the affairs of the agency without friction, and in a great measure to break down this prejudice. The people are beginning to learn that the Indians have rights which they must respect. The Indians have lost, in a great measure, the fear of the white people, and to-day they are living peaceably side by side with their white neighbors, occupying adjoining farms and engaged in their cultivation, and coming into daily contact with them, while the object lessons taught by the white people have been of the greatest benefit to them.

I was detailed by the President in July, 1893, to act as agent for these Indians. Prior to that date I had been for eight years stationed at Fort Reno, Oklahoma, a military post located within their reservation, during which time I was a quiet observer of their habits, customs, and disposition. They had up to this date shown no inclination to locate in permanent homes, or to establish residence on their allotments, but still kept up their nomadic habits, living here and there wherever their inclination led them. They

occupied large camps and villages, where idleness, vice, and superstition prevailed; where there was no identity of individual interest, and where property of all kinds was held in common. The influence of old chiefs and tribal government militated against any progressive measures; no innovations tending to an improved condition could be introduced with any prospect of success, and the influence of their agent was in consequence nullified by the conditions that prevailed. I at once set about the inauguration of a system tending to the gradual elevation of these people from their barbarous condition.

Appropriations by Congress had been made since 1867, from which these Indians had been regularly fed with rations, while their treaty provided that they should be furnished with clothing to the amount of twelve thousand dollars, and farming implements to the value of twenty thousand, which had been issued annually for twenty-five years. Evidently they had been lost, destroyed, stolen, or sold to the white people for what they would bring. In some of my tours around the reservation I found plows hanging up in trees, and other articles seclued in places where they felt they were secure from the white man's intrusion.

To this date they had been living in the same way in which they had always lived, maintaining their tribal relations and the old-time customs that had existed from time immemorial. Clearly in my mind that condition ought not to continue, and after careful consideration I submitted plans to the department for its approval, and suggested that these Indians be placed on their allotments, and compelled to live there. They were at the time living in large camps and villages. Allotments of land in severalty had brought about no change for the better in their condition. The chiefs held undisputed sway; the people recognized their authority, and could not be induced to exercise independent thought or action. I realized that if the chiefs were allowed to have their own way, that no appreciable progress could be made in the development of these people; so it was directed that within a limited time all of these large camps should be broken up, and that the Indians should locate on their allotments. They came to me and wanted to council, and said they did not know where their allotments were; and that if they were separated, they would become a prey for the white people, who would overrun their land, and take away their stock. This was but a natural feeling, and caused a modification of the order to be made, by which four families might live together, whose allotments were contiguous, in order that they might be helpful to each other in resisting the encroachment of the white men, and aid each other in the conduct of their farming operations. Some were willing and some were coerced into making settlement upon their allotments. They would say, "We are Indians; we cannot become like white people in a day." I showed them that as little children learned to creep, to stand, to walk, to run, that they might gradually learn to adopt the white man's way.

Success has finally crowned our efforts to segregate these people,

and to-day we have three fourths of the thirty-one hundred Indians of that agency living in permanent homes upon their allotments. I submit whether this is not evidence of what may be accomplished along the same lines within the next ten or twelve years. I believe the right way to begin the civilization of the Indian, is to allot them lands in severalty as soon as possible, wherever they own agricultural lands from which they can derive their own support. If you wait until the reservation Indian is ready for allotment, that time will not come in the next one hundred years.

Experience teaches that the Indian is much like a child; he needs to be controlled by superior will power, and instead of allowing him to elect what he should do, he must be dictated to and required to conform to the methods instituted for his welfare and progress.

For twenty-nine years these Indians have been fed and clothed by a generous government. Their treaty will expire at the end of the present fiscal year, and yet I cannot state that they will be able to take care of themselves and live without further assistance from the government. Their present condition, brought about by the adoption of progressive measures, leads to the conclusion that they will in time make good citizens.

Under the care of good agents, and instruction of efficient employees, they will soon become self-supporting.

When I took charge of them they were what is commonly termed "blanket Indians," and depended entirely upon the government for support. They spent their time chiefly in going and returning from the agency to draw rations. Having no permanent homes they were continually on the move. To this habit may be traced their great falling off in numbers; once powerful tribes, they have been decimated by disease and death.

Since they have been localized in permanent homes they have increased in numbers; they no longer travel long distances for their rations, but are supplied in the farming districts in which their allotments are located. They go and come when necessary, but with the knowledge of the farmers of the districts, who exercise surveillance over them. It is their duty to report all violations of local laws, all depredations of whites, and all cases of trespass; to secure necessary evidence to convict timber thieves and whiskey peddlers; to adjust all matters of dispute between whites and Indians; to report all violations of the marriage law; to report all able-bodied Indians who refuse or neglect to labor for their own support, as well as those who obstinately refuse to live upon their allotments, or who counsel opposition to the government and the methods employed for their civilization. All such are deprived of rations and gratuitous issues until they change their habits for the better. District farmers make monthly reports of the progress of the Indians of their district; they report all births, deaths, marriages, and divorces; they are required to keep a farm book, which constitutes a permanent record of the district. This record serves to exhibit the progress made by each family from year to year. It shows the improvements made upon each allotment, the amount

contributed by the government, and what was supplied by the proceeds of their own labor; how much land has been under cultivation in each year, and what crops were gathered from the same; the number of domestic animals owned by each family, as well as a list of all personal property.

All able-bodied Indians are required to work either for themselves or for others. During this season large numbers of these Indians have been employed by white people to pick cotton; others have been employed in cutting and hauling wood required for the agency and schools. The majority of them have individual farms, which during the past season have produced fairly good crops of corn, Kaffir corn, sorghum and cotton.

I quote from the local papers the following:—

STANDING BIRD, a Cheyenne, who was a blanket Indian five years ago, has this year raised and dug thirty bushels of Irish potatoes, has good fields of corn and Kaffir corn, and has four acres of the finest cotton in Custer County.

THE Indian is surely developing into a farmer. Saturday morning thirty-three Indians from Seger Colony came into town in one string, loaded with wheat, cotton, and wool of their own raising, which they sold in El Reno. The head of the procession reached the mills before the rear end had crossed Russell Street. The outfit was under the charge of J. H. Seger, the founder of the colony. In the evening the caravan started on their homeward journey laden with lumber and provisions. By the way, Mr. Seger is one of the few men that can get the Indian to do the work of a white man.

INDIANS AS COTTON PICKERS.—Last week Mr. Seger thought of a useful way to supply the Indians with spending money to attend the reunion at Cloud Chief. He started a squad of over a hundred in a cotton patch, paying them the regular price for picking. The Indians took to the work so well that each had soon earned a neat little sum to blow in. They also demonstrated considerable speed, as well as clean and careful picking. Ed. Harra and Paul Goose each picked over eighty pounds of seed cotton in the first three hours. The balance varied in quantity, but as a whole they picked about as much as the same number of white folks would have done with no more experience. Now Indian cotton pickers are in demand. Mr. Seger has no trouble in getting employment for every idle Indian, and the Indians as a rule take to the work, and like the idea of earning a little cash. **F. B. Duke** now has a squad in his patch picking cotton.

They exhibit as much laudable pride in their individual possessions as their more fortunate white neighbors. With due allowance for their ignorance and inability to comprehend the force and effect of local laws, they are indeed a most law-abiding people. Fewer crimes are committed by them than by the white settlers of the Territory, and to their credit, be it said, they are more mindful of their pecuniary obligations than their more enlightened white brothers.

They show a desire to adopt civilized habits. The men, as a rule, wear citizens clothing, which they preserve with care, always keeping one good suit for special occasions; the women cling to the shawl and "squaw dress" as more comfortable for wear while pursuing their daily avocations. They are now relieved of much drudgery and toil once imposed upon them by the male members of the tribe, the burden of the heaviest work being borne, as it should be, by the stronger sex.

Under the progressive measures that have been enforced at this agency many of the old tribal customs have been abrogated, and now it is rarely that forbidden practices are indulged in. They are subservient to the rules and regulations of the Department and the instructions of their agent, and are beginning to recognize the advantages of education for their children. The opposition once made to placing their children in school is fast disappearing.

A rapid advancement has been made among the progressive Indians of this agency, and marked improvement is apparent over their condition of a few years ago. A laudable desire to live in houses, and to adopt the habits of the white man, is becoming more evident. Their desire to live in houses has become so general that proportionately a very limited number could be accommodated during the past year. Seventy-four houses were erected on allotments during the past year at a total cost of \$6,696 to the government, to which the sum of \$4,325 was contributed by the Indians out of their own private funds. They are generally two and three room houses, plastered or ceiled, containing three hundred and eighty-four square feet of floor space. Some larger houses have been erected by the more progressive ones. All of these houses are now occupied, and a number of them are supplied with all necessary household furniture, and are as comfortable in every way as the most of those occupied by white people.

Through my instrumentality a law was passed at the last session of the Territorial Legislature prohibiting further plural marriages or marriage according to Indian custom, and requiring all allotted Indians to take out licenses, and marry in the regular way, according to law regulating marriages between whites. At the next session I shall recommend the passage of a law to suppress the practice of "medicine men" among the Indians, who kill far more than they cure. I am satisfied that one third of the deaths among these Indians can be traced directly to the malpractice of such men; and, besides, they serve to hinder the Indians from resorting to the use of proper remedies prescribed by white physicians.

In addition to the amount annually provided for by treaty, \$90,000 was appropriated by Congress for the year ending June 30, 1898, for the civilization and support of these Indians. From this fund all their necessary wants are supplied. It is expended under the direction of the Honorable Secretary of the Interior for the purchase of wagons, farming implements, improvements on allotments, and payment of salaries to necessary employees. It remains to be seen what provision Congress will make for them for the next fiscal year. They cannot as yet be considered self-supporting, and should still receive aid from the government in a limited way. By making gratuitous issues a reward for labor performed, they can be induced to work for their own support. Old people who cannot work must be provided for, but all others should be required to labor for their own subsistence.

Educated Indians are employed in all positions where found competent, and, as a result, many of them are employed at the

agency and in the several schools. Ample facilities are being provided for the education of all children of school age, whose attendance is made compulsory. It is only by the education of the rising generation that the best results can be obtained for the Indian race. All other measures adopted for their civilization are simply auxiliaries in a subordinate degree. There is a great need among them for additional farmers and field matrons; at present there are only three of the latter provided for the thirty-one hundred allotted Indians of this agency. Field matrons are needed to instruct women in household duties, in cooking, in the preparation of food, in cutting and fitting of clothing, in cleanliness of person and premises, in caring for the sick, and in hygienic methods.

When it is remembered that the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians were wild, savage Indians, rendering life and property of the early settlers of western Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado at all times unsafe, their present peaceable, quiet disposition and compliance with the local laws enacted for the government of civilized people, incites surprise and wonder. A little more than a decade ago they were on the war path; only six years ago they were allotted lands in severalty. Does not the progress made by them in this short period indicate promise of still greater advancement in the near future? Does this not incite the hope for the redemption of this one time barbarous people from their savage life, and their elevation to a higher plane of civilization, and their ultimate adoption as good citizens, contributing their share to the revenues of the State, and aiding in the making of laws to which they will yield ready obedience? Let us trust that this is not a vain hope. Individually, I believe it to be well within the range of possibility.

Question (CHAIR).—Are those rations issued under treaty?

Major WOODSON.—No; and the practice of making indiscriminate issue of rations is very detrimental. They have been so long accustomed to receiving rations that they think they are entitled to them, and no amount of argument or proof would convince them that they are not entitled to rations. I determined to change the method of issuing rations. For many years the beef had been issued on the hoof. As the cattle came out of the corral the Indians would chase them over the prairie, and sometimes after a long run they would shoot them down; and while they were bleeding and still alive they would cut out their tongues. The family would then gather round and skin and cut up the creature while it was yet warm, eating choice pieces of the meat reeking with blood. This custom has been witnessed by a great many people, some of whom are here present. Such a barbarous custom should have been done away with long ago. I suggested the policy of issuing the beef from the block. It was objected to on account of expense; but I showed that the hides would pay all the expense of butchering the cattle, and I was authorized to make the change. I have now a butcher's shop in every farming district, and the meat is properly dressed and hung up to cool before it is issued, while each individual

gets the proper share. At first I was met by the objections that they would not take it in that way, but I said, "I don't care whether you take it or not; if you don't take it, I'll not kill it." Prior to issuing I required the farmer to furnish me with a list of the names of those Indians who would willingly accept their beef in this way, and saw that there was only a sufficient number of animals killed to supply them. There are now comparatively few left who refuse to take the beef in this way. The objections came from the so-called chiefs, but I do not recognize any such persons as chiefs among allotted Indians. Though they would not take their beef that way, they did not hesitate to share what was issued to others,—feeding upon their relatives, though refusing it for themselves.

Hon. H. L. DAWES.—How do the Oklahoma authorities treat these allottees?

Major WOODSON.—My relations with the civil authorities have been exceedingly pleasant. We have been fortunate in having on the bench men who had the interest of the Indian at heart, and in every instance they have protected the Indians in their rights. We have Oklahoma juries that sometimes fail to convict their neighbors, but in the matter of the protection of the Indians the courts have been very favorable. In the matter of the whiskey peddlers, they have sent a number to the penitentiary. Notwithstanding the unlimited opportunities that these Indians have for liquor all over the country, there is scarcely ever a case of drunkenness among them. Last week by permission of the department I selected one hundred Indians to visit Topeka, Kansas, and take part in the fall festival at that place. They were taken from the different districts as a reward for good behavior, for it was thought that it would be an education to them. They all went, with their women and children. The railroad authorities generously furnished cars to Topeka. The Indians took part in the festival, and entered into everything with interest and zeal, and there was not a single case of drunkenness among those hundred Indians.

Mr. DAWES.—What was the rumor about these Indians having their land overtaxed?

Major WOODSON.—The Indians of this reservation generally have never paid taxes. They have been assessed in former years, but the government enjoined the civil authorities from collecting the tax, because they were improperly assessed, and none have ever been collected up to date. The Indians hold that when the Commission bought the land they said there would be no taxes for twenty-five years. I have my doubts whether they would have accepted allotment had they known they were to be taxed.

Miss Anna B. Scoville was invited to speak.

Miss SCOVILLE.—Since my vacation in the homes of my students, the psychology of our work has appealed to me much more than formerly. From the free talk with my students about their homes

and past life, I have become strongly convinced on two points which, if you will allow me, I will tell you about.

In the first place I feel that, with the arrogance of civilization, we have rejected too much the Indian's life, and that his past is the only foundation on which his future can stand: that is, that the child's first dozen years must always be a strong factor in his life, and all work that ignores them is superficial.

For instance, one of my students is a boy born a wild Indian, whose early memories are of the war path and dance. As long as I took it for granted that his past was the same as ours in custom and belief, he kept it carefully covered; now he comes frankly with the superstitions and fears he was born and bred in and asks me to explain them. My eyes are open, and I see that when a boy tells me he does not believe in ghosts and magic, he is fooling me. No man brought up to those great mysterious dances, those juggler's miracles, so debasing and yet so marvelous, can be free of them in three or four years. This boy said of the dances: "Some days I don't believe them at all, and then I turn right over again." It is true, for, while his reason rejects them, yet they are with him, just as our childish days are always with us. In the buffalo dance he has seen the medicine man dress in a buffalo skin and dance; and he has seen a man shoot him twice through with arrows, so that the blood ran out, and he fell down dying; but when the sacred pipe bearers blew smoke upon him he rose up cured, and at the end of the dance showed the fresh-healed scars to the worshippers. "And, Miss Scoville, I saw that with my own eyes," he finished. Of course I frankly told him that I could not believe, but that I saw he could not help believing, that all nations had had the craft of magic; and reminded him that Salem witchcraft showed what the whites had believed two hundred years ago, and that he could see that superstitious fear must be controlled because it made us low and cruel.

Of a college-bred man who was educated a pagan, I asked the question, "How does the religion of your fathers affect you now?" With some embarrassment he replied, "About as much as Jonah." And that was true: it influences, but does not govern him.

From watching and working with many of these young people, I am assured that neither church nor school can or should try to make the Indian a white man, but that their work is to set him free to grow; that we must redeem the best of his own life; that any help we give him must be deeply planted and slow of growth, if we would not work for artificiality and hypocrisy; and that whenever we disregard this primal element of thought in the children we teach, our education, our civilization, and our Christianity will be only a surface shell, which, like thin ice, may look well, but is sure to break through to the deep water of pagan savagery.

My second thought depends on this first, and is, that to truly teach him we must go half way. Unless we are wise enough and broad enough to give respectful consideration to what he believes,

we need not expect him to bring it out before us. And as long as he does not trust us enough to speak frankly, we are building without foundation. How shall we establish this point of contact unless we are willing to live among them on the same plan by which college settlements are established in our cities? Take, for example, the Winnebagoes: Dr. Hailmann says he cannot send their own children back there because the old life is so strong that they cannot resist, and Dr. Hailmann knows what he is talking about.

A young Winnebago who carries the burden of his tribe on his heart, says: "They have tried to civilize my people, but they have never converted them; and until there is a living church there I cannot trust my sisters at home," and sends them away from him. And yet, I can count a successful teacher, a successful artist, and four or five bright young people among the educated Winnebagoes. Is there no one who will go there and live, not for church, or school, or government, but for all three, and bring home these young people, and form not a college settlement but a Christian settlement, that shall be a nucleus for a purer, higher life for old and young?

Gen. WHITTLESEY.—I neglected to state that of the \$2,631,771.35 appropriated by the government for Indian schools for the current year, not one dollar comes from any Indian funds or from the interest of any funds. It is a free gift from the government; that is from us, the people of the United States.

Mr. SMILEY.—Many of the things which Mr. Leupp has said I heartily approve of, but I am desperately afraid that in having a separate Indian Bureau we should get something that would be permanent. I want to get rid of the Indian Bureau as soon as possible, and let the Indians become citizens, and trust them to work out their own destiny. Then if we should get a bad man in a permanent office, where are we? If we get a man who is going to put his henchmen in and make political appointments entirely, where are we? It would be worse than Tammany. But I think the department, or sub-bureau, in the office of the Secretary of the Interior ought to be abolished. I do not see any reason why the Secretary of the Interior cannot receive the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and treat it as he does the report of the Commissioner of Pensions,—accept his conclusions and indorse them the same as he does the reports of other commissioners. It would save him a great deal of trouble, and several successive secretaries have told me that the Indian department gives them more trouble than any other, because the problem varies from day to day. The Secretary of the Interior can make this change if he wishes to. Oh, if we could only persuade him! He has fifteen or twenty men in that subdivision, and they will fight hard against it; but I think the change should be made, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs' report should be final.

Mr. WELSH.—I want to say a word about the work being done in many instances by lonely missionaries in the field, and the neces-

sity of backing them up in their efforts. I have been tremendously impressed with the valuable and interesting work accomplished by some of those women to whom reference has been made,—women like Mrs. Eldridge and Miss Disette. I have been in correspondence with the latter, and have been struck by the intelligence and admirable good sense of her letters. There she was, living among those Zuñis, and carrying on her work amidst many discouragements, but rendering great aid to those connected with the work among those Indians. I happen to know that she was connected with an awful problem in preventing those Indians from dragging back young girls whom she was trying to rescue. It was with extreme difficulty that she did it. If a few friends here at home would rally round such people and give them a little moral sympathy, and would bring their influence to bear at Washington to remove some of their difficulties, and would in addition give these missionaries money for their work, I think admirable things might be accomplished. I want to bear my testimony to the splendid heroism they are showing, and to the practical qualities they are bringing to their work. If we at home would put ourselves into this relation with them and exercise our imagination a little, we should be amply repaid for any efforts we might make in their behalf. This is a practical thought, and I believe it can be worked out with beneficent results.

Miss ANNA L. DAWES.—That we may be “doers of the word, and not hearers only,” I suggest that the Bishop or other persons give us the names of missionaries for whom we might do this friendly service.

Rev. A. E. Tead, of Boston, was asked for a few words.

Mr. TEAD.—We want to remember that it means a change of an ideal in changing these people. We must remember how long it took to change our own individual ideal, our life thought. How much longer must it take one who has come down through all those years of paganism! How much longer to change a whole race! It is easy in a few moments to take a handful of clay and mould it over. It takes longer to whittle out a piece of pine to the shape in your mind; still longer to hammer out the granite; still longer, weeks of hard labor, to polish the diamond. How much time must it take to change the whole conception of life of the human soul,—a soul that has come down with all the associations that have not been helpful. Therefore let us remember this. Then, too, we must remember the sentiment of this country,—how much there is against this work. The consciousness of human brotherhood is a grace that has taken a long time to find its way into the hearts and practice of the Christian world. As I think of the words of Peter, where he gives us the wonderful cluster of graces, of faith and strength, and patience and godliness, and the crowning one of brotherly kindness, I remember that there have been eras in the Church of faith, and strength, and patience. But

how long it has taken the world, and the Church, even, to get up to that high grace of brotherhood! That is what we have to contend with in this work and in every kind of work that means the lifting up of our brother man.

I am glad to be here with the people who have done so much for the elevation of the Indian,—my brother, our brother. I think of the vision of Ezekiel, where the river flowed out of the mountain, and everything lived that was touched by its stream. And I think of the stream, the great river of influence, that has gone out from this cluster of hills over our land, and how much good that river of influence has accomplished in this world.

President MESERVE.—Since 1889 I have been pretty familiar with the entire Cheyenne and Arrapahoe Reservation, and I can bear testimony from a recent visit to the practical measures that have been inaugurated and carried out.

Mr. WISTAR.—I realize from visiting missionaries that they may be helped greatly by their friends at home. If a letter from this Conference could be sent to the missionaries in the field, it might mean a great deal to them in giving them strength of heart.

Mr. SMILEY.—General Whittlesey will send the report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to any one who will give residence and name. That covers the proceedings of the Washington meeting as well as of this one.

Dr. RYDER.—I was interested in what was said by Mr. Welsh. I have in mind Miss Dora B. Dodge, in Blue Cloud's village on Grand River. She has built up a wonderful work absolutely alone,—not a missionary with her. She is almost broken down in health. The pressure of paganism upon a woman alone in a field like that is almost unendurable. And I want to say to you, if you write to people like that do not expect any letters in return. It is too much to ask of them in their busy life. Write to them by all means, but do not ask them to write to you. And when you write never suggest problems or difficulties. Always present the hopeful side. Lift them up with the buoyancy of your own hope, and your belief that Jesus Christ came to save the red man just as truly as the white man. Let them feel that you are thinking of them and praying for them, and that you believe these red men are going to be lifted up into divine citizenship and fellowship with the sons of God.

Miss IVES.—Connecticut supports one woman at Fort Hall. She is doing beautiful work, and the only religious training the Indians receive there comes from her. She has been there ten years, and her work is beginning to show good results. She has in her home seven little Indian girls who go to the day school. She goes about among the sick and poor Indians, and shows a truly sisterly spirit. Her home is a center of light among the Bannocks and Shoshones. We have also a farmer teaching practical farming there.

Dr. J. G. MERRILL, Portland, Me.—I am glad to be here, and I am happy to think that if it had not been for Maine there would

not have been such a thing as this Conference, for Mr. Smiley was born there. For a good many years I have looked on this Conference as the embodiment of the conscience of the Christian and patriotic people of the United States on the Indian question. This is a materialistic age, and it is difficult to get men and women to use their consciences, as well as to make money, and get place and power; and if there is such a place as Mohonk, where the conscience can be cultivated, we ought to be glad. This Conference stands for emotion and for intelligence, and I am delighted to find all my hopes realized as I come here for the first time.

Dr. SHELTON.—A few years ago the question of allotment came up, and we were told that it was impracticable; that we never could get a system of allotments. This morning we are told that nearly sixty thousand have been made, and it hardly causes a ripple. Last year there was discussion as to whether it would be possible to get legislation that would enable us to suppress the liquor traffic among Indians. We were told that it would be unconstitutional, and that the courts would throw it out. To-day we are told that an act has been passed, and convictions made under it. We scarcely realize the long step that has been taken. But a short time ago I was in Oklahoma, and I went into that section of country which Major Woodson has since taken charge of. I was told that the land had been allotted, but in that long drive of three days only one sign of cultivation did I find. That was a patch in which some Indian had planted potatoes, though they showed no evidence that he had ever been there after they were planted. Major Woodson's report shows that there has been tremendous advance in that direction. Such reports should make us feel that we can go forward and undertake anything.

Mr. J. W. DAVIS.—Having had acquaintance with the mission work at Fort Hall, I feel it due to the women of Connecticut to express my congratulations on the results, and for the patience of the Connecticut Association in continuing that work. I was privileged to go there and study the field before the person who went, who gave them the final recommendation for the starting of a mission there, and then things were most forbidding. The old paganism was set rigidly in opposition to anything that should come in to change their habits. But quietly the women's patience and perseverance have begun to bear fruit. They are seeing their reward in the changed character of the Indians, and in that they find their reward for all their labor.

President SEELYE, Smith College.—I am deeply impressed by the contrast between the statements made here this morning and those made last Sunday at a memorial service for David Brainerd, held at Northampton. It is one hundred and fifty years since his death there, the 9th of October, at the house of Jonathan Edwards, to whose daughter he was betrothed. He was buried October 11th, with great lamentation.

He has sometimes been called the first apostle to the Indians. That epithet, as you know, is not correct. There were earlier

apostles to the Indians, both Protestant and Catholic. He might be called, perhaps, the first missionary to the Indians who was sent out by any organized society, for I do not remember any other missionary who was sent to them before Brainerd by the English Mission Society. Contrast the work which he did with what is now being done. Contrast the spirit which inspired Brainerd with the spirit our missionaries now manifest. He worked for four years with great enthusiasm, but between Brainerd and the Indians there was very little real human sympathy, except the sympathy of a Christian man speaking, as he felt, to dying souls in danger of lasting perdition. After he had preached he withdrew to the solitary hut which he had built a mile distant from their wigwams, where he lived the life of a recluse, holding little intercourse with those whom he sought to save. He did, indeed, a grand work by his example of Christian faith and heroism, and it became the seed of the magnificent results presented to us this morning. His work, however, excited comparatively little sympathy among Christian people then, and made little impression upon the Indian tribes. To-day we hear that over twenty-two thousand Indian children are in school, in daily intimate fellowship with educated teachers, and that nearly sixty thousand have received allotments of land in severalty, with the prospect of soon receiving the privileges of American citizenship. We have had reports of brave men and women making their homes in our Indian reservations, who are doing better work than ever Brainerd did, glorious as that was a hundred and fifty years ago. Surely we have the greatest cause for encouragement, and far greater cause than any statistics can give, because the spirit that animated David Brainerd is still animating his successors, the spirit of the Christ, who said, "I am He that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive forevermore and have the keys of hell and of death." That is a great word, forevermore. The missionaries may go and preach, and die; but if the love of Christ is forevermore, and he has the keys of hell and death, what force of paganism can finally resist him?

Adjourned at 1 P. M.

Second Session.

Wednesday Night, October 13.

The Conference was called to order by the President at 8 P. M.

CURRENT ACHIEVEMENTS AND FRESH HOPES IN INDIAN EDUCATION.

BY DR. W. N. HAILMANN.

Mr. Chairman, Friends.—In presenting this subject to you, it will be necessary for me to select a few striking points from many fields of interest. My talk, therefore, does not claim, by any means, to be a complete summing up of the various achievements in the work of Indian education, nor of all the fresh hopes. Nor is it always possible for me to distinguish between the achievement and the hope, inasmuch as none of the achievements are complete, and perhaps only a few of the hopes are clearly crystallized.

It was said this morning that the work of Indian education must, of necessity, be a slow growth; it cannot be a healthy growth without being slow. Yet it need not be discouragingly slow. It should grow, perhaps, in the same sure way in which the beautiful evolution of Lake Mohonk has been the growth of many years. It should be a growth which studies the meaning of Indian life, discovers its tendencies, guesses its purposes, and helps these purposes to develop themselves in the lines which, to us, seem good. Thus Mr. Smiley guessed, as it were, the purposes of Nature in this beautiful spot and helped them to become clearly revealed; then Nature, in her turn, rewarded him for his loving effort, and every rock and crevice, every tree and shrub gratefully lent itself to his higher, more humane, and more intelligent aim.

In the first place, there is much fresh hope in the readiness with which the new administration has entered into certain plans of the Indian office, as formulated within the last few years. It has granted to the Indian office an increased force of supervisors. Instead of three, we shall have five; each will be assigned to a certain district, and will practically have charge of the educational work in his district. The supervisor, hereafter, can go from school to school, again and again, in the course of a year; he can see to it that the directions which he may give to the schools are properly carried out, that shortcomings are corrected promptly, and before they assume proportions almost beyond the reach of remedy. In this way we have reason to hope that more effective work will be done in the next few years.

This will, in some measure, assist us in securing more compact organization throughout the service, more particularly in the relations among the different schools. It is true much has been achieved in this direction; jealousies and envies among the different schools, and the various kinds of schools, have practically ceased. The day school is recognized now by all the factors of the service as an important element of success. The child in the day school may not learn how to read and write and speak the English language as quickly as he would in a boarding school; but the day school is in direct contact with the Indian families upon the reservation, and, in a measure, every lesson is given, not only to the child, but to the family of which the child is a member. This has become clearly recognized by the service as a whole, and I look upon this as a great achievement.

Again, the boarding school upon the reservation no longer looks upon itself as a rival of the non-reservation boarding school or industrial training school. It has learned to find its proudest success in the number of Indian youth whom it can transfer, well prepared and equipped, to the more advanced institutions. During the last year, in consequence of this, there was a loss of attendance in the reservation boarding schools; but there has been more than a corresponding gain of attendance in the non-reservation boarding schools. The superintendents of the reservation boarding schools had made it a point to transfer the older children to these larger institutions, instead, as heretofore, of keeping them back for the sake of detailing them as helpers in the dormitories, laundries, or kitchens, upon the farms and in the workshops. This may entail upon the government the necessity of giving more paid help in these institutions; but the seeming loss is a real gain.

In many instances there existed until the last year a kind of grab game among superintendents of non-reservation schools. They sent their agents to all the different reservations, and each pressed his wares, and labored to underestimate the wares of his competitors. This had a disintegrating tendency. By the new plan which the last administration formulated, and which the new administration has not only cheerfully adopted, but concluded to carry out strictly, this will cease. The transfers will be made by the Indian office through its force of supervisors, and all unseemly competition will come to an end. It is impossible for us to estimate fully the value of this for the Indian work as a whole. If all the schools in the service work together, each recognizing the value of all the others, each recognizing modestly its own value, and all working toward a common end, without jealousy, without envy, the beneficial results must be great.

In the individual school the organization is becoming more compact. The superintendent is ceasing to be the man who attends to all things personally; he has learned in many schools, and is learning in all, to trust his subordinate officials; to give to the physician, the farmer, the matron, the principal teacher, full control each of his own department, and to reserve his own power for the systematic

co-ordination of all these departments in helpful efforts toward achieving the aim of the institution as a whole.

There has been commendable gain, particularly during the past two years, in co-ordinating class-room work with industrial work. Until this year, however, the efforts to secure this co-ordination were all made from the outside, as it were; it was not possible to do aught more. Meetings were held between the industrial teachers and the class-room teachers, where the industrial teachers taught the others what they do upon the farm or in the workshop, what implements are used, what crops are aimed at, and how these crops are secured. The class-room teacher then could use these data in the work of arithmetic and language, in the themes and illustrations. Wherever this was done it had a salutary effect. It connected the instruction work with the industrial work, with the purpose work, and with the achieving work of the institution.

In our common schools we are just becoming aware that individual teaching alone is not enough, but that we must, in a measure, instruct the race. Now, instruction—mere knowledge as such—does not reach the heredity of man; it is the purposes of his heart and the achievements of his hand that reach his heredity. What I merely know dies with me; but that which I aspire to, that which fills my heart with hope, and that which I accomplish with my hand,—that I transmit, in a measure, to my children. In the connection of the industrial work, which lies on the purpose side and on the achievement side of life, with the instruction work, we make the individual, therefore, helpful in the development of the race. In Indian work this consideration is perhaps even more important than in our ordinary common schools; because, in the former, society and environment do not, as in the case of the white child, take charge in large measure of the purpose development of the child.

Now, moreover, we are learning in the Indian schools to approach this problem not only by outside measures, but from the inside, as it were, by changes or improvements in our courses of study. There are certain branches of study that lie much nearer to the purpose and achievement side of education than others. In industrial work nearly every problem that comes to us is primarily a problem of geometry. The carpenter, in planning a chair, plans the chair upon geometrical considerations; the builder, in planning the erection of a house, makes his plan upon considerations of geometry. The shoemaker in planning a shoe, the tailor in planning a suit, the seamstress in planning a dress, are geometers. Then they go to work with the material: the carpenter draws his plan out of wood; the builder draws his plan out of the building material; the shoemaker draws his shoe out of leather; the seamstress draws the dress out of the dress goods which she uses. Industrial work is throughout the practical application of geometry and drawing. On this account the Indian school is gradually learning to pay increased attention to geometry and drawing.

It is an error in our common-school work that form work, or geometry, is assigned to the higher grades; it would be much better

if it were commenced earlier, and if much more time were given to it. In the Indian schools the desirability of this is still greater, for the reasons which I have already assigned, and for the additional reason that to the Indian child we must first give that industrial basis, that control of the materials of his environment, on the foundation of which alone he can gradually learn to appreciate and understand the life-attitude and literature of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Again, science is of much importance. The laws of physics and chemistry, the laws of motion, must be brought to the child at an early date. In such studies much apparatus is not needed; and some of us in the Indian schools are learning to make our own apparatus, developing thereby much interest among the children and much heredity development as well.

Some one has beautifully said to-day that it is necessary to give to the Indian child new ideals. These ideals we aim to give him on the industrial side. Thereby we turn his being in another direction; we change his heredity, suppressing in it what would be an injury to him, and developing those things which will be to him a help in the new civilization.

Much, too, has been made of ornamentation. This I consider of extremely high value. The love of beauty is impossible without concurrent love of truth with reference to the laws that control the material which he uses, and without the love of suitableness, which is the essential of goodness. Our dining rooms are getting to be really home dining rooms; our dormitories are beginning to be home dormitories; our schoolrooms are beginning to look beautiful under the skillful hands of the children,—not by putting up gifts or things which the teacher may have made or contributed, but by placing upon the walls, and blackboards, and tables things which they have found, or selected, or made. This ornamentation, too, is beginning to be a social ornamentation,—not fragmentary, whimsical, each one contributing what he chooses, and placing it where he pleases, but the whole matter in the hands of a committee of the children, that committee using whatever is brought and distributing it according to a unified plan. This develops in the children the sense of social responsibility and the sense of social gratitude, which are of immense value in their development. The value of the ornamentation of the dormitory, for instance, can hardly be underestimated. When the dormitory is a mere sleeping room, it is not much of a civilizer. But when it is not only clean but beautiful,—when there are little mottoes, little pictures, here and there; when the whole dormitory makes upon the child as he enters the impression of a symmetrical, rhythmic whole,—it almost serves the purpose of a prayer as he retires, and again as he awakes from his sleep.

In the evening hour the schools have made much gain. In the majority of schools it was at one time customary to use the evening hour simply as a study hour, and this was always a more or less perfunctory occasion, in which the children learned much hypocrisy, as they would fix their eyes upon their books and pre-

tend to study while their thoughts were far away. Now this is being changed. Only those children study who need to study; and comparatively few need this if the school otherwise does its duty. The other children use the evening hour for the sake of applying their lessons in a helpful way to social enjoyments and mutual social uplifting. There are songs and recitations; stories are read by the teacher, or, more frequently, told. Little children make reports of things which they have seen, or which they were asked to look up. There is some drawing, especially in those schools where now the electric lights have been introduced. There are games; there are little occasions for training the children in the amenities of social life. And all this is having a very happy influence upon their heart development. It is to them a moral training which is really invaluable. And as they find that what they do in the schoolroom will make them more helpful companions in the evening, it is having a most salutary effect, by reaction, upon the work of the schoolroom. In the larger schools clubs and associations are being formed: we have King's Daughters, Y. M. C. A's, literary clubs, clubs for a variety of purposes; and the matter is managed by the more skillful superintendents in such a way that every child can take part in several of these clubs.

Another hopeful achievement is found in the alacrity with which the new administration has adopted the policy formulated during the last two years with reference to better attention to sanitary requirements, and to requirements of good taste in the erection of school buildings. New school buildings are not only models in the way of sanitary construction, but are also models of good taste, and all this without much increase in expenditure. The kerosene lamp has gone, and the electric light or the gasoline gas has come to stay. I have no doubt that this work will go on so well that in three or four years we shall not find kerosene in a single one of these schools. The same is true of heating: the stove is going, and steam heating is coming to stay. New schools are heated by steam, and in many of the older ones steam heating is being introduced. This has a very salutary effect upon the health of the children. The bath tub is going, and the government is substituting therefor the more hygienic and more thoroughly cleansing needle bath or rain bath. For proper use a bath tub must be scrubbed every time a bath has been taken, and in an institution this is impracticable; therefore it communicates disease from child to child.

Much good has come also to the schools with the civil service reform. A few statistics in this direction will prove my assertion. The civil service rules were introduced into the Indian school service in March, 1892, and included at that time superintendents, matrons, and teachers. During the period from 1888 to 1892 we had no civil service. In 1888 there were in the service 92 superintendents; of this number there remained in 1892, twelve or thirteen per cent. In 1892 there were in the service 105 superintendents; of this number there remained in 1896 twenty-five per cent, which is a gain of twelve per cent. In the matrons'

lists there was a gain of four per cent, and in the teachers' lists a gain of eighteen per cent, in the period between 1892 and 1896, as compared with the years 1888-1892. In 1888, at the Haskell Institute, there were forty-two employees receiving \$400 per annum and over; in 1892, there remained five of these, or twelve per cent of forty-five employees in 1892; there remained in 1896 nineteen, or forty-five per cent,—a gain of thirty-three per cent. At Grand Junction there was for the same period a gain of thirty-six per cent; at Fort Yuma, a gain of thirteen per cent; at Keams Cañon, a gain of seventeen per cent; at Chilocco, a gain of ten per cent; and so on throughout the schools, with very few exceptions, there is a gain for the civil service period, as compared with what is sometimes technically called the spoils period.

Again, in 1892, there were at Carlisle fifty-two employees; of those, twenty-one were in the classified service or under civil service rules, and thirty-one in the unclassified service or not under these rules. Of these there were missing in 1896, in the classified service fourteen, and in the unclassified service twenty. Thus there were thirty-eight per cent of the classified service out of the service, and of the unclassified employees fifty-eight per cent, which shows an advantage in favor of the classified service of twenty per cent. In Haskell there was a percentage of twenty-nine in favor of the classified service; at Chilocco forty per cent; and at Genoa forty-five per cent; and so on throughout the schools. That is, the classified service was much safer in its tenure than the unclassified.

I wish also to bring before you the great gain which the schools have made in the employment of Indians in responsible positions. We have now departments in some of our schools for the training of Indians for the work of teaching, and other departments for the training of Indians in clerical work. These departments are sending out young Indians into responsible positions, and the testimony of the schools, with a few exceptions, is that these Indians do as faithful, and devoted, and permanently effective work as the white employees. They promise us, by the work which they do, that the day is approaching when the Indians themselves will fill, or be competent to fill, all the responsible positions in our Indian schools; when the Indian, consequently, will be self-educating, and the Indian problem solved. There are failures among these Indians; but are there not failures among our white employees? Statistics prove, indeed, that failures among the whites are proportionately greater than they are among the Indians. The Indian is slandered when he is said to be lazy. These young people are most industrious and diligent. The Indian is slandered when it is said that he does not persist in work; these Indians do not resign, as a rule, and they are filled with a devotion, with a missionary spirit, which is beautiful to behold.

There are hindrances many and great in our work. We need legislation to fix the status of an Indian. We have in our schools many thirty-second-bloods, sixty-fourth-bloods, or whites adopted as Indians; we need legislation to tell us just what an Indian is. We need, to a certain extent, compulsory measures in many of our

reservations. We need legislation for the gradual, intelligent emancipation of the Indians who deserve to be emancipated. There is a degree of excessive tutelage of the Indian which should be done away with. We have allotted the Indians, and have said that in twenty-five years they shall be free. Why cannot the Indian who is capable of managing his own life be permitted now to do so, without waiting for the fulfillment of that statute? We need the gradual abolition of agencies where the agencies are not needed. Where the agency is not needed it is always a great hindrance to the development of the schools. It is not in human nature to be idle, and when the agent has nothing else to do, he must meddle with the school.

I ask you not to become discouraged by difficulties, but to persist in that courage and faith, in that deliberate conviction which you have always shown, that patient righteousness will carry the day in the end.

THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

BY HON. H. L. DAWES.

It is with unfeigned reluctance and self-distrust that I attempt at this time to divert your minds from the consideration of the grand achievements and the fresh hopes which have been spread out before you, in the accounts of the work which has been going on, inspired and encouraged by these meetings, for the end of making the Indian a self-supporting citizen of the United States. But I am charged with the duty of attempting to call back your minds from these more inviting fields, and from the tendency to look forward to the end almost in sight, by asking your attention to the fact that 64,000 Indians, one quarter of all the red men in the land, are excluded from the benefit of all these forces that by your help are lifting the race up to a better life.

Of the \$225,000 annually expended by the government in the education of the Indian, and in shedding light upon his mind and in his heart, not a dollar do these 64,000 Indians receive. In the benefits of the severalty act,—the home, the center out of which emanate the life-saving and civilizing processes of mankind,—they have no lot or part. The door of citizenship, which to all the rest of the Indians in this land is open, with its opportunities, its hopes, and its incentives, is shut to them.

But this does not by any means state the whole of this problem. There are 250,000 or 300,000 white residents of this Territory. Their future is inextricably blended with the future of these 64,000 Indians. Whatever is their fate is the fate of these 300,000 white citizens of the United States. To whatever condition they go, these white people go also. Is it necessary, therefore, for me to say to you that this is a question demanding your serious consideration at this time,—you who are consecrating your efforts to the elevation of a race, not the red men of a locality?

How comes this condition, in the midst of the nation, nearer to the heart of the republic than any of the Indians over whom you are exercising such a beneficent influence? Why is it that one quarter of them all are shut out from the benefits of the effort and the work that you have taken upon yourselves? It is because, more than sixty years ago, the government turned its back upon these people, and turned them over to such fate as might perchance befall them. Whatever effort of civilization, whatever influences of improvement, and advance, and expansion, may be brought by the government to bear upon others, they go to their fate, whatever it may be, without any help of this government. The voluntary missionary, it is true, is working, and has accomplished much to save them. But, except for that they have been permitted to go on until to-day they are in a less prosperous and promising condition than they were when Samuel Worcester, the Moses of that people, led them out from the land of bondage into this beautiful country, in which the United States told them to work out their own deliverance. And not only did the United States turn its back upon them, but for a long time it has held that it bound itself always to turn its back to them. And not only have the Indians themselves been made to believe that the United States had abdicated its authority over them, but a large portion of the people of the United States themselves have come to believe that they are under bonds to permit them to go whither they will.

The condition into which they relapsed under this system became so alarming that four years ago Congress created a commission to go down there and accomplish two things, if possible: induce those people to change their government, and also to change the common title by which they held their property. It is a principle well established, and which, when stated, no man has ever felt disposed to dispute, that the United States having created this condition of things was at liberty to change it. Whatever government they have was created by the United States. The Constitution has clothed the Congress of the United States, and the Congress of the United States alone, with power to govern the territory of the United States. The law-making power of the United States, and not the treaty-making power, or any other power, has authority under the Constitution to govern the Territories. "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory of the United States," says the Constitution.

That is one proposition. Congress made this anomalous condition of things; then they disposed of the territory,—that is, they sold it to these Indians. The other proposition is, that when you have sold a thing you cannot take it back, nor can you change the title without the consent of the grantee. The one can be done without their consent, but the other cannot. So the duty enjoined upon this commission was to induce these people to change their own title, and to tell them that while Congress has power to change the government, Congress desires, and thinks it wiser that they should change the government, as well as their title, themselves.

Nothing doubting that they had the authority, if necessary, to change the government themselves, yet, in deference to the idea that they were bound not to, the President of the United States enjoined upon the commission to do nothing that had not the consent of the Indians themselves.

This commission spent two long years trying to convince these Indians of two things,—that a change must, in the nature of things, come inevitably, both in their government and in the holding of their tribal property. But so dense was the conviction in the breasts of these Indians that the United States had bound itself to let them govern themselves as they pleased, and that the United States had not the power to take away their government from them, but that they had just as safe a fee simple in the government as they had in their lands, that it was like beating against a wall to reason with them. Efforts to persuade them to sit down with this commission and change their own government seemed to be utterly thrown away. The commission returned to the people of the United States, and they discovered that a back fire had been set upon the commission itself. It was said that they were down in the Territory professing great regard for the Indian, but employed by some sinister influence to despoil the Indian of his heritage, and wrench from him his self-government, to preserve which the government of the United States had pledged itself. So intense had become this suspicion that the commission was thus employed, that the Indian Rights Association, ever anxious to redress any possible grievance of a red man, sent a man down there at its own expense to investigate the conduct of this commission. This man was our friend here, Mr. Meserve, and a great service he rendered us. The result was, the commission was gratified to know the real assurance of the public that the commission was engaged in no such business. I wish to express to him here our great obligation for the services his reports rendered us.

What has been the result? Last year I tried to make it plain that the work the commission were doing was a work not only forced by necessity upon the government, but justified by all the rules of right and justice. I said, also, that light was breaking in. I thought, and my associates in the commission thought, we began to see that this wall of prejudice and mistaken notion of rights was breaking away. Since that time there have been many cloudy days, many days of discouragement, and much to dishearten the commission. But, on the whole, it has made exceedingly gratifying progress. Since I was here last year three separate agreements, which would once have been called treaties, have been made with different tribes: one with the Choctaws alone; one with the Choctaws and Chickasaws; and within the last week I had the pleasure of sending to the Secretary of the Interior an agreement signed by all the commissioners of the United States and of the Creek nation, providing for a complete revolution of their entire government.

I wish I had time to describe the method by which these negotiations were carried on; it might help to reveal to you some of the

obstacles in the way, and the difficulty that beset the path of this commission. The first agreement with the Choctaws, the first that any one of these tribes ever authorized a man to put his name to, had many very wise provisions in it. When we were negotiating it, the Choctaw commission was joined by a commission of the Chickasaws, the two tribes owning their land together; and for a while everything went on with the greatest assurance of success. Then it was revealed that the Chickasaw commissioners had not authority to make a final agreement; and, therefore, expressing their gratification at their treatment, and their personal approval of all that was done, they took reluctant leave of the commissions, and went home after authority, expressing the hope that they would be back in a short time to join in the completion of this agreement. In that we were disappointed: some influences, no one can tell what, kept that commission from ever joining us. But the Choctaws had gone so far that it was impossible for them to retreat. They had taken grave responsibility and their life in their hands, and, as a large body of the Choctaw nation thought, were surrendering their government to a foreign power, but they could not retreat. When it was ready to be signed, these Choctaw commissioners begged of the United States commission that they would permit them to go home. They had chosen to treat with us, not in the Territory, but at Fort Smith, Arkansas, and now they said, "Let us take this home, let us feel the pulse of our people, and if you will meet us in the Territory a week hence we will sign it." They took it home. I had little hope of ever seeing them again; I thought it was an excuse to get away. But I had less confidence in them than they deserved. We met them by appointment at Muskogee, in the Indian Territory, and they gathered round us and said that they were willing to sign that agreement. They had not wanted to surrender their government in a foreign nation, they said; they wanted, if it was to be given up, it should be given up inside the Indian Territory. We sat round a table in a large room lighted by electricity, and just as we were ready to put our names to it, something happened to the machinery, and the electric lights went out, and left us in utter darkness. I thought the end had come! I thought these Indians would certainly say that this was an omen and a warning, and leave the room. But we got kerosene lamps, and I was exceedingly gratified to find them still sitting there and we gathered round the table again, and, to my surprise, the incident had had no effect upon these men, and they put their names beside ours to that first instrument. When it was done they turned to us and said, "We rely upon the United States to protect us when we go home; we do not know what will be done to vindicate, as they call it, their tribal rights." Troops are at this moment at the capital to keep the peace.

We took this to Washington, and found that it was fatally defective, because the Chickasaws had not joined in it. And all that work went for nothing, except that it showed there was reason to hope that the Indian was going to negotiate with us after all, and the

oftener he tried it, the better it would be. Then we induced the Chickasaws to send a delegation to Washington, and join these Choctaws in this agreement or in another. We spent four weeks in Washington trying to disabuse the Chickasaws of one objection after another, and finally failed, and that was an end of that agreement.

In the meantime the patience of Congress was exhausted, and falling back upon their right to change the government which they had made themselves, they inserted in the Indian Appropriation Bill a most radical and revolutionary provision, substantially turning all the governments of that Territory into a territorial government. And they inserted a provision that this should take effect on the first of January, 1898, providing that an agreement made by either of the tribes with this commission, modifying any part of that law, and ratified before the first day of January next, should take effect as to that tribe, and modify it accordingly. So the prospect was from that time presented to these five tribes that, on the first day of January, 1898, as provided by that law, "all the laws of Arkansas and of the United States are hereby extended over the Indian Territory, and applicable to all persons alike therein. All criminal and all civil jurisdiction in the Territories is taken away from tribal courts, and vested in the United States courts. All legislation of their legislative councils after that day shall be subject to the disapproval of the President of the United States"—in all essential particulars a territorial government. That stands to-day over that entire people. The effect of the law was that the Choctaws and Chickasaws came together at once, and proposed to negotiate with this commission; and they entered into an agreement with the commission, in most of its features most excellent. All of the commission but the chairman signed it, and all the Chickasaws and Choctaws signed it, and sent it to Washington. But it lacked what the chairman of the commission felt to be an essential feature, in failing to provide for the Chickasaw freedmen.

All these tribes had slaves before the war, and the war liberated them. The Chickasaws had more than all the rest. It was provided in the treaties after the war that they should not only emancipate their slaves, but should make them citizens, and give them forty acres of land apiece, or the United States would remove them from the Territory. So far as the Chickasaws were concerned they fulfilled their obligation, and adopted them as citizens. But when they came to count them they found that there were a great many more of them than there were Chickasaws, and, as citizens, they would vote them down. So they took it back, or tried to. There were such important features in that agreement, however, that all the commission but the chairman felt it their duty, notwithstanding the omission to provide for these freedmen, to sign it; the chairman thought it was too serious a matter to be treated in this way, and respectfully withheld his signature. That agreement was submitted to Congress, but no action has been taken upon it.

Within the last month, as I have said, the Creeks, who hardly till the passage of this law would take notice even of our invi-

tations to treat with them, have signified their willingness to treat. And notwithstanding there is upon their statute book a law making it a misdemeanor for any man to petition for a change of the government, and a penalty of fifty lashes attached, they have come up and signed the agreement which I have spoken of. They have provided that every Creek citizen shall have an allotment of one hundred and sixty acres of their land; they have set apart for religious institutions and for educational institutions in that Territory certain amounts of land; they have set apart land also for their capital and for cemetery purposes. And then they have provided that town sites which have been built by white people upon land they have not the slightest title to shall be appraised,—each lot and its improvements separately,—and, what was never yielded before in that Territory, they have provided that white men may buy that land. They have also agreed that the balance of their lands shall be appraised, and put up at auction at a minimum price of \$1.25 an acre, and the result put into the treasury of the United States. Out of that result there shall be an equalization of the allotments, so that the poor hundred and sixty acres shall be made as good as the best; and the balance, if any there be, shall be devoted to educational and charitable purposes in the Territory. I can hardly think of a more beneficent agreement than that. It is now before the Secretary. It must be ratified by the people of the Territory first, and then by Congress; and if that is done the Creek nation will take the lead in the regeneration of those people, and sooner or later the others will be compelled to follow. And then that people, with all its possibilities, with all its promises, will at last be lifted up into harmony with the institutions of the United States, and, in the near future, be one of the most promising of the new States of this Union.

The commission feel much encouraged by the present situation. I wish I could, however, impress upon you, as it is impressed upon us, that this is one of the greatest questions that can be submitted for your consideration. Remember that your work is not for the regeneration of a locality, but for a race. And until in every Indian home, wherever situated, the wife shall sit by her hearthstone clothed in the habiliments of true womanhood, and the husband shall stand sentinel at the threshold panoplied in the armor of a self-supporting citizen of the United States,—then, and not till then, will your work be done.

THE INDIANS OF MINNESOTA.

BY RT. REV. H. B. WHIPPLE.

I hardly know how to frame in words the thoughts of my heart when I look into your faces and hear your earnest words, and remember the troubled past, through which God has led us to a place of safety. Thirty-eight years ago I was called to be the bishop of that new diocese in the Northwest, and the words of a saintly man in

our branch of the Church of Christ, spoken as I knelt to receive consecration, have always lingered in my ears: "Bind up the broken, seek the outcast, gather the lost." It was because of these words ringing in my ears that, two weeks after I reached my diocese, I was in the heart of the Indian country.

I cannot describe to you, no words can describe, the cup of anguish that had been pressed to the lips of these brown children of our Father. It would have been a colder heart than mine that could have turned a deaf ear to their cry of sorrow. You can hardly realize the condition of Indian affairs forty years ago. A report made in 1867 says that implements of husbandry had been given out to the Indians: the spades were made of sheet iron instead of steel, and the shoes bought for the Indians had paper soles.

In the munificence of a Christian government all real wants were neglected. I believed with all my heart and soul that "God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the whole earth"; and I believed that which Saint Paul preached to the men of Athens, when he quoted one of their own classics, "We are all children of one God and Father." Believing this, and that all our knowledge of God comes from looking into the face of Jesus Christ, and seeing in his love, and pity, and helpfulness the reflection of God on the earth, I visited these red men, and began my work.

I was called an enthusiast and fanatic. But I have long since come to the conclusion that no man ever made another believe until he believed himself, and that it requires a certain amount of enthusiasm and fanaticism to do God's work. I wish I could tell you some of the incidents of that early life. Fancy a young missionary after holding an Indian confirmation, reading in the paper, "Horrible Sacrilege! The holiest rites of Christianity administered to red-handed Savages and Murderers!" I happened to meet the editor a few days afterwards, and he was looking at the other side of the street. I said: "Hold on; I want to tell you something! As a public man I am a legitimate subject of criticism, and nobody will read such criticism with the interest that I shall. I know but one thing that a public man can't stand,—and that is lying!" I am happy to say that he was a kind-hearted fellow at heart, and from that hour he always counted me as one of his friends.

I have never met an officer of the United States Army—and I have talked with hundreds—who could tell me of a solitary instance where the Indian was the first to violate a treaty. They have always said that the wars were the result of shameless robberies. Again and again I have heard an officer say, as General Crook said, "It is hard to go and fight with men who you know are in the right." Men who had been the agents of the Northwest and the Hudson Bay Companies all bore one testimony,—that the Indian was truthful, that he was by nature honest, that he had a passionate love for his family, and that he would lay down his life without the trembling of a nerve for his kindred. When I heard such testimony, I said,

"Surely there is room here to write upon these hearts that story which never grows old, of the love of God our Father."

Every year I spent the entire summer in the Indian country, traveling hundreds of miles on foot and in a birch-bark canoe. At first I did not know how to preach to them: I said, what is a very dangerous thing for a minister of Christ to say, "You are sinners;" I did not say, "We are sinners." And when the sermon was ended, and I thought that I had preached impressively, the chief said: "Why do you come to slander my people? We are not sinners. It is your white brethren who bring the firewater here, and who corrupt our daughters. You had better go and tell them they are sinners." But when, with tears in my eyes, I told that man how God loved him, and of that pure law which God had made for his children, and of the love of Jesus Christ, it happened to him as to Saint Paul, "The law came, sin revived, and I died." And I saw that man sitting at my feet a fearless, grand disciple of Jesus Christ.

As I look back, I have sometimes wondered why I did not get discouraged; but in all those earlier years there were little incidents that helped me. I could go on for hours telling you those incidents. It was Christian women who helped me in the darkest days,—such women as one whom you and I know and love, who came to teach her brown sisters the handiwork which adorns Christian white women. But how is it now? If you will go there you will not see drunken savages. I have just returned from a journey, with my dear wife, in the Indian country. I took her to visit a dear old woman, wife of Good Thunder, eighty years of age, whom I have known a long time. When the Sioux outbreak came she went to the mission house before the Indians could destroy it, and secured the large Bible. That Bible had a history, too; it was sent by the Landgrave of Hesse to Minnesota, to be given to some mission to the Indians. This heathen woman, as she then was, wrapped that Bible up and carried it to the forest and buried it. And then she came a long journey, and told me, as if she were telling me the greatest thing in the world, "The words of the Great Spirit are safe!" The good woman thought it was the only Bible in the world. She became an earnest Christian woman afterward. She had heard of my marriage, and when we went to see her she held up two enormous bedquilts which she had pieced for my wife, because, she said, she thought we were going to housekeeping. Another sainted Indian woman, that I have known for almost forty years, came up, and taking my wife's hand said, as she turned to me: "When your wife died, I buried my heart in her grave. But I look in her face, and it has come back to me." Do you think they have no hearts, and that the story of the love of Jesus Christ is not the same to them that it is to you?

I have thanked God again and again as I have listened to the speeches here. I wish the Superintendent of Indian Education could have said more, and I hope he will speak again. I want him to tell you, what I know he believes as firmly as I do, that education without religion is valueless, and that the gospel of Jesus Christ

should go hand in hand with the teaching of the schoolroom. The Christian teacher should write upon the hearts of these children that which nothing but love can write,—faith in God and love for man.

I have seen dark days, my friends. There has been many a time in the Indian country when I have lain awake all night and cried to God in prayer for these poor people. But those prayers and your prayers and your efforts have been answered. I am reminded of a letter I had last week from one whom Americans all honor, William Gladstone; he says, "When I think of the church and Christian work in my boyhood, and then see what the church of God is doing now in its work for humanity, my heart is full, and I can only say, 'What hath God wrought!'"

But your friend and mine, Senator Dawes, has told you of some difficulties yet in the way. You will pardon me if I tell you a sad story. I hesitate about telling it, for I have made it one rule of my life never to make a charge against an individual until first going to him and saying, "I shall prefer such and such charges against you, and come to tell you that you may defend yourself." It was about the only way one could have saved one's scalp in the early days.

Perhaps it will amuse you if I tell a story in illustration of this. When Johnson became President, all the offices in the country were to be turned over to the Democratic party. And some of our leading Democrats traveled a long journey to my home, for there were no railroads, bringing with them a young man whom they wanted to make Indian agent. They said: "Bishop, we don't want to fight with you. We know you take a great interest in the Indians, and we have picked out this man, who is a friend of yours, for Indian agent;" and so they went on with their parable. I said to my friend: "You are my friend; I have had more courtesy from you in the Indian country than from any man I know; but you are aware that I know that you were mixed up in such-and-such a transaction. Don't let these men use you, for I'll defeat you as certainly as the sun shines." "Bishop," they said, "if you dare to meddle with politics, we'll turn the batteries of the press on you!" And I said to them, "My dear fellows, before you turn the batteries of the press on a man, you had better ask whether the fellow at the muzzle or the fellow at the breech is going to get killed!"

I wrote to several men who had known me from my boyhood, and asked them to write to the President and say whether I would tell the truth about Indian affairs. Then I wrote to the Secretary. I told him every good thing about my friend that I could think of; but I said: "I oppose his appointment because of this dishonesty. And if you appoint that man now, I will make an affidavit that you knew the facts before he was appointed. And we'll see whether the American people will stand that." He was not appointed.

This is the sad story of the Indians of Minnesota. Of that beautiful country, a large part was sold to the government for one

cent an acre, on condition that the Winnebagoes should be placed there as a sort of barrier between them and their enemies, the Sioux. A treaty was made, and was enforced, but the Winnebagoes were never removed. Now a new treaty has been made, which involves all northern Minnesota. In that treaty it is stipulated that the pines shall all be appraised by competent appraisers, and that the minimum price shall be what was then the market price, \$3 a thousand. A body of appraisers was appointed, and the government expended about \$150,000 before they found out that the appraisers were incompetent. Another set of appraisers was sent, and then an agent, who is said to be one of the most honest men in the government service. On one section of land the appraisers put down 65,000 feet of pine, and the government sold it at the minimum price; but it was found that there were 902,000 feet, and the Indians had lost \$2,500. There are hundreds of such cases, which show that it is not yet time to lay by your armor. I do not blame the administration; I believe the President of the United States wishes to do his full duty to the Indians. I am sure that there never was a better Commissioner of Indian Affairs than the last Commissioner, and I am quite sure, from his well-known character, that the Secretary of the Interior would like to do his duty. I understand from legal gentlemen that, the lumber having been duly advertised and sold, it will be impossible to prove that the purchaser knew of any dishonesty; but I have asked the gentlemen of the Indian Rights Association to look into it, and see if the Indians have not a remedy in the Court of Claims.

One remedy we do need,—the remedy of righteousness. For I believe—and the nation that has gained two million graves in the Civil War ought to have learned the lesson—that God is not blind. Whatsoever a man soweth, that, and nothing but that, shall he reap. One whom I am glad to call my friend has alluded to Worcester. The State of Georgia passed a law forbidding the missionaries to teach the Cherokees to read the gospel of Jesus Christ, and Worcester wrote to Dr. Evarts (the father of William M. Evarts, the Secretary of State), who was the secretary of the American Board, and asked, "What shall I do?" "Do your duty in the fear of God," said Mr. Evarts, "and then suffer any consequences." He was tried, and went to prison. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, and Chief Justice Marshall decided the law to be unconstitutional; but unfortunately the Supreme Court cannot carry out its decisions, and General Jackson refused to execute the law, and Worcester was imprisoned. In that memorable trial for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, William Evarts, the son, said, "Gentlemen, never trifle with the Constitution," and he told this story. Little did the people of Georgia know that the day would come when, from the top of Missionary Ridge, the home of that servant of God, an host, under the flag of that violated Constitution, would lay waste every foot of the ground that had belonged to the Cherokees!

Some years ago I asked my friend Chief Justice Waite his opinion of President Cleveland. He said, "I believe the President wishes to know the *truth*, and when he knows it he will stand by it." I said, "That is the one I want to see." The Chief Justice went to the White House with me and presented me to the President. I said: "A great wrong has been done to the Chippewas. Dams have been built on the Mississippi River which have destroyed the Indians' rice fields, injured their fisheries, and overflowed 91,000 acres of valuable pine land. For some years I have appealed for aid, and have plead with men whose ears are deaf." The President called the Secretary of the Interior and said: "Bishop Whipple has told me a sad story of wrong done to these Indians; I have asked the Bishop to address you a letter setting forth the facts. When Congress meets please send the letter to me, and I will enclose it in a message to Congress asking them to make the necessary appropriation." The President sent the message, and the appropriation was made.

At the close of these addresses, the Conference adjourned until the following day.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 14.

The Conference was called to order at 10 A. M., after prayers, Mr. Garrett in the chair. The Treasurer made an appeal for money to meet the expenses of printing and distributing the proceedings.

Mr. Davis said that General Whittlesey had had the privilege of an interview with Mrs. ———, the teacher at Warner's Ranch, in California, and asked that he might be invited to say a few words on the subject of the Mission Indians.

General WHITTLESEY.—I have no personal acquaintance with the Indians at Agua Caliente on Warner's Ranch, but a few days ago I had some conversation with Mrs. ———, who has been a teacher there for seven years. She has become greatly attached to the people, not only to the children in her school, but to the older people, and she speaks of them in the highest terms as quiet, industrious, and endeavoring to earn their own living. She regrets very much the efforts that are being made to eject them from their homes, which they have occupied so long. Professor Heinemann, of the Indian School at Lawrence, Kansas, speaking of the Agua Caliente Indian, says, in *The Indian's Friend*:—

I have seen these Indians when traveling in those parts as Supervisor of Indian Education, and I can say that the Indians of Agua Caliente are as far advanced on the path leading to civilized life as any I have seen at any Indian reservation, camp, or village. They live in comparatively good houses, are industrious and self-supporting. I remember with pleasure that it was at Agua Caliente that I found fair accommodation and good meals at the home of an Indian family; a thing which did not happen more than three or four times during all the years I traveled among Indians. The day school at Agua Caliente was, when I saw it, one of the best I found in the Indian service; a credit both to the teacher and to her pupils.

The bath house they have built over their hot springs is not elegant, but comfortable enough for a salubrious and quiet bath. The ground on which this Indian village stands is hardly productive enough to yield them a good living without irrigation, which it will be difficult to provide; but their hot springs would yield almost enough to provide comforts for all of them, if they could be developed in a manner to attract visitors in search of health. It is this promising prospect of a future "Hot Springs Resort," which has whetted the land hunger of the Warner crowd, and induced them to go to law in order to eject the poor Indians from the barren hill on which their village stands. I do not know anything of the merits of the case, but it seems to me that these Indians, who have occupied that hill ever since white men first set foot on it, ought not to be disturbed in their possession of the land by any law or legal principle obtaining in the legal science of the palefaces. The Indians of Agua Caliente have been for centuries on the spot where they are found at present, for which reason they ought not to be disturbed in their

right of ownership. Their titles to the land are not made out according to the customs and rules of the courts and lawyers of the whites, but being older than that of any white man can be, they ought to be considered valid beyond a doubt.

Mr. Joshua W. Davis was asked to report for the committee having the interests of the Mission Indians in charge.

Mr. DAVIS.—The report I have to make is in behalf of the Committee for the defense of these Indians. By the death of Hon. Edward L. Pierce the committee has been reduced to four, Mr. Garrett, as chairman, Mr. Smiley, Mr. Moses Pierce, who has been detained from the Conference by his advanced age, and the speaker.

The suit for the ejectment of these Indians, after a long delay, reached a decision against the Indians in the early part of the year, and the committee found itself under the necessity of deciding whether they would make appeal. It was decided that an appeal should be made to the Supreme Court, and yet, it was felt that it was unfair that the Conference should be put to the expense of that defense; that we should make a new appeal to the government to do its duty. The exigencies of the tariff, and the rule that no new business should be admitted, prevented any appeal to Congress for a special appropriation, and, as repeatedly before, the Department of Justice said it had no funds at its disposal. We next took the step of appealing to the plaintiffs to defer judgment slightly. They felt that they had too strong an advantage, and refused to yield, and insisted on immediate judgment. In that emergency the committee felt itself entirely unable to raise the sum of \$6,100 to provide the necessary bonds to be given in case the appeal was allowed.

Just then Mr. Herbert Welsh arrived from Europe, and took hold of the matter instantly, as once before, and secured an appropriation of \$4,000 from the Indian Rights Association, which has been guaranteed in some measure to the Association by friends from the outside, and he himself and another friend laid down \$2,100 to complete the sum, receiving also a guarantee for a considerable part of that in case of final defeat. And it is only just to say that history was repeating itself in this case. When the previous suit came up for the Saboba Indians the first decision was against the Indians, and an appeal was made, with the same necessity for a bond, and a pressure for instant decision, Mr. Welsh, who was on his vacation, hastened down from the mountains to Boston to confer with me, and instantly telegraphed \$3,000 to save the case on appeal.

We hear it said, How is it that you can be so interested in Indians that show such degradation as is frequently seen in a journey to California? How is it that there is a duty to defend such Indians? In reply I would say, the specimens most commonly seen by tourists are not mission Indians; but as a more general answer I would ask whether the generous championship of the whole race by our host had been narrowed or limited by his wide traveling among the

Indians, with full sight of the extensive degradation among some tribes; and if not, shall we who gather here under his generous invitation narrow our interest; or ask, rather, that we may have the Christly consecration which he shows, and seek to save those that are lost without choosing for ourselves the better class? For such a work the inspiration comes, however, not only from one person, however much we may esteem him. It comes through him from above, and we shall find our inspiration to continue this work of defense from remembering the providential leading which has marked this case from the beginning. I esteem it no accident that Professor Painter, Mrs. Davis, and myself should have been in California at the time when Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson was confined to her room there, from which she was soon to pass to the life above, and under the power of those lustrous eyes, listened to her statement of the situation as she understood it. She had written her book, she had done her work as commissioner, visiting and studying the situation of these Indians, and here she was looking into the uncertain future of her Indians, as she called them, and there was a deep longing for something more to be done. Circumstances prevented us from offering at that time to visit them on her behalf, but we could promise that in July, although in the heat of the summer, we would go for her; and we did go, with the thermometer at 106 degrees in the shade among the hills.

We met the Indians, and found that we had been preceded by a letter from "the queen," as they called her, and they received us as officials sent by her. We told them that we were not government officials, but that we came as her friends; and when we told them that we could make no promises it was distressing to see the fall of the countenances all around us. But we told them that we had come expressly to take them by the hand and to hear the sound of their voices, and to know what they had suffered since she was with them. "Si, Signor," they said, with a brightening of the faces all around, and then gave an account of the seizure of their crops and the encroachment on their lands. It was a pathetic story, and a thrilling one. We returned to her, and received her dying message to the President; and reporting to the next Mohonk Conference, eleven years ago, that Conference, under the motion of Mr. Moses Pierce, took up the case, and placed \$5,000 in the hands of a committee to carry on the work where the government was then failing to do it.

To-day the committee finds itself with a small balance in its hands. Is it not time now that this committee should resign the leadership of the defense to the association which has come so nobly and efficiently to the rescue? I would move that the defense of the Mission Indians be transferred to the Indian Rights Association, with the \$300 in our treasury.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Smiley.

Mr. Welsh said that he deprecated such a transference. He thought the committee which had had charge of the work so long

should keep it in its hands, and the Indian Rights Association would always be ready to help that Committee in any emergency.

Mr. Smiley said he hoped that the motion would prevail. After a few remarks on the subject it was voted that the work of defense of the Mission Indians should be turned over to the Indian Rights Association, and that the money left in the hands of the committee for that work should also be transferred.

Mr. C. F. Meserve, president of Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C., was asked to speak on Educational Work among the Indians.

EDUCATIONAL WORK.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT CHAS. F. MESERVE, SHAW UNIVERSITY,
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen.—An adequate conception of education implies a clear and comprehensive grasp of the end to be attained, and the principles and methods involved in attaining that end. This I hold to be true with all races so far as the end is concerned. There may, however, be need of varying the methods because of the heredity and environment of different races.

Some two or three years ago I was asked to prepare for an encyclopedia of ethnology an article on the education of Indian youth on the American continent from the earliest time to the present day. While collecting the needed data I ran across a copy of the charter of Harvard College, and found that this famous institution was founded for the education of English and Indian youth "in knowledge and godliness." The idea of the fathers was the same as our own to-day. I believe the sentiment of the majority of us gathered here would be expressed if we were to say, "in Christian citizenship." The idea of the fathers was that the work of the home and of the church should be supplemented by that of the school, and along religious lines. We hardly feel, with reference to government work, like putting the proposition in that form, but I think we are all agreed upon this,—that the end to be attained is law-abiding, self-supporting citizenship.

You cannot for a moment discuss citizenship without thinking of the home, of the duty of wife and husband, father and mother and children, and so you reach out to the duty of the community. The school is a factor that must be considered. We have the home, the school, and the church in connection with the thought of citizenship. I shall pay little attention to the school in what I have to say, for that work was admirably described to us last evening by Dr. Hailmann. I think, as we heard it, we all wished we had been born of German-speaking parents, so that we might know how properly to use the English language. That address seemed to me a remarkable instance of careful analysis, richness of diction, and clearness of

enunciation. When we consider the home, we must think of the father, the mother, the house and its surroundings; and the school and its surroundings must be made as homelike as possible.

What can the church do? These are government schools. The employees may be Christian people or they may not, but I believe a great work can be done by the church. Is there any locality, any part of the Indian country in the United States, where these three forces—the school, the home, and the church—are all at work and producing good results?

During the past summer I made a visit to that colony known as the Seger Colony. I have watched Mr. Seger's course, and made a study of his colony. I first met Mr. John H. Seger in 1889, and I became interested in him and his work, and have followed it in detail nearly every year since. The colony is in Washita County, Oklahoma. It comprises a part of what was known as the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation. There we have a very unusual combination of circumstances and forces. As I might say to you that the life of the Mohonk Conference is our good friend Mr. Smiley, and that we can never think of this conference without thinking of him, and that a conference without him would not be a conference,—so I might say that the spirit of Mr. Seger permeates the school of which he is superintendent, and the colony which he established and which bears his name.

As I came near the school last July I saw in a large field what I had never seen anywhere before. You have read in the newspapers about the immense wheat crop of Oklahoma, and for once the newspapers have not told a lie; neither have they told the whole truth. I saw along Cobb Creek a line of wheat stacks not less than a quarter of a mile long. There were thousands of bushels of wheat there; weren't there, Major Woodson?

Major WOODSON.—Yes.

Mr. MESERVE.—Thousands of bushels of wheat that were raised by Indian boys.

This Seger Colony, I think, combines the three features of home, school, and church, as I have never seen them elsewhere. In the first place a home is necessary, that we may have shelter, food, and clothing. These are fundamentals, and I know from my personal observation of the work of the Seger Colony that if for three years more such crops are raised as have been this year, the school will not be obliged to call upon the United States treasury for one penny. Enough money will be obtained from selling the surplus wheat, oats, sheep, and cattle, to run the school and pay the salaries of the superintendents, teachers, and employees, and thus reduce the expense to nothing so far as the government is concerned. Is not this a grand consummation?

How has this been brought about? Mr. Seger is a wonderfully practical man. He is also a man of deep religious nature. I have never met such a combination of the at first apparently rough exterior, and clean life, and deep spiritual insight, and warm, sympathetic nature, as is found in John Homer Seger. He has

believed in these Indians from the beginning. He trusted them, and they trusted him; and in times of danger they stood by his wife and his little ones when he was far away. He went out from Darlington with renegade Indians, sixty miles from the nearest white face, with his wife and little ones. Their supplies gave out. He had to go back to the agency, and in going he must ford a river, the South Canadian, one of the most treacherous streams. One hour it may be a bed of sand a mile wide, with a cloud of dust flowing up stream; the next a roaring torrent of sand and water moving toward the Gulf of Mexico. Returning, he found the river high, and could not ford it. With his wife and little ones fifty miles away, left behind with the Indians, he had to wait three days and three nights for the river to go down. As he got near his home he met an Indian, who stopped him and told him in sign language that his family was safe. This Indian had been a bad Indian, but every night of Mr. Seger's absence he had walked around the house once each hour to see that everything was all right. Was it strange that Mr. Seger believed in him? When you believe in a man you can help him, and he will believe in you.

Mr. Seger carries out his principles at all times and in all places. Around the buildings of his school are peafowl, horses, mules, dogs, squirrels, and a beautiful spotted doe, living together peaceably, with scores of Indian children all about, whose wild natures are being tamed. His Indians run to him for everything. While I was there a young man came and said he wanted to be married to a certain Indian girl. Mr. Seger got the license, and about nine o'clock in the evening, under a rustic arbor, Rev. F. H. Wright, a Choctaw Indian, performed the ceremony, and we had a nice little reception for an hour; and then the young wife dutifully went home with her parents, and the young husband went home with his parents.

Industrial education is carried on here in a very practical way. Mr. Seger has wheat enough to furnish flour for two years to come. He has a large flock of sheep, several hundred cattle, and kills all the beef used at his school, and supervises the issue of beef from the block to the adult Indians of his locality.

As to missionary work, I want to bear testimony to the noble work that is being done near the Seger School by the Women's Executive Committee of the Board of Domestic Missions of the Reformed Church in America. We who believed in Christian education, have been puzzling ourselves since the civil service rules went into effect as to how the religious work could be carried on. These people have admirably solved the question. About a quarter of a mile from the school is one of the prettiest little church edifices, built of Oklahoma pink limestone. The church has been organized through the efforts of Rev. F. H. Wright and Rev. W. C. Roe, brother of the novelist, as assistant pastor. They do not live in the parsonage all the time. Sunday they preach at home, but Monday they may be sixty miles away. They do their work wisely. I met Mr. Wright starting off very early one morning

with his covered wagon, tent, and mules, and asked him where he was going. "It is pay-day to-morrow at the agency," he replied, "and the Indians are to camp at Deadwoman at noon, and we are going to be there and have a preaching service while they eat their dinner."

I was at the Seger Colony several days, and looked into their work carefully. I drove two days with Mr. Wright, and saw the character of the work and some of the results, which are remarkable. There is a church organization, with fifty Indians as members and quite a number of whites. The religious life of the Seger Colony centers in this church. The school pupils are not required to attend, but do so from choice. There is also an excellent Sunday school.

In 1874 Frank Halloway, son of the agency physician at Darlington, Oklahoma, was murdered by Bad Face and Creeping Bear. Both murderers were convicted, and Bad Face was executed in the United States prison at Fort Smith, Ark. Creeping Bear was confined several years and then released, and is now with Mr. Seger at the colony. On the Sabbath that I attended the services of Rev. Wright's church I saw Nora, the daughter of Creeping Bear, received into church membership. Creeping Bear was present, clothed in citizen's dress and in his right mind, rejoicing that his daughter was being taken into the church.

The conversion of Thunder Bull was another interesting case. One day he was disturbed in mind, and went to the minister and said, "My heart troubles me."

"Why," said Mr. Wright, "I can hardly understand that. Your heart ought to be good now."

"No," said Thunder Bull; "something troubles me. You know I am a policeman, and I have been for several days studying this question, and I cannot quite understand how a man can be a policeman and a Christian at the same time."

A word as to the effect upon the lives and homes of these people. They are building houses; eighteen are soon to be built, in addition to what they now have. You have all heard of the great power of the medicine man. An elder daughter of Creeping Bear was taken sick two years ago. She was attended by a white physician, who pronounced the disease consumption. As soon as Mrs. Creeping Bear learned it she said, "Now we will send for a medicine man; the white physician no good." For once the husband was master of the house, and he came to the rescue and said: "No; medicine man shall not come; white man shall stay. If medicine man had come before, she would have died months ago." The white physician gave full directions about the care of the girl, and of protecting the other members of the family from the disease, and Creeping Bear took pains to see that Mrs. Creeping Bear carried these instructions out faithfully. After a time the girl died, and Creeping Bear insisted upon having a funeral like white folks, with a prayer at the house and services at the grave. He did not kill his best pony at the grave, as he would

once have done. The old-time Indians taunted him, and said, "You think more of your pony than of your daughter." But he was pulling away from old associations, and came to Mr. Seger and arranged to have a white marble slab placed over her grave, with an appropriate inscription. That shows he is following along lines of Christian civilization.

In the allotment of lands, the original plan of Senator Dawes is being carried out along the Washita River. Many of us are longing to see the day when the Indian, as an Indian, shall disappear, and shall live side by side in peace and happiness with the white man. There are instances of this to-day along the Washita valley. There are white people from Texas living in harmony with their Indian neighbors; and I am sure if a Texas man can live in peace with an Indian, any white man can.

Miss Sibyl Carter was asked to speak on Industrial Education among the Indians.

MISS CARTER.—If you had told me seven years ago that I was going into the Indian country to start lace schools, and that I should have six or seven on my hands in the course of a year, and that those Indian women would be making lace that was selling to the richest women in the country on its own merit, I should have laughed. But things have got to grow or go out of existence, and the thing grew.

I am not so good as Bishop Whipple. He says he loves all the Indians. I have no right to talk much about the Indians because I am afraid I do not love them all; but I have great sympathy with them, and I like to see them improving, and they have improved wonderfully in the little time that I have been working among them. What has done it? Just old-fashioned work, and not only work but wages paid promptly.

I am often asked if I employ young girls and children. No; I do not believe I have a woman who is not married. My work is for mothers and grandmothers, and these women are very grateful for the work. They have showed that they are not lazy, but are anxious for work, and are glad to have these schools established, and they do fine work. When I can get \$35 for one piece of their Venetian lace work, I think it is worth while to get tired doing this thing. And I am tired to-day. I did not sleep till five this morning, because I had a letter from my superintendent asking me to hurry and send money to pay the teachers, for there was only 77 cents in the treasury and seven teachers to pay. But I have been selling lace this morning, and now I have some money. I do not need to say more. The lace speaks for itself. (Here Miss Carter held up some large, beautiful specimens of the lace made by the Indian women of Minnesota. She also showed an alms plate richly carved.) I am proud to say that although I do not know a thing about carving, I taught the man who did that, and he has done some fine work in other directions.

One day I heard some one talking about hats made of corn husks, and I thought to myself, Dear me, when I was a young girl down on a Louisiana plantation, it used to be great fun to braid hats out of palmetto. I kept quiet, and when I went out to the school I sent one of the Indians out to bring me a handful of corn husks, as long husks as he could find. He asked what I was going to do. "Never you mind," I said, "only I am going to see if I can't start you to making money." And I actually taught that man to make a hat; and now it is true, as one of them said, "If I can't sell any I will never have to buy another hat." I was glad he thought of that side of it. I have since learned that straw braid is used a great deal now by milliners, and I do not see why the Indians should not braid it for them. One of my wealthy friends has said to me that if I would have the braid made she would try to make it fashionable.

Work, work, work; wages, wages, wages; these are the important things, not neglecting other things. It is a beautiful thing to educate the children; but one of my Indian mothers took her own girls when they came home from school and taught them lace making. One girl when she came back, instead of finding her mother in the tepee, found her in a cabin in a rocking chair, working at a piece of lace at ten dollars a yard, and that mother taught the daughter, so that she was forced to look up to her mother; and she learned from her something that she had not learned at the Eastern school. And the men would come in and say, "How nice it is; mother teach daughter."

Bishop WHIPPLE.—Americans think a great deal of heredity. Where did Sibyl Carter get her earnestness and her common sense and devotion? She is a great, great granddaughter of old Sam Adams, of the Revolution.

Rev. EGERTON YOUNG.—During the year I have been visiting a number of Canadian Indian missions. We are trying there to solve these problems, and we have been greatly blessed. The Sioux Indians, who came over into Canada after the Minnesota troubles, are doing exceedingly well. Our Canadian government gave them a fine reservation, and the Presbyterian Church has taken charge of the religious work, and they are settling down and doing well. When I was away in the northwest, four hundred miles from the nearest white family, we never thought of locking a door; but we never had anything stolen though we were surrounded by wild savages. They knew nothing of civilized food, and instead of praying, "Give us this day our daily bread," they learned to say, "Give us this day something to keep us alive." Those Indians are now brought down to Manitoba, where the government has given us a reservation fourteen miles by seven.

Dr. Young exhibited some of the silk embroidery of the Indian women, which was for sale, that the proceeds might help them in their homes.

The next speaker was President William F. Slocum, of Colorado College, who spoke on State Care of the Indians.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STATES FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE INDIAN.

BY WILLIAM FREDERICK SLOCUM.

The committee has asked me to say something in regard to the responsibility of the States for the education of the Indian. I confess to a feeling of humbleness at the thought of saying anything to you who have had much larger experience than myself in dealing with the problem of how best to educate the children of the various tribes, with all their peculiarities, not to say idiosyncrasies, of temperament and race conditions. You who have lived among them, studied them, and that, too, with the high purpose of making them into citizens of the Great Republic, understand their needs and their possibilities much better than one like myself, who has known little of them by personal contact.

We are all aware that, up to the present time, comparatively little has been done by the various States, as such, for the education of the Indian. There is little or no blame attached to them for not undertaking this work, because of the relation which heretofore the national government has borne to these which it has regarded as its wards. The question does arise, however, whether the time has not come when the various commonwealths which have Indians within their borders, should not, at least, begin to assume responsibility for their education, just as has been done for all others within their limits. It is not possible to discuss this phase of our Indian problem without reminding ourselves of certain fundamental principles which must be kept in mind if a satisfactory solution is to be reached. We have been saying, over and over, that we must make citizens of them. We are all agreed as to this, and, also, that in making free and law-abiding members of society of them, their growth and civic development should be along the lines of the growth and development of the country. The training and education of the Indian should correspond, just as far as possible, to the discipline and instruction meted out to all children of the Republic.

Another aspect of the problem must also not be overlooked. It is quite true that we are dealing with a human being,—one of our own brethren, if you please; but we are also having to do with an individual who has his own ethnic characteristics, and his peculiar mental and moral qualities. While he is a human being, he is at the same time an Indian, with the traits of character which belong to those of his own race; and there are very many of these traits of character that we must not attempt to destroy, but rather to conserve. It is quite true that we desire to make a Christian of him; but it must still be an Indian Christian. Puritanism was, on the whole, a very good thing, but it does not follow that the only hope of all people on the face of the earth is to mould them into that peculiar type of English character. As you have been telling us of

the faithfulness, honesty, and perseverance of the Indian, when the natural traits of his character are given a fair opportunity to develop, it has seemed to me that these are just the qualities that should dominate in all education worthy of the name. The battle in the educational world to-day is to make those who have the direction of our schools believe that no one is really educated who has not developed the capacity to see the difference between right and wrong, and also the moral strength and force which makes him stand for what is right when it is perceived.

If, now, there are certain primitive moral traits in the Indian character which are the very ones we have been trying to develop in the lives of the children in our public schools, then any education will be a mistaken one which does not attempt to develop him along the line of these moral capacities and tendencies. In considering the question as to who is to train and fit for citizenship this child of the nation, we must have in mind that no one must be intrusted with this sacred duty who will not, first of all, seek to conserve those moral qualities with which we believe the Creator has endowed him. Whatever may be said against any tribe, or race of people, it is always true that each has its own dominating moral and intellectual traits, which true education conserves and makes the foundation of all its efforts.

There is one more fundamental principle which I want also to mention in discussing the education of the Indian. There is very much being said in certain quarters which is misleading as to the nature of man from an educational point of view. One set of people are forever talking about training "the moral nature," as if that were one distinct part of the individual; others confine all they have to say to what they call "the spiritual nature," as if that were still another section of this same individual, and the moulding of that part belonged only to one set of educational artificers; then there is still another set of these educational job contractors, who regard it as their privilege and sole function to fashion what they chose to designate "the intellectual nature," as if this were a third grand division of the thing we familiarly call a human soul. Then we proceed to relegate one part of the student to the ethical teacher, another to the religious instructor, and the third to a pedagogue, expecting each to do his separate part of the contract much after the fashion in which one builds a modern house,—letting out the various parts of the construction to different contractors, allowing each to bid for his part of the job. When shall we learn to recognize, amid all our educational ideas, that whether one helps the individual to think well, to feel rightly, or to develop in his consciousness of moral ideals and of God, that it is one and the same thing with which we deal; that the man is a unit? We may teach our Indians mathematics, history, philosophy, or whatever we please, yet we are treating with his moral and religious self, for he is always a moral being; he is always a religious being; he is always an intellectual being. Whether we train our pupil to think, to feel, or in the consciousness of moral ideals and religious prin-

ciples, it ought to be, in essence, one and the same thing. If all his education is not making a moral and religious being of him, then the education has radical defects in it. This has nothing whatever to do with the question of sectarian schools, and the attempt in certain quarters to force an issue like that into the discussion, is misleading and unfair. The day has set for the purely sectarian school; but the day of the educational institution and the educational movement in which the religious and moral ideal dominates, is just beginning to dawn. The so called "secularization of education" has a monstrous fallacy as well as an enormous danger in it. Education which does not have good morals and the religious ideal at the heart of it, as the dominating force in it, lacks the essential factor. This was the idea that inspired the founders of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Amherst, Williams, and all other institutions that have been the real power in the life of the nation. Shall this give place to either sectarianism or secularization? In God's name, no! unless we are willing to throw overboard the most sacred and valued principles on which the very nation's life with all its hopes was founded.

What has this to do with the question of the education of the Indian by the State? Very much, as it seems to me. No plan for this education should be out of line with the lines of development of the republic itself, and in whatever hands his education shall be placed, it must be with the clear and definite understanding that there must be developed in him all the possibilities of his nature. A superficial and false notion has taken possession of some of our would-be leaders in educational matters: that the State in its work as an educator has nothing to do with the moral and religious nature. Yet the reports from the country where the State more dominantly controls education than anywhere else, announce that the great end to be secured in manual and industrial education, is that of developing moral power and force of character in the pupil.

I shall have accomplished all that I hoped in this address if I succeed in emphasizing the idea that, whether the education of the Indian is conducted under national authority, by the State government, or in schools on a private foundation, the one dominating purpose must be to convince him, and train him into the belief, that righteousness in the citizen is that which exalteth a nation. May it not be that God has placed under our care this people, with many noble traits, a race peculiarly distinct from all others in the nation, in order that the true end of education shall be realized in and through them?

It is because of the principles I have tried to enumerate, that I think the State should assume more and more the responsibility for the education of the Indians within their borders. In training them for citizenship, it is best to follow the plan which is established for educating all citizens; that is, the burden is laid upon the State, or rather upon the counties, cities, and towns in each commonwealth. This is right, because it places the responsibility upon those nearest

the persons who are to be educated. The nation says to the state, you are responsible to the country for the citizenship of those within your jurisdiction. The state says the same thing to the county and the town or city. So the nation says to the state, and the state to the local community, you must assume this burden with its responsibilities. This will result in a clear conception, on the part of those living nearest the Indian, of what is necessary to make him a citizen, and will bring the local community into closer and more intelligent appreciation of the problem and its solution. Those living nearest Bunker Hill Monument seldom ascend it; those living nearest the Indian often understand him and his problems most poorly. Could they bear his burdens, help at least to build schoolhouses for him, elect and pay for his teachers, and think out the best possible education for him, by the mysterious and wonderful working of the altruistic law they would come to be more and more his friend.

More than this, it will be the best thing for the Indian himself. It has been a great pleasure to me to hear it said in this Conference that the Indian himself is so waking to the consciousness of true citizenship, that he is asking for the privilege of sharing its burdens. He is already saying, I want to do my part in paying the taxes necessary for the highest good of the community in which I find myself. As the county or town in the State assumes the responsibility for educating him into citizenship, he becomes fitted to share in those burdens. He comes to say, I, too, must not only help build schoolhouses and pay the salaries of teachers, but become a sharer in all the common burdens of the community. He, too, comes to feel that the courts must be sustained and the laws obeyed; that property rights are not to be violated; that life is sacred. So it is that the moral consciousness develops in him, too, and this becomes one of the very processes by which his deeper and nobler nature comes out into dominance.

How soon this can be brought about depends upon the resources of the communities to which the Indian has been relegated, too often unwisely and unfairly; but that it is the principle which should direct the policy there can be no doubt.

This Conference has never hesitated in the advocacy of a course that was right, no matter what the practical politician had to say about it; and it is because of this that so much has been accomplished in the years that have come and gone. The future has yet greater service to be rendered, and there is much still to be done in a wise and just education of the Indian.

The following letter from Mrs. Mary L. Eldridge, field-matron among the Navajoes, was read :—

Since coming home last fall I have been trying to get the women to weave the olden time waterproof blanket, and some of the women have promised to do so. They will also color the wool with their own dyes, which never fade or run. The women tell

me that the blankets are made waterproof by putting into the hot dye the gum from the cedar or piñon trees. They also say that they much prefer to color and weave as they used to do, if only they can get enough for the blankets to pay them for the extra work and time.

In regard to the looms, I have advised the I. I. League to put a couple of looms into the mill, which we hope they will build here in the near future. They asked me to recommend some industry to be established among the Navajoes, and I recommended a mill to be built, and selected a site near the river, where the owner offered to donate seven and one-half acres of land. The Navajo wool loses only about 30 per cent in working up, and I think it would be a paying business to work up this wool into yarn, and have the old-time Navajo blankets woven, also bed blankets on looms, and to have a couple of knitting machines to knit cardigan jackets, hose, mittens, etc. Also a couple of broom machines, which trade, I am sure, our men would learn very easily. I proposed that the vats for washing the wool and the vats for coloring be in the basement, with facilities for raising the wool to the upper half story for drying. On the middle floor would be room for the carding machine and spinning jenny, the looms and broom machines. I am sure there would be a good market for yarn, and then we would try to supply the traders in the North with Navajo blankets for sale. When I was among the Ogalalla Sioux, old Red Cloud paid \$65 for a Navajo blanket, which I could duplicate here for \$10 or \$12.

Of course it is impossible for me to make any estimate of the absolute cost of machinery, as it is something I know nothing about; but I would begin in a small way, and add to the capacity as the business increases. The mill proper and the engine house would cost \$2,500 built of stone, a great deal of which would not have to be drawn, and coal is right at hand, and water never failing. Wool has only brought from three and one-half to four and one-half cents per pound this year (the last few days it has gone up one and one-half cents per pound). I have such faith in the industry that if I had money I would not hesitate to put it all into such an industry, but I find the longer I live among the Navajoes the less money I have,—there are so many wants, and so much suffering to be relieved.

I am very glad to tell you that the crops on this side of the reservation are very good this year, and the acreage greatly increased. Our people now raise corn, wheat, melons, squashes, beans, etc., and they have quite little sets of alfalfa.

This spring a friend sent me \$10 for the Navajoes, and I bought 150 two year old Concord grape vines, and issued six to each family; most of them are alive and doing well. Next spring I want very much to get some peach and apple trees to issue to the people who have water. The floods last spring washed out the heading to many of our ditches, and the present season has been a very hard one for our people. The men under one ditch have laid out and built a new heading of nearly 400 yards; for a long dis-

tance it was about eight feet deep, and not less than five feet the remainder of the way. Very little could be done with the horses and scraper, and day after day the men were working throwing out the heavy, wet mud. I may just as well say that I was proud of them, and I did not hesitate to tell them so. Sometimes I get blue because the work does not go fast enough,—the work of civilization, I mean,—but then I remember that when we came here six years ago this fall, no ditch had been taken out, and now nine ditches have been taken out, along the San Juan. In those days the old women planted a little corn at the mouths of the arroyos for roasting ears, and depended entirely upon sub-irrigation.

One great hindrance to our work here is the lack of tools, and wagons, and harnesses. Two years ago I got the Indians to plant a lot of sorghum seed, and made arrangements with an American who had a mill to make it up on shares. When harvest time came they stripped the cane, and tied the stalks up into neat bundles ready for the mill; but they had no wagons, and we could not get any to use, so they had no sorghum made. Do you think if wagons are issued this fall, that if the Navajoes should plant sorghum another year the government would allow us a sorghum mill? I know how to make sorghum, and could show them. It would be such a help to them to raise sorghum and have it made into good molasses.

Under our best ditch I reserved land for the school. Of course this home making, and getting the Indians to raise crops and make themselves more comfortable, is a good thing, but our hope is in the children; and last year when we had a little day school at the mission, the Navajoes came and said, "We live, most of us, so far away that our children cannot come and go home the same day; but if you can put up a building so they can stay, we will send all our children to you." There was money appropriated three years ago for schools here, but they have not been built, and I am sure our agent was very anxious for them, and it would be a means of great good to the young people.

The subject next taken up was The Mission Field. The secretaries of the different religious bodies that are doing missionary work among the American Indians had been asked to bring or send reports of their work. The following are abstracts of those reports.

THE INDIAN FIELDS AND WORK OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

BY SECRETARY C. J. RYDER.

Statistics of the Year.—Number of churches, 17; membership, 971; Sunday-school scholars, 1,145; contributions for benevolence and church support, \$2,426.76; number of schools, 25; number of pupils, 592; missionary outstations, 26; missionaries and teachers (white, 49; Indian, 37), 86.

There are four general divisions of the Indian department of missionary work: Nebraska and the Dakotas, Montana, Washington and Alaska.

The three central schools, for the training of Indian pupils and especially native Christian missionaries, are situated in the first three of these fields. Santee Normal Training School, Dr. A. L. Riggs at its head, now averages about one hundred pupils a year. It includes various forms of industrial training. In the higher classes special emphasis is given to the training of missionaries in Bible study and methods of Christian work, that young Indian men and women may be fitted for this active Christian service. A large percentage of the Indian missionaries in the outstations were trained at Santee. The government school building, formerly situated at Santee, has been burned, and the government has no school among the Santee Sioux except a small day school. Our school there occupies a strategic position, and is absolutely essential for the training of missionaries in this field. The number of pupils here has been greatly reduced in the past few years, through the lack of funds sufficient to carry on the work.

Another school in this division of the Indian Field is situated at Oahe, S. D., about 175 miles northwest from Santee. The number of pupils in this school this year has been 42. It has a course of training for those who are old enough to prepare for missionary work.

Fort Berthold, N. D., reaches three tribes, the Mandan, Ree, and Gros Ventres. A school was sustained by the government at Fort Stevenson for some years, but is now discontinued. Fort Berthold enrolled 45 pupils last year. Our Christian work among these tribes is absolutely dependent upon this school.

The Crow Mission is situated at Fort Custer, Montana, and represents an important work. Our missionary there has recently been visiting the former students of our own and other schools, who have settled on their reservations. His report was exceedingly encouraging. He found these young men and women almost uniformly engaged in farming or herding, or other useful occupations. Their houses were decent, and many of them Christian homes. His report furnishes abundant evidence that the statement so often made, that the Indian boys and girls slump back into the immoralities of paganism when they return to the prairie, is absolutely false so far as the Crow people are concerned.

At Skokomish Mission, in Washington, our missionary has been engaged in addition to his own work in visiting other Indian stations. In one missionary journey of this kind he found a community among whom there had never been before a Christian minister. The people were anxious to organize some work under his direction. He could not be engaged in carrying on this work, however, because of the lack of funds in the treasury of the A. M. A.

The church work among the Indians has been unusually encouraging during the past year. Two new churches are added to our list this year, making the total number of churches 17, mostly served by native pastors who go out from Santee and other Christian institutions. Four general superintendents (white) occupy central positions, from which they superintend the work of the native pastors in the outstations. This outstation work is of supreme importance. Every Christian Indian home in which a native pastor and his wife are situated exemplifies the Christian truth in their lives, and is an object lesson to the Indians. No people can be permanently uplifted by foreign missionaries. It is only as a native leadership is trained up that abiding results are obtained. The large ingathering of Sunday-school pupils during the year, amounting to 1,145, means the Christian instruction of a large number of Indian children who come from their tepees and cabins. The Indian churches, for benevolent purposes, gave \$1,612 to missionary work outside of their own support, \$787 to their own church expenses. This certainly is a remarkable showing for a little group of 17 Indian churches.

Two forms of work which the American Missionary Association has carried on among the Indians are worthy of especial mention. The first is the Indian hospital at Fort Yates, N. D. Although this hospital has been conducted only a part of the past year, on account of the lack of funds, the work accomplished has been important and far-reaching. The physician who had charge of the hospital was thoroughly trained, and the reports are therefore of scientific accuracy. From January, 1896, to March, 1897, the year in which the hospital was in full operation, there were: inside patients, 32; outside patients, 740; total receiving medical treatment, 772. This hospital, with a skilled female doctor, is of greatest blessing to the women and girls of the Indian tribes, who are so often uncared for in their sickness and suffering.

Tuberculosis heads the list of diseases to which the Indians are subject. Pneumonia, bronchitis, and kindred diseases are also numerous. The prevalence of these diseases arise as much from the lack and improper use of food as from exposure. The observant physician of this hospital makes the following careful summary: "I have been trying to find out about the population of the Indians on this reservation. They are decreasing. Ten years ago there were 4,000; now there are 3,700. There were 15 more deaths than births the past year; that is, ending with July first, there were 183 deaths and 168 births."

Another unique and interesting phase of the A. M. A. work

among the Indians is the educational missionary work of Prof. F. B. Riggs, who is assistant principal at Santee Normal Training School, Nebraska. Professor Riggs has organized a movement for reaching the Indians in their villages. He has simple portable scientific apparatus. He gives the Indians experiments in physics, including electricity and magnetism. He takes also a stereopticon, and shows views of the race and development of civilization. He begins with the Indian tepee and the white man's dugout or sod cabin on the prairie, familiar to the Indians, and traces the development of the family abode, ending with some of the fine residences of our cities. He throws on the canvas pictures of great commercial buildings, factories, churches, and schools. It is Aladdin's lamp that this pale-face lights, and the mysteries of magic never before opened to the wondering vision of childhood so much of magnificence, splendor, and surprise as is opened to the Indian man and woman through these pictures. I have been with Professor Riggs over the prairie, and seen a whole village empty itself the following morning after such an exhibit. Men, women, and children tramped in chattering, hurrying companies, following Professor Riggs to the next Indian village, perhaps thirty or forty miles away, that they might see again the marvels of the pale-faced juggler. But more than curiosity is awakened. Professor Riggs emphasizes the necessity for self-reliance, industry, and economy if the Indian would ever come into the condition already reached by his white brother. Often Professor Riggs illustrates the life and work of our Saviour with this stereopticon. The impression is wonderful, and often permanent.

The report of our missionaries in Alaska, written under date of July 29, 1897, has reached us. They present a hopeful picture of the work among the Eskimos. The year has been one of marked prosperity to the people among whom our missionaries labor. Walrus fishing, upon which they largely depend, has been much more successful and profitable than usual. This means to the Eskimo, skins, oil and ivory for barter, and the general improvement of his condition. Our missionaries have built a log house, which has proved to be comfortable. Another cottage has been erected for the herders of the reindeer, who are occasionally stopping over for a night. The reindeer herd has increased, and proves all that was expected of it. It furnishes food through milk and carcasses, skins for clothing, bones and horn for needles, and useful articles of various kinds. The reindeer also furnishes the best means of transportation possible, going very rapidly with the sledges across this snow-covered region. This mission in Cape Prince of Wales is entirely supported by special contributions sent to our treasury for this purpose. It was closed for a year, but Mr. and Mrs. Lopp begged to return, and were ready to go on the doubtful support of these voluntary contributions. They have entered the field with great heroism and sacrifice, and certainly merit the support of all Christian people in their work. This mission occupies the most western portion of the mainland over

which the "stars and stripes" float, and will sometime be the basis of large missionary operations across the straits in upper Siberia.

The Work of the Friends was reported by Mr. E. M. Wistar, of Philadelphia :—

The Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs was organized in the early part of the year 1869. Since that year the Committee has continued in active service for the aid and advancement of the Indian in Christian civilization.

We now have under our care nine mission stations, which embrace five schools and collateral service ; viz., Modoc, Ottawa, Wyandotte, and Seneca, situated amongst the several remnants of tribes on the small reservations in the northeastern corner of Indian Territory ; a station near Blue Jacket to the southwest of these, within the limits of the Cherokee Nation ; Skiatook, with its flourishing boarding and day school, with a good history and much promise, farther westward, bordering northern Oklahoma ; in Oklahoma the three remaining stations,—Shawnee and Kickapoo in the south and the Iowa Camps in the north centre.

Three government schools also come within the range of our report, our regular mission efforts having been extended to the children collected in them. While we make no effort to proselytize these children, the relations between our missionaries and the school officers and children have been intimate and sympathetic.

Our superintendents, a Friend and his wife, have their home near the Shawnee government school ; they make visits from time to time to all the above stations, and receive monthly reports from each, which, as heretofore, are forwarded to the chairman of our committee on religious interests and education.

There are six monthly meetings, covering twenty-three particular or subordinate meetings of Kansas yearly meeting. Ten recorded ministers and some other interested Friends have had part in the gospel work. One thousand four hundred regular meetings have been held at the several meetinghouses during the year, and besides these 15 series of appointed meetings. There are 13 Bible schools, of which 8 were held throughout the year, with an average attendance of 37. Reports show a net increase of 34 members, of whom 15 are Indians, the Indian members showing a total of 491.

A boarding school for Indian children at Tunesassa, in western New York, which is in the care and support of Philadelphia yearly meeting, and the missions at Douglas and Kake Islands, Alaska, under Kansas yearly meeting, are both in active operation, but do not report to the Associated Committee. It may also be stated that three Friends from California meeting are now on their way to establish a mission at a point within the Arctic Circle.

The cash appropriations for Friends' work for Indians the past year, so far as may be here noted, amount to about \$10,000.

In visiting some of these schools last spring, it was gratifying to find that a high class of work was being done. A large number of

the teachers seemed to be of a high order of excellence, to be earnest and efficient in their calling, and not unmindful of their duties as true missionaries of the gospel.

The great needs are: first, a liberal addition to the force of efficient field matrons; and, second, a yet more complete annihilation of politics and spoils from all the agencies.

A report on Moravian Missions was given by Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel Amongst the Heathen, Bethlehem, Pa. :—

Moravian work in behalf of the native races of America embraces two distinct divisions, the Indians and the Eskimos. Amongst the former we have been active since 1735, uninterruptedly since 1740, with a record of glorious success in several eras, in each case rudely shattered by interference—sometimes bloody—on the part of the white men. The story of David Zeisberger, the apostle of the Delawares, is one of almost unparalleled interest and of almost unequalled pathos.

At present our Indian work is confined to five stations, served by thirteen missionaries who labor amongst Delawares, Munseys, Cherokees, and the Mission Indians of Southern California. In the case of the last named, our two missionary couples are connected with the work of the Women's National Indian Association.

Particular interest attaches to our mission amongst the Eskimos, begun in 1884 at the solicitation of Dr. Sheldon Jackson. Eskimo missions having been carried on by our church in Greenland ever since 1733, and in Labrador since 1770, Dr. Jackson turned to our Society at Bethlehem with a request to take in hand the thus far neglected Eskimos of Alaska. The then practically unknown region of the Kuskoquin and Nushagak Rivers, south of the Yukon, was selected. Amongst the five pioneers went the Rev. John Henry Kilbuck, a full-blooded Indian from Kansas, descended from Gelelemend, a chief of the Delawares in the Forks of the Delaware in Pennsylvania about 150 years ago. Mr. Kilbuck was a graduate of our college and theological seminary, and had served as a missionary for a few months amongst his own people in Ontario, Canada. One of the five pioneers was drowned in the Kuskoquin before their house was built. Before any converts had been won another missionary and his wife, Rev. Wm. Weniland, now doing splendid service at Banning, Cal., amongst the Mission Indians, had to withdraw on account of seriously impaired health. For a while Kilbuck and his wife held the fort alone, contending with the severities of a climate which in winter has reached 60 degrees of cold below zero, and with the difficulties of a language that has been compared to a combination of the growls of polar bears blended with the crunching of icebergs. But God blessed his zeal and fidelity. The first sign of any reward for his labor was given him on Good Friday, 1887. In

the best Eskimo at his command he was telling the blessed story, old yet ever new, and was trying to explain that God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, and that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin, when an old Eskimo interrupted him with the cry, "Thanks; we, too, want our badness washed away."

At present we have fifteen missionaries in this field, including two who are home on furlough. On the staff are a graduate of Hahnemann Medical College, Philadelphia, and two professional nurses. Four hundred and seventy patients were cared for last year. Three principal stations are occupied and seven outposts.

Our missionaries found the Eskimos filthy, degraded, cruel, the prey of the shamans, or medicine men, given over to superstition, seeing evil spirits in everything, even in rocks and trees, without knowledge of God and without hope for the future, and possessing very little of comfort in the present world. In the reeking atmosphere of their underground kashimas, or dugouts, sixteen or twenty feet square, twenty-four to thirty-six persons, representing three or four families, might cower over the fat lamps. Privacy and decency were unknown. The standard of morality was utterly low. A woman might have half a dozen husbands in turn before she settled down permanently. The aged and sick were simply taken outside of the village and exposed to death by cold and starvation, to hasten matters and to prevent a kashima from being haunted by the ghost of one who departed under its roof. The persons of the people literally swarmed with vermin.

Now more than six hundred baptized Christians meet daily for evening prayers in ten villages. Three schools are maintained, two of them boarding schools. The decencies of family life and the proprieties of civilization are beginning to be prized. The power of the shamans is broken; heathen rites have practically ceased on the lower Kuskoquin. Twenty-seven native assistants, two of them boys who were at Carlisle School,—David Skuviuk and George Nukachluk; married to Christian girls trained in missionary families,—are authorized to conduct services, and largely take charge of the affiliated outstations. On January 30th the first fruits of home mission work amongst themselves were gathered in the baptism of a convert at a village 80 miles from Bethel, the chief station, and up to that time served wholly by two native assistant missionaries, Neck and Sumpka by name.

For several years the mission at Bethel has had a sawmill in operation, the natives bringing logs and receiving planks in exchange. Thus it is hoped that gradually decent houses will become the rule.

That the Eskimos should become civilized in a mode exactly patterned after our own, is not to be expected. But they may well become civilized like the Laplanders. We are, therefore, deeply interested in Dr. Sheldon Jackson's project,—the introduction and distribution of domesticated reindeer throughout Alaska. We desire to see this succeed, not only as a civilizing medium, and as

furnishing a permanent food supply (the present sources of food being threatened with gradual extinction), but also as a means of freight and postal connection. At present we have a regular exchange of mail with the Kuskoquin only once a year. For supplies our mission is dependent on the ships of the Alaska Commercial Company. Notice has been received that these will no longer be sent to the Kuskoquin, all trade being diverted to the Yukon by the gold fever. It is very desirable that a freight and postal route connect Northern Alaska with the southern coast of the Aleutian Peninsula, where steamers now touch monthly in winter and fortnightly in summer. This connection will be practicable by reindeer in winter. Since the civilization of Arctic and sub-Arctic Alaska is intimately connected with the distribution of the reindeer, we earnestly hope that this conference will again indorse Dr. Jackson's far-sighted philanthropic measure, and request Congress to enlarge its appropriation for its more adequate prosecution.

Whilst the element of time is needed to disclose the ultimate result of efforts to Christianize and civilize the Eskimos of Alaska, we are already at a sufficient distance from the inception of the work, in time and in degree, to warrant the assertion that here, as elsewhere, Christ has been disclosed to be the hope of the world, and of the lower races in particular, body, soul, and spirit. When with the co-operation of the Divine Spirit you plant in the heart of the savage the germ of saving faith, and are instrumental in the regeneration of an immortal soul in heathendom, you have dropped an exceedingly fertile seed in receptive soil. Regeneration carries with it elevation and education, appreciation of, and desire for, culture and civilization,—ultimately, in fact, everything, for the image of God again begins to emerge in man from beneath the disfigurement of barbarism and sin.

The Mennonite Mission Board presented the report of its Indian work by Rev. A. B. Shelly, Secretary:—

The work of the Mennonite Mission Board among the Indians has been continued during the present year as before. Our schools are now filled to their full capacity, and a number of children had to be refused admittance for want of room. Both the Cheyennes and Arapahoes sent an earnest request to have an additional school established at Cantonment, O. T., so that each tribe might have its own school, and that all their children might be accommodated. But as a government Indian school will shortly be erected at Cantonment, our board will not extend its school work at this place. A number of youths have during the present year accepted the Christian religion, and show the effects of a change of heart by their upright, moral, and Christian conduct.

Besides the educational work, which also includes industrial training, mission work among adult Indians is continued with increased energy. If we compare the condition of our Indians to-day with what they were a decade ago, a great change for the better is

seen. The Indians have been morally, socially, intellectually, and to some extent spiritually elevated.

A new mission station has been erected in the vicinity of Arapahoe, O. T., during the past summer.

The work among the Moqui Indians, at Oraibe, Arizona, is progressing slowly. The field is hard, yet not hopeless. Besides our own missionary, two missionaries sent there by the Women's Indian Association have of late been engaged. Besides these, Mr. and Mrs. Collins are doing good work.

The Women's Executive Committee of the Board of Domestic Missions of the Reformed Church in America made the following report:—

Our board inaugurated work among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians of Oklahoma in 1895. Rev. Frank Hall Wright, who is himself half Indian (Choctaw), is the missionary. A grant of 15 acres on the government reservation at Colony has been given to the denomination, and a church and parsonage have been erected. The church was organized and dedicated last November with 22 members, Indian and white, and now there are about 40 communicants. A Sunday school of over 120 scholars was organized, the superintendent and several teachers being connected with the government school.

While the centre of work is at Colony, Mr. Wright has a large field among the blanket Indians; and feeling the need of a helper, the committee in May last called the Rev. Walter C. Roe and his wife, who have entered upon this work with consecrated zeal.

Indian Work by the Protestant Episcopal Church was reported as follows:—

In the great territory of Alaska this church has work among the Indians and Eskimos along the Yukon River, and north of the Arctic Circle at Point Hope. Bishop Rowe was led to turn his attention this last summer to the Yukon district, and was on the ground almost at the breaking out of the gold fever. He wrote from Unalaska on his return journey that he had found the work more satisfactory and encouraging than during the previous year, and the workers more full of encouragement with regard to results.

The year has been marked, among other things worthy of note, by the successful beginning of the work of the Woman's Auxiliary. Regular meetings have been held, and the interest of the members has been unfailing.

From Point Hope, Dr. Driggs reports that on his return to duty, a year before, he received a joyful and hearty welcome from the natives on his arrival at St. Thomas' Mission, Point Hope, our most northern outpost. The doctor has erected a new home for himself at this place, in the building of which natives and a few white men present assisted. The interest shown in the Sunday

services has been very marked during the year, the average attendance being between 120 and 125. Only a few years ago these people had never known of the true God, but now there is scarcely a family at Point Hope but prays to him. Dr. Driggs says: "I doubt if there is a single city or village in the United States where the ratio to the total population of those who attend worship on Sundays, has been as large the past winter as it has been here on Point Hope."

In Arizona, missionary work is carried on among the Navajo Indians at Fort Defiance, and among the Mojave Indians on the Colorado River. Miss Eliza W. Thackara, in charge of the hospital at Fort Defiance, is doing most excellent work.

In the diocese of Fond du Lac, the oldest Indian work is being carried on among the Oneidas. As an indication of the progress that has been achieved in this district, a congregation of 1,000 baptized persons has been gathered and nearly two hundred communicants.

In North Dakota, missionary work is carried on among the Chippewas, Sioux, Mandans, and four other tribes.

In Oklahoma, among five tribes numbering in all 66,289 Indians, Christian work has been carried on with gratifying results.

The memorable event of the year in South Dakota was the completion, or near completion, of twenty-five years of service by five clergymen and two ladies. The board has already taken pleasure in expressing its high sense of the value of such prolonged and faithful service. Bishop Hare expressed his own great pleasure, and was happy to place on record the cordial generosity of the friends who enabled him to present to each of these faithful laborers a check for \$100 as a memento of this interesting event.

The building of St. Elizabeth's School, Standing Rock Reserve, was on January 26th entirely destroyed by fire. So soon as the disaster became known, however, sympathetic aid began to pour in from all quarters, till more than twenty dioceses were represented in gifts, from Maine to California, from Minnesotá to Georgia. These gifts, together with the insurance of \$5,000, enabled the Bishop to rebuild the school, which is now almost completed.

In South Dakota is by far our largest Indian mission. It reaches 13 tribes. The field is divided into ten separate divisions, each of these being under the supervision of a clergyman. The several congregations, except the central one of the division, are in the immediate charge of native deacons, catechists, or helpers. Connected with the mission are four Indian boarding schools averaging 50 pupils each, to whom religious instruction is given daily. Out of a population of about 25,000 Indians, 9,476 in all have received baptism, and nearly 3,000 have been confirmed. As an indication of their own sincerity and earnestness, these Christian Indians not only aid in supporting their native clergy, but also send contributions for domestic and foreign missions. Let it be said to their credit also that not a church or chapel among them is encumbered by debt or mortgage. Services are held at 55 stations and sub-sta-

tions at least once each Sunday, either by the clergy or their Indian helpers, and occasionally in 25 other places. The only case of discipline that has ever occurred among the native clergy was the deposition this year of one of them.

In Southern Florida, work is maintained among the Seminoles in the Everglades.

In Wyoming, Rev. Sherman Coolidge reports the work among the Arapahoes as quite encouraging.

Rev. Charles F. Thompson, D.D., made a brief report for the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, and Rev. A. P. Foster, D.D., made a report on the Indian work of the American Sunday-school Union, as follows :—

The American Sunday-school Union has been at work in this country for seventy-three years, and, first and last, has given much attention to the Indians. So far as I have been able to ascertain, it has at present seven missionaries at work, four being in the Indian Territory, one in Michigan, one in South Dakota (neither of these two, however, devoting their whole time to the Indians), and one among the Indians in Washington.

The work of the society is somewhat peculiar. It does not attempt original work among heathen Indians; but it proposes, where they have been partially Christianized and brought to some knowledge of the truth, there to organize among them a Sunday school, which shall stimulate them to do Christian work. In other words, it finds Christian activities for young people who have come from Eastern schools. Over 100 schools have been organized among the Indians in the Indian Territory, there being a more fruitful field for this kind of work there than among any other portion of our Indian population.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

BY OSCAR E. BOYD.

The Church, through its missionaries, has been working upon this problem for many years, and has made great progress. New methods have been added to the first effort of simple gospel preaching in their own tongues, until at the present time almost every known and approved method is used. The mind, the heart, and the hand have each been brought under civilizing and Christianizing influences, and the good work cannot be overstated.

The government has also been trying to solve this problem, and it will be generally admitted that in reaching its present status many mistakes have been made. The most serious mistake of all was that of recognizing the Indians as so many different nations, and entering into treaties with them as such. If this had not been done the problem might have solved itself by this time, largely, perhaps,

by amalgamation with immigrants from foreign lands. Dealing with them in their tribal relations, holding for them large amounts of trust funds, and being under treaty obligations to feed, clothe, and care for them generally, it became necessary to appoint agents to carry out these obligations. These agents being the appointees of the government, the situation became a political one, and soon the whole system became one of systematic robbery of the Indian, with all the attendant evils of debauchery and pauperism. The Indian became a prey to bad men, and was not only robbed and degraded, but in his downfall he involved many of the neighboring white people who had dealings with him. Again, the bad faith of the government in breaking treaties has cost our nation many valuable lives, and produced a bitter hatred in the minds of the natives. The cost in money to the government in putting down Indian rebellions, has been many times greater than the amount that would have been required for their education.

The present attempt to solve the problem, by education, literary and industrial, by giving the Indians land in severalty, granting them citizenship, making laws for their guidance and protection, and compelling them to work for their living as any other men must do, is a great advance on former methods.

But the final solution cannot be reached until further advance is made. The government will not be successful until it has entirely separated the Indian work from politics. To this end all good friends of the Indian should work and pray. We must take this whole Indian question out of politics, both national and ecclesiastical. No party should appoint the men who manage these affairs, and no church should dictate the policy to be pursued, or subsist upon government appropriations. The Indians must be placed upon the same basis as to politics and religion as any other people, native or foreign born. The government should cease to feed and clothe them, except possibly for a time, in some special cases. The schools should be enlarged, improved, and increased in number until all the children are provided for. The laws should be made to operate for them the same as for any other citizen or foreign resident. The funds belonging to the tribes, now held in trust by government, should be distributed wisely among them as soon as it is safe to do so. This distribution might be made in the way of buying them homes and useful equipment for self-help. It is a law which God has laid down for the elevation of mankind that each man must mainly lift up himself by his own effort, and the Indian is not an exception. It is one of God's fundamental laws that if a man will not work, neither shall he eat. The endeavor, therefore, to induce the Indian to work is essential if he is ever to be a man among men.

After all, the real hope of a final solution of the problem must be through the preaching and teaching of the Word of God, by his Church implanting in their minds that God is both good and just, and that he is willing to save through Christ all that are down-trodden. Purely secular education and work will never elevate a

people to their highest and best development. "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

Mrs. W. W. Crannell called attention to the case of some Indians of New York State who had been imprisoned in Albany for selling liquor, but she had not been able to learn that the white men who sold liquor to the Indians had also been arrested.

President Dreher, of Roanoke College, called attention to the fact that the charter of William and Mary College, in Virginia, provides for the education of Indians as well as for white men.

Adjourned.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Evening, October 14.

THE Conference was called to order at eight o'clock by Mr. Garrett. Miss Myra H. Avery, of Poughkeepsie, made an address.

THE EARLY NEW YORK INDIANS.

BY MISS MYRA H. AVERY.

I shall say a few words about the early Indians of New York, because to one who, in her somewhat promiscuous digging, has discovered unexpected mines of interest, the temptation to share and share alike with friends is very great.

As you know, five Indian nations once occupied the territory which ultimately became the State of New York. Among them were the Onondagas, whose chief sachem, Hiawatha, made overtures toward a federation with the Mohawks. Afterwards the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Senecas joined the league, signing the compact with their several symbols,—a bear, a forked stick, a calumet, and a spider.

In 1524 this confederacy claimed that it had already existed for six generations. The Indians which comprised it were given by the French the generic name of Iroquois, and it is a remarkable fact that when first known to Europeans this federation numbered 12,000 souls, and that according to present statistics that number stands now, 375 years later, precisely as it did then. This fact, I may add, is not given me directly from the Department of the Interior, but I nevertheless believe the information to be entirely trustworthy. It must be borne in mind that many of these Iroquois are now living in the Dominion of Canada.

In 1715 the Tuscaroras of North Carolina joined the Union, and were given a portion of land lying between the Cayugas and the Senecas. They thus became the sixth nation.

At the close of the seventeenth century all the Indian tribes from Hudson's Bay to the present State of Tennessee, or, by the authority of at least one historian, all the red men from Lake Superior to the Isthmus of Darien, recognized the domination of these Iroquois. They styled themselves "The People of the Long House," referring, probably, to the great amount of territory they occupied;

which territory, by reason of its extent, was already a truly imperial domain,—fit material for the making of an Empire State. The Iroquois lived in friendly relations with the Dutch until the administration of Director General Kieft, in 1637. That the grave disorders among the Indians under his rule were due to his misguided severity, is evidenced by the fact that the doughty Dominie Bogardus (one of the earliest clergymen sent to New Amsterdam), who had felt impelled to denounce the Director General Van Twiller as “a child of the devil,” and to threaten him with “such a shake from the pulpit as would make him shudder,” was also led, in view of Kieft’s lack of administrative wisdom, to exclaim in his pulpit, “What are the great men of the country but vessels of wrath and fountains of trouble?”

But in 1687 there came a change for the better, and we get our first glimpse of an Indian commissioner, in reality though not in name, when Peter Schuyler, the uncle of General Philip Schuyler of the Revolution, was appointed the recognized representative of the colony in its conferences with its red allies. He, by his courage and sagacity, as well as by his friendship for them and trust in them, was able so to win their confidence that they called him “Brother Quider.” At first he represented the white men in their negotiations with the red; but afterwards, in 1710, he went to England with five of their leading sachems, to represent their interests at the court of St. James. He had, therefore, a double claim to the distinction of first Indian commissioner.

The principles of Peter Schuyler, if not the precise office, were inherited by Colonel William Johnson, afterward Sir William Johnson, who lived among the Mohawks as one of them, and was adopted by them as their war chief. Later he gathered 100 families about him, calling the settlement Johnstown, which name it still bears. He gave land for churches, assisted Wheelock in his Indian school, settled controversies, negotiated treaties, quelled outbreaks, and, in fact, formed in himself a complete government, legislative, executive, and judiciary. (And here I will say, in passing, that in preparing an historical paper, which I gave five years ago, I discovered many interesting facts concerning Eleazer Wheelock, who not only established an Indian school, but was the founder of Dartmouth College, and became its first president. These facts I should have taken great pleasure in giving here, had I known earlier than this evening that he was a direct ancestor of our hostess, Mrs. Smiley.)

After Schuyler’s valuable services were lost to the colony, troubles with the Iroquois broke out with fresh bitterness, and because of his ascendancy over them, Johnson was given, in 1796, the appointment of superintendent of Indian affairs. That some of the evils of the present day existed a century and a half ago, is evident when it is stated that he was also given the chief command of the New York troops, and held the incongruous position of contractor of supplies for both.

In 1764 the great unpronounceable Kayoderasseras patent, cov-

ering 700,000 acres, obtained by the Six Nations by grant of 1708, was brought into dispute, and to settle the controversy, Johnson, the first Mr. Smiley, called a conference in 1768, when he invited the Governors of New York and its neighboring colonies to meet the delegates of the Six Nations and those of the Delawares and Shawanese—about 900 braves—as delegates, and with from 3,200 to 4,000 warriors in attendance, as variously estimated by the historians. This great predecessor of these yearly conferences at Lake Mohonk, met 129 years ago in this province, and not remote from where we are sitting. A further parallel between then and now is found in the fact that that ancient conference took place in this very month of October, opening on the fourth of the month, and continuing its sessions until the early days of November. You will see that the analogy is not complete, since in the great conference of the last century the Indians greatly predominated, while in Mr. Smiley's nineteenth century conferences the guests are chiefly friends of the Indian, or are counted as such, because of our great interest in them. All these statements are preliminary to the inquiry if it is simply a remarkable coincidence that the original, important conference was held at almost the same place, and at quite the same time of the year as now, or did our host already know these facts, and invite his guests in accordance with them? At any rate, in this golden month of the year, and not far from here, they met. I grieve to say that, since times were dark, so far as we know, no women met with them.

I do want to add that the Indians were, in at least one respect, more enlightened than their white brethren, and even then admitted women to their councils. Indeed, so prompt are they to recognize merit without distinction of age, sex, or color, that they in 1891 received a *white* woman as a member of their council, she being accorded "full legal privileges" as chief, custodian, and adviser of the Six Nations. Her grandfather was adopted into the tribes more than 100 years ago, in a way we must believe honorable to himself, since the Indian name given him, Tywe, signified "honest trader." A noble strain in the family seems to be further indicated by the Indian name given to her father, signifying "bravest boy," and culminates in that given to herself in 1880, when she was publicly received into the Snipe clan as "bearer of the law." Honesty, bravery, intelligence,—truly an honorable succession. No wonder that for her legislative work in protecting the landed interests, the territorial boundaries of the tribes, the title of Chief Ya-ie-na-noh, "she watches for us," was in 1891 conferred upon her.

I would not like to be held responsible for the pronunciation of these Indian names, and I have therefore, as far as possible, avoided using them in the brief account I have given of the first Indian Commissioner, the first Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and the first great Indian Conference.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE INDIAN.

BY REV. T. L. CUYLER, D.D.

For fifteen years this Mohonk Conference has been the pilot house of this great enterprise for civilizing, elevating, and Christianizing the Indians. From this pilot house discerning eyes have looked out upon the wants and the woes of that suffering race, and sturdy hands have held the tiller, and kept the ship on an even keel. Some of those hands—the hands of the heroic Armstrong, who gave his life for the black man and the red man, of President Hayes, General Fisk, Austin Abbott—have been stricken down. Let us be thankful that new hands are coming all the time to grasp the rudder, and keep the ship up steadily to the wind.

But this Conference not only has a prodigious influence all over the land on the welfare of a wronged race,—it seems to my mind to illustrate one or two very important thoughts for us as followers of Jesus Christ. It is worth coming up to Mohonk just to see a beautiful exhibition of practical Christian unity. I suppose if I were to call the roll of denominations here, to every one of them somebody would answer. Organic unity may be an iridescent dream; and, indeed, in these days it seems as if the army of Jesus Christ must be broken into different denominations to do its most effective work. But sectarianism fires right through the lines: Christian unity fires the common shot against the common foe. The only way to bring about absolute Christian unity is to set God's people working together. Hitch up four or five horses at the fence, and they will fall to biting and kicking. Harness them to a team, and give them a heavy load to pull up a steep hill, and they have got something else to do than bite and kick. That is the only way to get Christian unity; and as long as we have that, I would not care the toss of a copper for that dream of organic union.

And we are brought up here, I think, to get a new lesson in Christian responsibility: the responsibility of the strong to bear the burdens of the weak; of the cultured to teach the ignorant; of those that have a footing to help up God's poor cripples. Glorious old Paul (he has his successors here to-night. I believe, Presbyterian as I am, in a certain kind of "apostolic succession!")—glorious old Paul said, "I am a debtor to the barbarian, and to these bondsmen of sin and Satan." He paid that debt with his heart's blood! To-day, at New Haven, the American Board is declaring the responsibility of the church of America for the vast mass of benighted heathen. To-day Mohonk declares Christian responsibility for our brothers and sisters on the prairies and among the mountains. Christian responsibility teaches the only way to meet civil duties or Christian duties. There is a great deal said in our time about political corruption, the despotism of bosses, the degeneracy of legislatures, and so on. Who is responsible? Every Christian citizen who neglects before God to do his duty!

For long years our poor copper-faced brother-at-law has been robbed

and wounded, and flung out into the thickets naked. God knows that it ought to crimson the American cheek with shame! For years that has been going on, and the political Levites went by on the other side. Political parties put into their platforms gold, and greenbacks, and wool, and hides, and negroes, and Cubans; tell me when the Indian has been there! The Indian is forgotten even in the platforms of the political leaders of our country. Yet though the Levite leaves him neglected, and the politicians have passed him by as he lay wounded in the thickets, God has sent up to this beautiful mountain-top some of his good Samaritans, to look over the land and call God to witness that you stand for the rights of the wronged, for the elevation of the neglected, for the Christianization of the heathen on our own soil, and for doing to this vanishing race what God puts it into our hearts as Christians to do. Daniel Webster said the greatest thought that could take hold of a human mind is responsibility to God; the greatest thought that can take hold of the Church of Jesus Christ is the responsibility to bring this old sinning and suffering world and lay it at his feet. Let us be filled with that thought, and then this Conference will be not only a business convention, but a season of spiritual quickening, and uplift, and joy.

In a corner of these beautiful gardens you will see a little group of deer, the last remnant of the hundreds that once roamed over these mountains and valleys. That little remnant are tenderly cared for by our beloved friend and host. Shall a little remnant of red deer be cared for, and the last remnant of red humanity be left to starve for "the bread of life"? be cast out into the cold and left to perish? God forbid! How much more is a man better than a deer!

Good friends, let us go home with a new baptism of brotherly love, and feeling a new sense of great responsibility. For while this work calls for patience, and faith, and wisdom, and undying zeal, it involves this comfort, that God is on our side, and that in the end we must win.

" We may die or be forgot;
Work done for God, that dieth not."

Mr. Garrett announced the subject for the evening's discussion to be "The Consolidation of the Indian Bureau, and the Abolition of Unnecessary Agencies." Mr. Herbert Welsh was invited to open the subject. Mr. Welsh spoke as follows.

THE NEXT STEP IN CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

BY HERBERT WELSH.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Conference.—Before those who are engaged in any important work proceed to a fresh advance, it is not amiss to pause for a moment and indulge in a brief retrospect. Such consideration will often aid us to make

our advance, not only with that decision which comes from knowledge and from clear and definite thought, but with confidence and with energy.

If we look back over the history of this Conference, there is one of its achievements which produces on the minds of many of us a pre-eminently strong impression. Some years ago we advanced the idea that merit should be the controlling thought and purpose in the Indian service. The service was then regarded not primarily with a view to benefiting the Indians, but with a view to finding places for political dependents of whatever party was in power. The mere statement of this condition is enough to show that no effective work could be accomplished under it. Wherever an earnest, intelligent, energetic man or woman was found in the service, trying to do the work of civilization, there always came in political influence which at any moment might sweep them away. In every case where there was a change of administration it did come forward, and swept almost every person out of the service; so that one great element which should exist in any successful human enterprise—reward for merit, continuity, possibility of growth, inducement to labor—was wholly lacking in the Indian service. I well remember when first, on the floor of this assembly, the plea was made for the acceptance of the principle of merit, which we call Civil Service Reform, it was looked upon, even by the friends of the Indian, as a new thing, uncertain in its effects, and by some it was opposed.

What a change has been wrought from that day to this! We may say that all friends of the Indian, of whatever political party, however differing in opinion on other subjects, unite, in the main, in this idea that merit, and not political opinion, should be the controlling factor in the appointment of persons to the Indian service. We have seen that principle recognized more and more, not by one party, but by both. It was not immediately recognized; no great reform moves with unflinching quickness and unflinching certainty. It is like the movement of the tides; it has its minor retrogressions at the same time that in the main it steadily advances. But I know nothing more encouraging than to look back over these years of effort, and to see, through all the incidental failure that it has been ours to contend with, the steady recognition of this principle. Day by day, like some great natural process, it is doing its excellent work; and it will continue until it entirely triumphs.

We had last night the report of Dr. Hailmann. In Dr. Hailmann personally we see the idea of the merit service. Originally, in looking for a superintendent of Indian schools, a trained educator was not sought. But Dr. Hailmann was brought forward by Dr. Harris, of the National Bureau of Education, himself a Republican, entirely without political considerations, and he was appointed by a Democratic president. You can see the advantage of such a choice in the knowledge and the power which lay back of those simple, crisp sentences which showed the principles, based on a sound philosophy, which are at work in the Indian school service. It takes no great knowledge or imagination to see the importance of con-

tinuity in carrying forward that work. Suppose, in obedience to the old spoils idea, this gentleman's removal could be dictated simply from political considerations? Even if it were possible to place in his position one equally capable, equally experienced, equally well informed, would there not be loss? Is there not a serious necessary loss which comes from upsetting plans before they have matured?

I want to point back to this element of growth in our work, because unless we consider it we are not ready really to advance. We come here, I take it, not simply for a love feast, good and helpful as such things are. We come here in a spirit of consecration, to try to bring this Indian service to a point where it shall do its perfect work. We are not content, no matter what the difficulties may be that beset us, until we have overcome them; until we have, out of frank hearts and well-informed minds, accomplished the full measure of our work, with such strength as God gives us. And I take it, moreover, that we recognize the dignity of our position, with no feeling of self-conceit, but with a knowledge of the power that ought to be, that really is, in our hands. We are representative of the citizenship of the United States; otherwise we have no right to meet here. If we do meet here armed with that high consideration, spurred forward to action by the sense of our responsibility, then we ought to be stimulated to a higher and nobler effort in proportion to the difficulty that faces us.

I think that we have work still to do. As this merit idea goes forward in the slow accomplishment of its purpose, we ought to consider certain great structural difficulties which are facing us and which tend to impede it. They were clearly and tersely, and to my mind convincingly, pointed out by Mr. Leupp. If you have any great work to do, you want a unification in the power by which it is done. If an army is to fight an enemy in the field, the first thing we scrutinize is the general at the head of that army. All the vast resources of the United States, all the lives that were poured out, were not enough to accomplish the quelling of the great rebellion until a strong man was placed at the head of our armies. Then lesser men worked in harmony and in unity of spirit with him, and finally the great result was achieved. In every human enterprise you find illustrations of the same thought. No business is successful without a powerful man at the head of it to plan its work and to carry plans into execution.

Now, what are the conditions that face you in finishing your Indian work? They are conditions which, it seems to me, absolutely prevent that work from being done in the most economical, simple, and effective manner. In considering this matter there is no question of personality. But Mr. Leupp showed you yesterday that the Secretary of the Interior has the care of some 14 bureaus, a very few of which would be sufficient for the careful and thorough work even of a very able and highly experienced man. And in addition to these, he has the charge of the great Indian question, with all its complications. He showed you also that in the Interior Department there is a large corps of clerks who have

practically the power to hold up decisions which have been reached in the Indian office after mature consideration, and to subject them to delays which are not only irritating, but subversive of a good service.

Now, my proposal is simply this: that the friends of the Indians, who have studied this question carefully, who come from all parts of this country, who therefore are fitted, not to dictate to, but to consult with, those in authority, should ask that certain very simple things should be done. Every good thing which has been accomplished in the Indian service has been accomplished when the sentiment of the people of the United States, expressed by individual men and women, has been trained upon Washington, and has made its influence felt there.

We have an Indian Commissioner. The very term would seem to imply that he is charged with certain powers for the doing of this Indian work. But when you look at this position carefully, you find that he has hardly the powers of a higher clerk. My proposal would be to make this Indian Bureau, to a greater or less extent, independent of the Interior Department, and to clothe it with larger powers. The Commissioner should be charged with the main responsibility for doing the Indian work. You have introduced, through pressure from year to year, this idea of appointment by merit and not for political service; of retention because of merit, instead of casting out of the service under the pressure of partisanship. Now simply complete that great principle by asking that the Indian Commissioner, the man who is to finish this great work of the civilization of the Indian for the people of the United States, shall also be separate from political considerations. The people of the United States need to put in that place the very best man that can be found. I believe our present Commissioner is an excellent man. If he prove so I should desire him to be retained. Therefore we would ask the President of the United States, in future years, when that choice is made, to make the selection upon that ground only. The request can be made with all courtesy; it is clearly within our right as citizens to make it; and I am perfectly sure that success will simply depend upon the earnestness and tenaciousness with which it is made.

Then when you have the Indian Bureau, with a strong man at the head, charged with power and responsibility, if it fails in its stewardship every one in the United States can look to that Bureau and that Commissioner and put the blame where blame belongs. In all our great cities the idea is growing that the mayor of the city should be charged with large responsibility. The old idea, that the responsibility should be diffused among various boards, has worked very badly, because no responsibility could really be located, and inefficient work was hidden under diffused authority. Precisely the same idea ought to rule in our Indian Bureau, so that work may be efficiently done and plans carried out to their legitimate end. No army can win great victories unless there be unity in that army. No business enterprise can reach great success

unless the same conditions exist there. If the work of the Indian Bureau is not done as economically as it ought to be done, it comes first of all from the fact that the structural conditions are not right; and, second, from the fact that the friends of the Indian do not sufficiently hold together to ask, to urge, and to secure such a great reform as this.

I have purposely put this proposition in broad and simple outlines. I do not want to be confused with details, or to confuse you with them. But, from my own experience and the knowledge of others which has been brought before me, I am profoundly convinced that something in this line ought to be done if our work is to be efficiently conducted, and if this great principle of merit, which our effort for fifteen years has brought so far on the road to success, shall reach its full and glorious fruition.

Mrs. Amelia S. Quinton, President of the Women's National Indian Association, was next introduced.

THE ABOLITION OF UNNECESSARY AGENCIES.

BY MRS. A. S. QUINTON.

I am very glad to second the suggestions that have been made by Mr. Welsh. All who have worked for Indians have scores of times come against the great difficulties named in the way of the service. A great deal has been gained, and constant rejoicing has been felt by all interested in Indian affairs; but there is still a vast waste of effort, and there are hindrances in many directions, as you have been shown by the illustrations given. There is power enough in this Mohonk Conference, if nowhere else, to carry the reforms needed to completion; to put power where it ought to be; to make some one responsible for the finishing of the needed work. If such power were localized the Indian work could be speedily done, at least so far as the machinery, the general principles, are concerned. The working out of details would take time, of course. The reservation system is "going, going," and it ought sometime to be "gone." If there could be responsible power somewhere to appeal to, the whole work might be done within the lifetime of some who wear the crown of glory already.

We have been told repeatedly by Indian officials that there are at least a dozen Indian agencies that could be spared with advantage to the Indian. Those which have been named are the Hoopa, California, Agency; that at Shiletz, Oregon; the Warm Springs and the Umatilla in the same State; the Sisseton and Yankton Agencies, of Dakota; the Western Shoshone, of Washington; the Pottawatamie, of Kansas; the Quapaw and Seneca, of Indian Territory, and the Mission Indians Agency of California. These Indians are said to be prepared for the change. Nearly all of these reservations have government Indian boarding schools, so that each

superintendent could act as a "nearest friend" to the Indians during the transitional stage. The agency is a beneficial institution just so long as it is necessary; it is a vast hindrance when no longer necessary. The agency period is one of tutelage, of political childhood for the Indians, and the sooner they can get on their own feet and look after their own affairs the better. The Omahas many years ago asked that they might be permitted to conduct their own affairs, as they saw other men do. That was most interesting, because, underneath was the manly sense of power, the desire to be the architects of their own destiny. But the agency system should not in any case be abolished too soon, or we should have more tragedies like that of Jackson's Hole. Those which I have named are said by officials to be ready at the present moment for the change. This Conference might well form a resolution expressing itself strongly in favor of diminishing the number of agencies in this gradual and rational way.

I am asked to speak also of the missionary work of The Women's National Indian Association. It is known to many members of this Conference that our missionary work has always been in tribes unhelped religiously by any other organization. It has been going on thirteen and a half years, and more than forty stations in all have been opened, in thirty different tribes. Everywhere it is just such lonely work as you have heard of this morning. It is domestic instruction six days in the week, and religious instruction is under and through it all. The results cannot be told in statistics; we cannot put the working of heaven into statistics. When a mission becomes established, we turn over its property and work to some one of the home missionary societies of the churches. In some instances our society has given a cottage, or a salary, to some missionary society, enabling that society to open a missionary station sooner than it could otherwise do.

Our mission in Upper California began with a day school for 12 pupils, and recently, having 87 pupils, its property was sold to the government, and a plant to cost over \$20,000 has been ordered. That school has been a mission in every sense to the pupils and to the neighborhood as well; and the teachers and other friends have done real missionary work among the parents of the pupils.

Our Maine auxiliary has been at work for the Shawnees of the Indian Territory. The Massachusetts Association had a work among the prisoners at Mount Vernon, Alabama, of whom we have heard to-day. These are now at Fort Sill, very near the Segur Colony, where the wonderful work of Captain Hugh Lenox Scott is being done. On their removal from Mount Vernon the Massachusetts auxiliary took up work among the Hualapai Indians, probably the poorest tribe in the country, and excellent service is rendered there. At various points we have had the co-operation of government, not in furnishing money, but in setting apart land, and in some instances granting us the use of buildings not otherwise needed.

Our Rhode Island auxiliary works among the Spokanes of

Washington, and our teacher there, Miss Helen Clark, is a genius in such duty. We have learned that the distinctions regarding woman's work are getting very much mixed, for Miss Clark is also a carpenter. One of the Indians said of her, "She come in one day, plank under her arm; you turn round, she make cupboard." Her wise and helpful influence has been felt in the farming and other industries, as well as in the schoolroom, where 48 of the 56 pupils the first year learned to read, and write, and sing, and pray in easy English, which was a wonderful achievement.

The Connecticut auxiliary, as you have heard, has an interesting and growing mission and school among the Bannocks and Shoshones of Idaho, of which it has had the entire management and support since 1888.

The New York City auxiliary has a mission among the Agua Caliente Indians of Warner's Ranch. The Brooklyn society has a mission in the desert of California, a literal desert,—white, glittering sand as far as the eye can reach. There we have a pretty little church and cottage, and now a water supply is being put in for irrigating the five acres, as well as for domestic purposes.

Our New Jersey auxiliary carries on work among the Moquis of Arizona. Of the two teachers, one is an industrial teacher, who came to Philadelphia, went through the woolen mills and learned weaving. Some ingenious young man whittled out for her a loom and spinning wheel, in small, and she can now give the pattern to an ordinary carpenter and have those things made. She proposes to teach the Moqui women to spin as our grandmothers did, that they may use the wool left, which they cannot sell, to make their own fabrics.

The Philadelphia and Kentucky auxiliaries, with the co-operation of government, have mission work still among the Seminoles of Florida, and over 6,000 acres of land have in this connection been bought for them by government. In upper California there is a mission among the Hoopa Valley Indians, under the care of our California auxiliary. Our national society expends about \$3,000 a year in missionary boxes and Christmas presents to make Christmas services; and these Christmas gifts go also to Indian schools, and in many instances they bring to the little brown children their first knowledge of the first Christmas. The association has helped thus seventy different tribes. The work of the eleven missions carried on this year has been full of interest, and there are new developments all the time, and many incidents of touching interest. From \$15,000 to \$28,000 a year have been expended in work, and 12 mission cottages, 6 chapels, and 2 homes for needy ones have been built in all.

The Indian children love the missionaries, and the grown people appreciate the work. Everywhere it needs further support, money, sympathy, prayers. Our friend Bishop Whipple said in 1879, when we sent our first petition to government, "These women are building larger than they know." It was true, dear friends, and simply because it was God's work. He has led it.

THE PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES.

BY HON. S. J. BARROWS.

Mr. President.—I suppose I am here to represent “the moral gloom of Washington,” to which allusion was made in the opening address of the President.

The last Conference I attended here was a black one, or a black and yellow one. This is a red one; I suppose the Arbitration Conference, with its flag of truce, might be called a white one. I did not have the pleasure of attending that; but I did have the pleasure this summer of representing the House of Representatives in that memorable conference abroad, made up of members of parliaments of the different countries of Europe, on the subject of arbitration, and of bringing to them the greeting of the conference that was held here.

I feel that I am to-night in a position which is interesting and delightful, but certainly very peculiar. This conference, so called, is really a school. Its object is to educate the law-making power, the Congress of the United States. There are a hundred and seventy-five persons in attendance, and of that number a hundred and seventy-four are teachers, and I am the only pupil. I rejoice that such provision has been made for my education, in such an admirable, such a delicate way! But I feel that I ought not to presume to speak before so many teachers; I have no “piece” prepared.

I have another responsibility. It is my duty to represent not only my living constituents, but some of the dead ones. I represent the district in which John Eliot, “the apostle to the Indians,” used to live; and we have in our old church the chair that he used to sit in;—and a very uncomfortable chair it is. And I have sometimes taken down, in the Harvard College Library, the old Bible that he translated with so much diligence, and patience, and consecration. It is a great responsibility to come from a district that has such memories and such inspiration. John Eliot is dead, and his Indians are gone. There are a few left down at Gay Head,—perhaps more negro than Indian,—who always show the quality of their civilization by voting the Republican ticket. John Eliot is dead, I said; but last night, as I heard Bishop Whipple, I thought, “No; he is not dead! That spirit of consecration and devotion is still living.” It will always live, whenever there is need of it. I will not call him a Western cyclone, for cyclones are not popular out there; I would rather call him a great electric dynamo, radiating light, and heat, and power. The apostolic spirit is upon him.

As I have gone back to those times of John Eliot, I have asked, Why should it take so long, this work of educating 250,000 Indians? I put this question to a prophetess who sits at my left at the dining-room table; and we all waited for the response. But with interesting agnosticism she said, “I don’t know.” Well, we do not

know. But sometimes I think it is because we have had not only to educate the Indian, but to educate the white man. The two have had to go hand in hand; and the education of the white man has been the more difficult task; the education in righteousness, in truth, in love, and in self-sacrifice.

Then I have asked myself also whether our machinery has been just right. I have a great deal of confidence in the Indian Bureau now, and a great deal of respect for it. But there was a time when I did not feel such respect and confidence, or rather for the ring with which it seemed to be surrounded. I suppose that Major Woodson, who now meets the Indian in other ways, has in earlier days met them with a rifle, and it was a part of his regular business to feel the bullets flying around him. But to me it was a very different business to be in several Indian battles,—not as a fighter, but as an historian,—and to feel that those bullets that flew so near, and that shot the men who were buried on the plain, were moulded at Springfield, Massachusetts, were sent out there, and were exchanged by rascally traders to the Indians, and used to fire on the American flag. It was not the fault of the poor Indian; those shots were fired from Washington. It only showed that the mistakes we had made, the injustice we had wrought, were coming back and being visited upon the whites.

I have asked sometimes, too, if there were not something wrong in our methods. We digest every year 500,000 people who come to our shores. We do not have an Irish Bureau or a Scandinavian Bureau to take care of them. We take them right into the life of our civilization. Why not the Indians? Some years ago, when I read a paper here at the Negro Conference, I laid emphasis on the fact that the negro was brought in where he could be assimilated with our civilization. He was denied his rights, to be sure, but he was brought in contact with the white man, and was ready to assume his privileges. We have now in the House of Representatives a man, White by name, but one of the blackest negroes you can find, enjoying his privileges there; but where is the Indian? Perhaps we have not had the right method; perhaps we should have adopted the method which my friend Mr. Wood has illustrated, and which my wife and I adopted some years ago in taking a little Indian boy into our hearts and our home. If 250,000 American families should open their doors to the Indians, what would become of the Indian question? And yet I do not know that I should want to see all those families wrenched apart, and exposed as individuals to the dangers of our civilization. But some more rapid method than that we have followed might have been used.

With what skill I possess, I have tried to avoid the question which has been propounded to me. It is not for me to assume, as a member of Congress, to criticise a co-ordinate department of the government; that is what we always say when we speak of the other departments. So I will reserve my opinion on this important question until I have had a little more time to consider it, and per-

haps have had time, as a member of the Indian Committee, to talk with the Secretary of the Interior. I wish that the chairman of that committee, Mr. Sherman, a man who is able and experienced, and has gifts of leadership and the confidence of the House, might be here to tell you something about the practical difficulties of legislation,—how he often has to compromise, and instead of getting what he would like has to be content with getting what he can. This compromise meets us everywhere. I am afraid some people think that the House of Representatives is not just what it ought to be. I have been a little surprised at the consideration that I have received here. It is not for me to defend the House; I have rendered no service which entitles me to do so. But we have here one who, in a long period of public service in both houses of Congress, has shown how a man, by uniting broad ideals with skill in practical legislation, may work for the glory of God and the good of his country. It is a pleasure to me to represent the State of Massachusetts, because such men as Senator Dawes, by working not merely for the interests of the state but for the whole nation, have added to the luster of the old commonwealth which they represent.

I want to close with a single illustration, which may seem not wholly just to the Indian. But it seems to show the way in which this whole question is going to be settled. I went across the ocean this summer, and sailing through the Straits of Belle Isle we saw a great fleet of fifty icebergs, in all the picturesque beauty of the sunlight glittering upon them. But they were a little dangerous; what should we do about them? Should we send for the government to have them blown to pieces? Should we try to bar them out, and keep them in the open zone in which they were floating? We took the more practical and negligent course; we let them alone, and went on our way. But there were other influences working, which moved them down into warmer oceans, where the sun could shine upon them and the warmer currents of the Gulf Stream could melt them. When we came back, two months later, there was not an iceberg there. So, it seems to me, this problem has shaped itself, of the relation of the Indian to civilization. It met our primitive settlers; they came face to face with this fleet, as it were, representing the tribal organization and tradition, floating in that ocean, standing in opposition to the little shallop of the early settlers. They had to look out for themselves; that was the first consideration. By and by we said, "We are a little stronger now; we will keep them out." So we kept them back in their own ocean, out of the way of our commerce and trade. We put them on a reservation, and kept them by themselves. But Providence had some other destiny for them. And so the providence of God, working with the providence of man, brings them down into a gulf stream of Christian sympathy, where the sunlight of God and the warmth of human hearts can smile upon them. And by and by they will all melt into the ocean of our national life, and help to bear up the ship of state which once they seemed to threaten. The

Indian will find his life in losing it; as some of you here will find, as some of you have found, your own lives in losing them for the Indian's sake.

The subject was then thrown open for discussion.

Bishop WHIPPLE said that he had fifty times visited Washington to tell of the wrongs of the Indians, often bringing some Indian chief, that he might tell his own story. Many of these visits were pitiable failures, simply because there was no one person who had personal responsibility. There were kind words and promises for the future, but the Indians went home with sorrowful hearts. There have been Indian Commissioners who were honest and faithful public servants; the last Commissioner was such a man. But when he was told of the wrongs that were being committed against the Sioux Indians he was powerless.

Mr. JENKINS thought it clear, from the statements which had been made and the facts known to many members of the Conference, that a grave defect existed in the arrangements for the supervision of the Indian service. The glaring fault is the absence of any real power or responsibility in the hands of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. It might be that the Commissioner had, in the course of time, been shorn of power, in order that political influence might more readily apply to Indian questions; in any case, such power should be restored. Mr. Jenkins approved the suggestion of Mr. Leupp and Mr. Welsh, that the Indian Department become a separate bureau, not under the control of the Secretary of the Interior, but responsible to the President alone. With a proper man as Commissioner, no President would be very likely to overrule him in any matter of importance.

Mr. SMILEY agreed with Mr. Welsh as to the difficulty arising from the frequent change of officers. He thought it a fundamental difficulty in the whole government. The President should be elected for six years, and then the heads of departments would be appointed for the same length of time. But he felt there was danger in assuming that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs would always be the best obtainable man. There had been one or two Commissioners who could not have been trusted with great power.

To make the Indian Commissioner, who has the charge of only 250,000 Indians, a cabinet officer would be absurd. The remedy is not that way. The Secretary of the Interior could remedy this whole matter, by allowing the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to be his adviser, and approving his work as he approves that of the land office, the pension bureau, or any other of the departments under his charge.

Mr. WISTAR said that in some little experience in Washington, and particularly in correspondence, he had seen, beyond a doubt, that something had come in between the Indian Bureau and the Secretary that was a great hindrance to good service. This incubus, which had grown up by degrees, should be done away. If this

Conference could do anything in that line, it would be greatly to the benefit of the service.

The two things most needed to-day in the Indian service were an increase in the fund for field matrons, and that some of the agencies should be done away.

Mr. Garrett explained that three members of the business committee had been obliged to leave the Conference. He nominated in their places Dr. Frissell and Dr. Shelton, who were elected.

The Conference then adjourned.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 15.

The Conference was called to order by the President, after morning prayers, at 10 A. M.

Mr. JOSHUA W. DAVIS said that, with the approval of the business committee, he would make a statement with reference to certain reservations where there was need of reform. In one agency thirteen relatives of the agent were in positions under salary. The matter has been brought to the attention of the administration. The excuse has been that that officer has been efficient for many years, and if he should be displaced there are worse ones behind him. There is another reservation from which pathetic appeals come that the people may be freed from the reign of an agent who, like several in succession, have been noted examples of immorality. The details of that case have been given to the Secretary of the Interior, and they are not denied; but there is a struggle whether the senator in that State shall have some appointee of his own, or whether the place shall be filled by some good man. Such cases point to our duty to put into our platform an earnest word to show that we are not satisfied with the present progress.

Mr. FRANK WOOD, of Boston, said that he was familiar with the first case, and that the facts had been understated; not only were there many of the relatives of the agent under pay, but they were not all efficient. Farmers were hired who could not tell carrots from cucumbers, and blacksmiths who had never worked at their trade.

Mr. SMILEY said that the Board of Indian Commissioners exists to look after such things, and the facts should be brought to the attention of the Secretary of the Interior by that Board.

Major Woodson was asked to address the Conference again.

Major WOODSON.—For many years appropriations have been made for the support of the large number of Indians who occupy reservations in the West. It would be reasonable to expect that, in the course of time, these Indians would have made such progress as to relieve the government of the necessity of these annual appropriations. The allotting of land in severalty, it was hoped, would induce the Indians to become self-supporting.

Tribal government simply serves to prolong barbarism, ignorance, and superstition. It is utterly useless to attempt to institute

progressive measures so long as they obtain. It is difficult to realize the universal subservience accorded by the members of the tribes to the sway of the Indian chiefs. If, therefore, you were to wait, as some people advocate, until the Indians are prepared for allotment, that time would never come. You heard yesterday, from Senator Dawes, of the difficulties attending his efforts to persuade the civilized tribes to accept allotments. If any Indians could be expected to accept land in severalty it would be civilized Indians. Then, how much can you expect from those who have been wedded to tribal relations from time immemorial, and who have been living in darkness and ignorance all their lives? My idea would be to dictate to all the course which is necessary and right. In 1891 allotments of land in severalty were made to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. But they really had no idea of what allotments meant. Never in their most vivid imaginations could they foresee what the results were to be; and, as I have already related, it became my duty to enlighten them as to the necessity of establishing permanent homes, and living in fixed abodes. It has been a herculean task. In all my experience I have had no greater one, and had it not been for the hope that my reward would come in the appreciation of the best people of the country and those men interested in the Indian, I should have given it up as a hopeless task. Indians who, a few years ago, were on the war path, and clothed in blankets, and whose every thought was inimical to that of the white man, are now living in permanent homes upon their own lands. When we contrast their present position with that of twelve years ago, it fills us with hope, and we can begin to appreciate the fact that allotments have accomplished some good.

Prior to the allotment of the land in severalty, a number of houses had been built by one of my predecessors; but they were simply shells, without ceilings or plastering, and in that dry country some of the cracks had become large enough to throw a cat through. The Indians did not care much to occupy them. If they used them at all they put their horses in the houses, while they lived in the tepees. The houses which have now been built with their help, are substantial in character, and make comfortable homes at all seasons. Water has been supplied where there was no water, from wells; wire fences have been erected; and the lands of the minor children, under certain restrictions, have been leased in some cases, and it has been my endeavor to have them leased to industrious farmers who could become object lessons to the Indians. In many instances these men have proved helpful to the Indians,—good neighbors, to whom the Indians go for advice and instruction about planting and harvesting. They also interchange farm implements.

I would like to impress the necessity of urging additional appropriations for field matrons. While they are necessary for the Indians on the reservations, they are doubly necessary for all allotted Indians. There the field matron is absolutely essential. She goes into the house, gives instruction in cooking and caring for the sick, in cutting and fitting clothing, in hygienic rules, etc. She is a most

important part of the organization. I cannot lay too much stress on the necessity of having additional field matrons.

It has been my purpose to employ Indians, as far as possible, in all positions available. As a result, I have Indians as assistant farmers, butchers, carpenters, herders, teamsters, and laborers, and in every position that can be filled by them.

These Indians conform to all the laws now, like white people, and fewer crimes are committed among them than among whites. With unlimited access to liquor, there is scarcely a case of drunkenness,—less than among the whites.

I want to say once more that in my opinion the allotment of lands to Indians in severalty is the only salvation for them, and the sooner it is done the better. In my opinion it should be made mandatory.

Mr. SMILEY said there were difficulties about allotting land to all the different Indians. The Navahoes, for instance, traveled a thousand miles every summer to feed their sheep. They cannot have lands in severalty. The Pueblos, who live in villages, had better stay there. In California there are parts where it would be impossible to give land in severalty. The desert Indians, who live where the thermometer runs up to 125 and 130 degrees in summer, are exceedingly attached to their homes there. There is no land but the desert. They live on the mesquite beans, grasshoppers, and various things of that kind. What could be done with them? In other parts, where land has been allotted in severalty, the Indians cannot get patents because the avarice of the white man comes in. In Nevada the land is of no value without expensive irrigation. If the land everywhere was like that of Oklahoma it could be allotted at once. Allotment, said Mr. Smiley, is going on as rapidly as is good for the Indians. What we lack to-day is what we had for fifteen or eighteen years,—one man in Congress who can stand for Indians; who is willing to give his hand and his heart to labor for them as our friend Senator Dawes has always done.

Rev. WM. S. HUBBELL said that there would be trouble in allotting land to the Indians in New York. There are about 6,000 Indians there on about 80,000 acres of land, which is increasing in value. A large part of the best land is occupied by the whites, who never mean to relinquish a foot of it. If it were given up by the whites and divided among the Indians there would be less than 5 acres to each. That is only one difficulty. The claim of the Ogden Land Company overshadows the title of all the Indians of New York, and the moment the tribal relation shall be dissolved the land might revert to that company. A few would like to take land in severalty. If they do so, and can find land and cease to belong to the tribe, they will be subject to suits from the Ogden Land Company. The Indians should have better industrial education in New York. Fortunately the privilege has been restored to them of going to Hampton and Carlisle, and last week a car load was taken to those schools.

Dr. BRUCE.—How do the Pueblo Indians support themselves?

Mr. SMILEY.—Pueblo Indians take care of themselves. They cultivate a little land around them. They live on the mesa. They are indisposed to live in the lowlands, they are so wedded to their peculiar life. They are on reservations in New Mexico. They were cheated out of some of the best land in the interest of the whites. In Colorado and Utah the people are trying to crowd the Indians off from the best lands. They are put where they are necessarily paupers, and they have got to be supported by rations, to the great shame of this country.

Rev. J. A. Lippincott, D.D., of Philadelphia, was asked to speak on "The Education of the Indian."

THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN INTO CITIZENSHIP: THE MOST EFFECTIVE SCHOOL.

BY REV. J. A. LIPPINCOTT.

An institution is to be judged, as is a mechanism, by its performance. A machine may have accomplished the work required of it yesterday to ample satisfaction, but be utterly unequal to the larger task required to-morrow. So, also, the device by which an accused man's peers were made judges of the facts charged by the prosecution may have served in a former age to defend the innocent against the encroachments of royal tyranny, yet the time may not be distant when the jury system will be made a veritable shelter and refuge of criminals. Let the institution be judged by what it actually accomplishes. So, too, the successful working of an institution may depend upon certain local colorings or the environment within which it operates. It is by no means a violent assumption, for instance, that a political organization, formed for the purpose of uniting the best elements of a community in an effort to secure valuable public results, may fall into the hands of a ring of corrupt politicians who will make it a means of exploiting schemes that reek with corruption. Hence, the caucus may in one locality secure good results, while in another it is to be wholly condemned, and condemned all the time. The public school, as it is generally established among us, gathers the children for instruction according to locality; that is, the pupils of a given school are made up, almost if not quite exclusively, of those who live in the immediate neighborhood. In this manner the peculiarities of any community are quite likely to be perpetuated, in part by the influence of the school itself. There may be schools, for instance, in certain coal-mining regions of Pennsylvania, which serve to prolong the modes of life and of thought prevailing in southeastern Europe in the midst of the freer institutions of our Republic. If the Hungarian language were also used in the schools, the Americanization of these people would seem a suffi-

ciently hopeless task. There is a wide portion of Philadelphia which is almost wholly occupied by Italians. The community is large enough to be isolated from the American civilization that surges all about it. Hence the language and the manner of life of the cities of southern Italy, out of the more squalid portions of which these people probably have come, are likely to be indefinitely maintained. How can the public school placed in the midst of this community have any considerable influence in Americanizing it? "Little Italy" will doubtless be perpetuated, in the face of all efforts to the contrary, the public school included. Indeed, unless most carefully guarded, the local school will become only a section of Little Italy itself. We do not hold that the school should be neglected; rather, if possible, let it be supplemented by other and more powerfully operative influences. How rapidly the work of Americanizing would go on if the children of these Italian peoples might be educated under circumstances that would at once isolate them from their present surroundings, and place them face to face with the best phases of our American life,—not for a few hours a day, but for every hour of every day until the English language shall have been acquired, and the prevailing mode of thought and the stirring activities of our form of civilization shall have thoroughly possessed them!

There is one ground, and I think but one, upon which may be maintained the right and the duty of the State to provide for the general education of its people—the development and maintenance of good citizenship. If the school organized and supported at the public expense prepares the children of the Republic for the duties, the responsibilities, and the privileges of citizenship, well; but no other consideration would long suffice, in the deliberate judgment of the people, to justify or command the enormous outlay. So far, at least, there can be no serious difference of opinion upon this subject, even in this home of individual and independent thought. There may be division of sentiment as to what constitutes good citizenship, but none as to the sole aim of the public school to secure it.

Perhaps, however, we might also fairly agree regarding some of the more prominent elements of good citizenship. If so, we shall be substantially in accord as to the main proposition of this paper. (1) The English language must be exclusively used in all schools supported by public money. This will not exclude the study of other tongues for culture purposes; but it will, and must, secure such a use of the people's every-day speech as will, in the shortest time possible, make that the daily and natural means of communication in all the varied communities of our widely extended peoples. (2) The public school must be made the training ground of patriotism. No foreign flag may here usurp the place of the stars and stripes. In the glowing fires of the intensest patriotism that can be kindled in this, the greatest of the American institutions of learning, let all the home ties that bind the children of foreign-born parentage to lands and institutions beyond sea be

consumed,—not, perhaps, that ours are so much better than theirs, but for this supreme and controlling reason, that the lot of these young people has, for better or for worse, been cast in with us, and the sooner they become *of us* the better both for them and for us. (3) One of the aims of the public school should be the formation and consolidation of sturdily upright character. It is my belief, as it is doubtless the belief of my hearers, that religion furnishes the formative power in character. Perhaps, since all expressions of religion must take on some outward form or type, it would be too much to expect direct religious instruction in our public schools; yet the daily atmosphere of the school should be eminently Christian, and examples of the highest Christian character, as exhibited in all school officers, should daily enforce the teachings of Christian homes and the Christian church. (4) Let us turn now to a consideration of what we may call the atmosphere within which the school itself has place. It may be doubted whether anything yet mentioned equals this, in the subtle and powerful influence exerted over immature minds. Here is a school whose doors are never closed. It is the school of public life, of public manners, of public morals, of public opinion. The forces of civilization are invisible, but they are none the less—rather the more—powerful. The aggregate forces of the community submerge and impress the individual. Sometimes, indeed, they oppress him. They insensibly mould the young and the immature. While considering, therefore, the object which must be aimed at in the establishment of schools for the preparation of the youth of the Republic for the best types of citizenship, we must consider the environment of the school itself.

How, now, shall these forces of civilization be utilized in the education of our Indian children? Shall we place their schools within touching distance of the tribal life, from which every thoughtful patriot hopes, in the near future, to see them wholly freed? Shall we see their advance out of barbarism and into civilization measured by the difference between the influences of environment and of the school life, or shall their progress be reckoned by the sum of these forces? This, it seems to me, is a pertinent question, that loudly calls for consideration and solution. There is no better place to consider it than here in Mohonk.

If the argument which I have so far framed is logical and convincing, as I think it is, there remains little more to do than specifically to state the case. The Government of the United States has undertaken the education of the children of our Indian population. These people are destined to citizenship in the Republic. The object of the government is the securing of good citizenship. This justifies the expenditure. Indeed, the cost of education might be vastly enlarged without exhausting governmental obligation. Now, a part of the educational process ought to be such an acquisition of the English language as will make it a natural and easy medium of communication among themselves and between them and their white fellow-citizens. That means the immediate disuse

of the Indian languages and their final oblivion. Again, a love of country far broader than is possible in the tribal relation, or in the association of the tribes with each other, is to be planted and cultivated. The patriotism fostered by these schools must associate the red man and his white brother in a community of interests nourished and sheltered by a common government—that of the white man. Once more, the schools must be Christian in some sense of the word. At least they may not ignore the plain precepts of the Christian religion. A prime object must be the development of character in harmony with what is best in our civilization, not with what is worst. Finally, the school which is to train the Indian youth into the best citizenship must be placed in a wholesome, helpful, stimulating atmosphere.

It is scarcely necessary to add now that in my judgment, other things being equal, the best Indian schools are those which are farthest removed from the reservation, and from the influence of tribe and family over the Indian youth. Let the student, wherever he turns, come into contact with the best our Christian civilization can present. Let him behold it wherever he turns his eyes. Let its silent forces lay hold of him, and lift him out of the old life and into the new. Let the old, if possible, be wholly forgotten in his absorption into the new. If the school be located in the most favorable portions of the East, so much the better; for the educating influences of the environment of the school, we must bear in mind, cease not even for a moment. Such a school, and so placed, in the midst of civilization and civilizing influences, seems to me to be almost ideal, if the real object be the speedy and radical transformation of the children of the red man out of barbarism into American citizenship. For there is one way to solve the Indian problem: it is the absorption and assimilation of these aborigines into the body of our people. When that is accomplished, and not till then, will this whole question be closed, never more to be opened.

If now I were required to indicate the form of school for Indian children which, in my judgment, would infallibly embarrass and hinder this consummation and prolong the agony of transformation, I would answer, without a moment's hesitation,—the transfer of the public school system from one of our most enlightened and homogeneous Eastern commonwealths to the Territories and newly formed States of the West, expecting it to meet the requirements of these crude and heterogeneous communities as it fits the environments within which it was perfected.

I need not attempt here a further elaboration of the idea which I have endeavored to present, nor urge more at length the reasons for the position I have taken. I may say, however, that the public school method contemplates the transfer of the burden of expense and of responsibility from the general government to that of the State, and contemplates, moreover, with greater or less distinctness, the perpetuation of the Indian community as such. The Indian community should disappear as speedily as possible. The Indian

must be merged into that complex body which we call the American people, in which is no German, no Italian, no Indian, but the American citizen. This ideal goal must be kept steadily in view along whatever lines the friends of the Indian move to the final consummation.

In continuance of the subject of education, Rev. H. B. Frissell, principal of Hampton Institute, was invited to speak.

Dr. FRISSELL.—I believe that we should have schools off from the reservations and schools on the reservations also. The English language should be taught, but the Indian language should be allowed. Those who have had the religious instruction of Indians, must feel that there are certain thoughts that can come to them only through their own tongue. It is important to study the Indian as he is, to see the good in him, and adapt our methods accordingly. In our mission work we have taken it too much for granted that we were going to make Anglo-Saxons out of the Indian. One of the great things that has come out of this Conference is that the necessity for all these lines of work has been made manifest. The discussions that take place here show us things in different lights. Take the allotment of land, for instance. Those of us who have watched, have seen that allotment will do in some cases, and in others it will not do at all. At first we were in haste to do away with the reservations; now we see that it is possible to do away with them too fast. We may send the Indians out to citizenship when they are not prepared. One thing we have to rejoice in is that work on and off the reservations and in the public schools is succeeding so well.

The question of the home life seems to me to be at the bottom of all we have to do, and it is a cause for rejoicing that we are beginning to appreciate the fact. It is not enough for us that we have schools as beautiful as Hampton or Carlisle, but we must remember that these Indian boys and girls are going back to start homes of their own. More and more is the education of our schools being adapted to home life. If I were to utter any word of praise of Dr. Hailmann here, it would be that he, more than any man before him, has felt the importance of making the school bear on the home. He has wisely urged the appointment of field matrons, who go from one home to another, bringing to them civilization in its best form.

One of the things that we owe to General Armstrong was that he made a little Indian reservation at Hampton, where Indian students could live in cottages and learn there the beauties of a Christian home. From those little cottages they could go back to the West and bring up their children in similar Christian homes. That was one of the best things we have ever done at Hampton. As you go over the reservations in the West you find, here and there, Christian homes among the Indians. That is one solution of the Indian problem. I could tell you of counties where we have sent

back a young man and his wife, who have settled down and built a house and cultivated their bit of land, and where the influence of such a home has changed the whole community. I have seen the same on the banks of the Missouri River. I believe the best thing we can do is to put down a Christian home among these people.

We are putting up buildings at Hampton for teaching domestic science, where the matter of food supply and of home building will receive careful attention, so that our young people, as they go out, shall be leaders in making homes.

Once, after we had educated these Indian boys and girls, we did not know where to send them. Since Dr. Hailmann has been superintendent he is ready to take any boy or girl who has been through the school, and put them at the best work they can do. That is statesmanship; that is organization. It is a matter of congratulation that Dr. Hailmann is being retained, because he has organized this service so that we at Hampton, and the people at Carlisle, and other schools all over the country, can work together.

Dr. Frissell read extracts from an account of what has been accomplished by Miss Annie Dawson, a Hampton student at Fort Berthold, N. D.

"I have just been visiting a young Hampton graduate who is now a field matron among her own people in a forlorn camp, 80 miles from a railroad or town. I found her up to her elbows in salt and ice, busily engaged in making ice cream. The thermometer was running up and down among the nineties, and the hot wind and dust made the very thought of any coolness delightful, and I wondered where the ice had come from. 'Oh!' she answered, 'you know I have an ice house this year;' and sure enough, out by the log barn, not far from her own little three-roomed log house, was a big log icehouse, promising a luxury and comfort not often found on an Indian reserve. I found, too, that I had arrived just in time for a lawn party, and soon groups of young Indian boys and girls, in wagons and on horseback, began to arrive. I found a tennis court had been marked out on the prairie, and with tennis, and croquet, and ball, the young people were soon having a glorious time. Nice white bread and butter, boiled eggs, ice cream, and cake were served on the boundless lawn, and darkness closed in on a very civilized and happy-looking group. As I watched each come up and bid the young hostess good-night at the door of her little home, I recalled the picture she had once given me of herself, —a little girl stealing a watermelon, and offering a part of it with a little prayer to the sun god, with whom she felt obliged to share even her stolen blessings.

"About as many years of education as a white girl would consider her due, had transformed the heathen child into an efficient, earnest woman; one who has already repaid, in simple service to her people, all the money and time that has been spent upon her.

"The little log house, with its sod roof, its neatly white-washed

interior, its three rooms tastefully and simply arranged, its cellar and storehouse, is a model of its kind, and one that is being adopted by the younger Indians all about. Already five houses after the exact pattern of this (mistakes and all), have been completed, and three more are going up now.

"One day while at table the dining room was suddenly darkened by a big six-foot Indian, who, quite unconscious of the gloom he was casting over our dinner table, stood just outside the one window, taking very exact measurements of its frame and sash. The next day another model cabin was started.

"Thus in practical as well as other ways, this young girl is changing, with remarkable success, the whole character of her neighborhood. Not every returned student can do this,—only a few can be given the opportunities she has had, or could use them were they given,—but out of every 100 students, there are a few who need and can use to advantage a training beyond Hampton's curriculum. These are usually dependent in some measure upon the aid of friends, and have proven, in many instances, the advantage of a higher education of head and of hand."

MISS MARIE E. IVES.—What in our idea constitutes a home? It is not the building, for many a mansion is far from being a home. It is the husband and wife loving each other, mutually helpful and considerate, and the little children trained by wise love. That is the ideal which I would set before the Indians. The position of the Indian family is far from what we want it to be. We want to help it to rise nearer to our ideal. The work of the field matron helps on this line. They go into the homes scattered here and there and show the women how to care for the children, and tend the sick. The idea of starting homes has been taken up by some of the young people. Certain Indian boys who have taken up allotments, in their holidays have been home and started work on their farms, putting out fruit trees and making fences, with the idea of having a future home. It was the influence of the school to help them to prepare for the future.

My special work is to influence the young people to work for the Indians. I have charge of the young people's department of the Women's Indian Association. I still send out the Christmas boxes, which are not of so much value from what they contain, as that the little gifts bear sympathy and love from those in the East to the Indians scattered in the West. Last year I sent out between nine and ten thousand gifts to the various schools, largely to the government schools. I want to have our work broaden, and I am planning now for a school in California. The government will pay the salary and we are to raise the building. I pledged \$500, not knowing where the money was to come from. The money came to me easily. Then I found we could buy a church building, an acre of ground, and a parsonage for \$1,100. I agreed to take them, so I have still \$600 to raise. There is an excellent missionary there with a Sunday school of 68 people. The government will pay her

salary, and she will carry on this educational work in addition to what she is doing. We hope to have a field matron, for, after all, the important thing is to care for these homes. We want the Indians to learn to sing, "Be it ever so humble there's no place like home."

Miss SCOVILLE.—That the home-going of an Indian girl is not easy Miss Carter has already told us, and, better still, has told how "good old work and fair wages" righted one discouraged daughter; but it is not every mother and daughter who have a wise woman ready to tell them how to reorganize the home life. At a reservation where I was a while ago an Indian girl came to see me. She drew her blanket over her face and refused to talk, but wanted me to tell her about school. Her story was a sad one. She had been to school, and at the end of a few months was forced to return. She went at once to the mission and asked if she might stay there. They refused her, and before she left she took off her hat and school dress and put on her blanket and Indian ornaments, saying, "Then I've got to be an Indian again." She had made her choice, and yet she loved to hear about school.

This summer, high up in the mountains of North Carolina, I called on Mrs. Sampson Owl, a Cherokee woman. Her little log house was shining clean and bright with flowers. She told me with pride of her daughter, who was at Carlisle, and how they were going to build a new room for her home coming. Mrs. Owl makes pottery, pipes, and bowls, bakes them in her wide fireplace, and so earns at least fifty dollars a year; not a great sum, but it meant money in the house and hope in the heart.

These are samples of home-coming for us to think about. Shall we lower the girls' education to the tepee level, or shall we give the mothers a hand so that they will be ready to share with their daughters?

First and foremost, as has been said, we must give them a God who will not stand between them and progress; but crowding close on that comes the need of business chances, of training in the house and field. For this we must depend on the missionary, the hospital, the school; and yet in a reservation where in one camp I saw a baby starving to death on account of the ignorant love of its mother, and a leading man dying of the bleedings of the Indian medicine men, we have shut up the hospital. That hospital not only nursed the sick, but it was the only place for over a hundred miles where these people could see how to care for a sick person.

In the same country every two weeks the people go twenty or thirty miles for their rations. By Friday night the fields of our village were left alone, while every man, woman, and child, sick or well, went to the agency for three days. Major Woodson has told us what effect this has on the health, what does it do for the home?

The missionary and myself were the only white people who did not go to see the Indians shoot their beef, for there is no issue from the block there. This in no sense elevates the home life.

From the loneliness, the degradation of this life, the mission, school, and hospital, are lifting these people. But we must this year close the hospital at Fort Yates and the Oahe School, and thus shut great districts from their chief hope.

Dr. HAILMANN.—Emancipation from a god of fear, and trust in the God of love, are at the root of all successful efforts to make true home life. Movements in this direction are gradually crowning the work of our schools. Blessed be patience, and may patience continue with us, for all this must be slow work. The vine does not rise suddenly to the top of the house by leaps; it creeps slowly and laboriously. He who is impatient will lose the reward. We must be slow. We must recognize the fact that the Indian has within himself excellent qualities which it is good statesmanship in us to preserve in the development of our own developing nationality. We do not want to make him a white man, but an American citizen, who shall bring to American citizenship that which is best within him fully developed.

I have a sincere regard, which amounts to more almost than admiration, for those heroic young Indian men and women who go back to their reservations heroically facing all the untold difficulties which meet them there with the determination to help their people. It is true heroism. Some of them, it is true, fall by the wayside. Many lapse, and "go back." We admire the valor of an army, not because some fell by the way, not because some were lost in the struggle, but because of the valor of all in the onset, and because of the great courage of the few who may succeed in the fight and carry the day. They are heroes, these young Indians who, knowing what they have to face, still go back with a determination to help their people. They are greater heroes than those who remain behind and think only of themselves and of their own personal advancement. But there are few of the latter. Blood is thicker than water, also, within an Indian's veins, and the most of them feel that they must go back to their own kin, to confer upon them and to share with them the blessings they have received.

In this direction we are engaged in a movement in which I would ask your help. Heretofore we have been working for the Indians, largely from the outside, pouring education into him, improving him intellectually. Then we have allowed the young Indian to go back into the tribal relation, and left him there to do his best without guidance and protection on our part, without telling him what to do, and how to do this, and many have been lost. There is now a movement to establish upon the reservations, where this may be possible—it is not possible everywhere—associations of returned students and other progressive students for self-help; associations that shall make it their business to study the resources of their reservations, to stimulate individual and joint effort in the development of these, to find a market for their industries, and to carry on their undertakings as white people carry them on; to learn the advantages of thrift; to establish savings institutions; to develop

more and more the spirit of self-help; to prove to the white people that they can do as well as white people in their own way; and to protect returned students against the octopus of tribal tradition. Along this line, too, we hope to see the establishment of rational amusements,—for amusement is a necessary thing in social development,—rational entertainment, and movements for the establishment of schools and churches built and run by the Indians themselves.

Rev. GEO. W. SMITH, D.D., of Trinity College, called attention to other work that had been done by the women of Connecticut, in addition to that mentioned by Miss Ives. They have lent money to young Indians for building homes, which in every case has been repaid; they have helped to educate trained nurses, who have secured work in the East, and have received the warmest commendation of those who have employed them, and they have helped to educate young Indians in medicine, some of whom have taken degrees.

Mr. FRANK WOOD.—We were all touched, the other day, by Dr. Ryder's story of the lonely missionary and the good that she accomplishes, so far from civilization, alone among the Indians, at an outstation of the Oahe mission. He also told us that the Oahe mission station in South Dakota, with its fine equipment and splendid record, is to be discontinued for lack of funds. The thought of that missionary, Miss Dora B. Dodge, has haunted me ever since. She is a capable, earnest, refined, cultivated woman, fitted to grace any sphere in society; but, with rare consecration, she has separated herself from nearly everything that constitutes life for us, and buried herself in the midst of the densest savagery, ninety miles from the nearest town, Bismarck, where she frequently has to wait several weeks for her mails, and is sometimes months without seeing a white face. And she does this for the love of Christ and the despised red men, these pagans in a Christian land, whom He died to save. How will she feel when she hears that this mission is to be given up? How will Rev. Thomas Riggs, the founder of this mission, feel when he hears the sad news? Many of you have met him here, and some of us know him well,—a man of fine talents and rare executive ability, that would have made him a fortune if he had engaged in mercantile pursuits; but he has not thought of self, and has given all for the people he loved, and to-day his health is broken by the deprivations and hardships he has had to bear in his Christlike work. The son of a missionary to the Indians, he was born among them, and knows their nature and language. He loves them, and they love him. What will his feelings be when he hears that this work, for which he has given his life, has got to be suspended for the lack of \$3,000? For this sum is all that is required to carry on the work for a year. I think I can see a practical way to raise this amount. Many of you are Congregationalists. This work is under the

American Missionary Association, a Congregational organization working among the despised races. I propose to bring this matter before the church of which I am a member, and I pledge myself to raise a part of the amount needed. Will you do the same? Go to your churches and raise this paltry sum that the work may go on. What a waste and shame it will be if this well-organized mission, with its buildings for teaching and preaching, and its trained, devoted, and efficient missionaries, is not permitted to continue the work so greatly needed, and that it is so well adapted to do! If we will go to our churches I believe that they will furnish the money. But it should be understood that all gifts for this purpose should be in excess of the regular gifts of the church to the A. M. A. We would probably do more harm than good if we should try to divert money from other work in order to sustain this. Let us make an additional gift to keep up this work at Oahe, and thus give new courage and strength to the consecrated workers. If they are taken away the Indians will relapse into barbarism, and it may be necessary to send the United States Army to look after them. Which is the cheaper way? This exigency is on account of the abolition of the grants of money by the government for the Indian contract schools, which nearly all the churches favored, and the fact that the churches have not made up this amount in their gifts to the Missionary Association. We all remember that when this change was debated, the advocates of the measure promised that the churches would more than make up the amount then paid by the government. I am confident that the churches will do it when the need is properly brought before them. As we plead for these heroic missionaries, let us remember whose representatives they are, and who it was that said, Inasmuch as you have done it unto these least, you have done it unto Me.

Dr. LIPPINCOTT suggested that the opportunity to contribute for this good work should be extended beyond the limits of the Congregational Church.

Mr. JOSHUA W. DAVIS said that he should be glad to present the matter to his church in Newton.

Mr. WOOD announced that Mr. Davis and he would receive money and pledges for the continuance of the mission. Eleven hundred and thirty dollars were promptly contributed by the members of the Conference for this purpose.

Mr. ROBERT M. FERRIS, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—No one could have listened to Major Woodson without feeling what is possible at a reservation with such an Indian agent. . . . As I listened to him my memory went back to twenty years ago, when the organization with which I was connected sent a missionary to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and it was my pleasure to correspond with that missionary. I recall the disadvantages and hopelessness of the work at that time, and I realize what might have been done with good agents and employees. A few months ago I

had in my possession a letter from missionaries in an agency where there is a demoralizing agent, who speak of the impossibility of establishing home life among the Indians there, since the agent will not even discountenance demoralizing dances and other evil things. Some attention should be paid to these complaints about agents, and there should be further reform in this direction. They should be brought to the attention of the Executive. It is impossible for our missionaries to appeal directly to the government, but the information should reach the ears of the Executive in some other way.

Dr. W. A. MOWRY.—I cannot tell you how much I have enjoyed the discussions of this Conference. I am sure great good will result from them. I am heartily in favor of a compulsory law,—a law, Mr. Chairman, by which you would compel the attendance annually at this Indian Conference of the President of the United States, the heads of departments, and all the members of Congress, both of the House and the Senate. If these rulers of the Nation could hear the discussions of this Conference, they would know more, I am sure, about the affairs of the Indian than they will otherwise know. It is essential that before acting upon a subject of such grave importance, the actors should have full and definite knowledge of the subject in hand.

In the Legislature of Rhode Island, at one time, a city member made a long, eloquent, and “hifalutin” speech upon the subject before the House. His high kite-flying, however, failed to grasp the essential principles underlying the subject. A hard-headed member from “Way-back” rose to reply, and began his speech with these words: “Mr. Cheerman, I have often observ-ed that it is exceedingly deefficult for one pearson to convey to another pearson an i-de-à that he is not fully possess-ed of himself.”

From frequent references to Indian matters in the early times, especially in the discussion yesterday forenoon, I am inclined to relate to you two incidents, widely separated both by space and time.

In the town of Swansea, in the old Plymouth Colony, but a few miles from Mount Hope, the seat of King Philip at the outbreak of the great and terrible Indian War, lived an honest, sturdy yeoman named Hugh Cole. He had always been both just and friendly to the Indian. To him King Philip sent a messenger to inform him that trouble was coming, but that he and his family need not fear; no harm should befall them. A little later another messenger was despatched to Hugh Cole to say to him from King Philip: “I cannot longer restrain my young men. You must look out for the safety of yourself and your family.”

Hugh Cole immediately took his family to a place of safety, but his house was not burned, and no harm, either at that time or subsequently, ever came to his family or any of his descendants.

The other incident has to do with the Pacific Coast. Mexico became independent of Spain in 1820, and established a Republican Government in 1824. All the Mexican States ratified the new

Constitution, and took the oath of allegiance; but the *padres* of the missions in California refused to acknowledge the Republic, or to take the oath of allegiance to it. They declared their intention to remain loyal to Spain and its sovereign.

The Mexican Congress passed an act secularizing the missions, ordering them to be broken up and their property confiscated for the benefit of the state. In 1826 this order was carried into effect by Alvarado, Governor of California, using the troops at his command for this purpose. None of the missions made resistance except San Gabriel, a large and wealthy mission, situated a few miles east of Los Angeles.

The story of the taking of this mission by the Mexican troops was told some years ago by Señor Philippe Lugo, a native of Los Angeles County, then more than eighty years of age. He described this mission as being very wealthy, as having thousands of Indians in its employ, and as cultivating the land in this great San Gabriel valley for miles around. He remembered the wheat fields which extended a distance of ten miles from the mission. After the wheat was threshed it was taken to San Pedro, the seaport, in carts drawn by oxen, and then shipped to Mexico, where it was sold for silver money, which was brought back in canvas sacks and stored in the mission treasury rooms. Señor Lugo had seen 400 carts at one time, in single file, hauling wheat to San Pedro.

Large quantities of hides were also sold to trading vessels sent to the Pacific coast from Boston. The mission had an immense quantity of money stored away, and was very prosperous. When the Governor, Alvarado, advanced against this mission the *padres* armed and drilled the Indians to defend it. Their first battle was on the plain east of the mission, where the Mexicans defeated the Indians and put them to flight. They fled to Arroyo Seco, and fortified themselves in the deep cañon a mile from where Pasadena now stands. Here they were again attacked, and driven from their place of refuge. They then fled to the Sierra Madre Mountains, 4 or 5 miles to the northward, and took refuge in the cañon now called Los Flores cañon, on the south side of Mount Lowe.

They were led thither by a man who had been bribed to betray them. The Mexicans had planted a masked battery at the entrance of the cañon concealed from the Indians. After they were all in the cañon, the soldiers fired down upon them from the bluffs above with deadly effect, and when they tried to escape through the entrance to the cañon, the masked battery opened fire upon them so destructive that very few escaped. In these three fights nearly all the Indians in San Gabriel valley were slain, and this is the reason why so few were found when the Americans took possession of the country.

The victorious troops of Alvarado returned to the mission, exiled the *padres*, seized all the money in the mission treasury and sent it to Mexico. The mission lands were secularized, and declared to be government property.

Doubtless these Indians were in a condition little short of slavery

to the *padres*, but the incident shows to what an extent those early Catholic missions had obtained a controlling power over the Indians, and tells us that those Indians were easily made an agricultural people.

The first incident relates to New England, more than two centuries ago; the second to the Pacific coast, 4,000 miles away, and within the present century. What a wealth of Indian history, and what a long series of cruelty, perfidy, and, may I say, savagery toward the Indians by the whites lies between!

Major WOODSON said that he hoped he had not been misunderstood in what he had said with regard to allotments. He would qualify his remarks by saying that *wherever practicable* lands should be allotted in severalty, and where agricultural interests dictate the necessity. Many Indians are living where farming is impossible, and exceptions must be made in such cases.

Mr. SMILEY said that he had been asked to state to the Conference that Miss Annie Dawson, to whom reference had been made, is now a field matron, doing excellent work.

The next subject for discussion was with reference to the names of Indian citizens.

Dr. A. E. DUNNING said, in substance, that names have grown in value within the present generation. They are becoming heirlooms of great worth. In the light of this it is difficult to understand that paternalism which would rob the Indian of the last vestige of his history and race, and impose upon him the names that have been worn out for ourselves. He could not understand why we should strip him of the last thing that he owns. Is the trouble that his names are untranslatable? Then leave them untranslated. Let us leave one thing to a people who have contributed more than we are yet willing to acknowledge to American life and American civilization. He said that he had been cheered by hearing it said that the Indian has some characteristics which are worth keeping. "I would not," said Dr. Dunning, "make an aboriginal Indian even into a modern Bostonian! I would leave him, and let him work out for himself certain treasures of humanity which God has deemed it best to give to him alone, bequeathing him then to us as a precious treasure."

Mrs. QUINTON read a list of Indian names translated into English, and showed how barbarous, legally unsafe, and mortifying they are to bright, civilized Indian children. She said that General Morgan, when Commissioner of Indian Affairs, instituted a system of naming Indians, which had proved good, though, perhaps, it might be improved. The idea is, wherever practicable, to preserve a portion of the Indian name, and thus to institute a family name. The children in the schools do not like their barbarous names, often beg for new ones, and changes in this direction are taking place in the frontier schools. What is wanted is some general system faithfully applied in this matter. The practice has been to retain a part of the root name when pleasant to the ear, and to add more if necessary. Superintendent Frank Terry had

an able article on this subject in the *Review of Reviews*, and another article in a recent *Forum* deals with the same subject. She believed that a reform in the names of Indians would be necessary for their legal protection, as it is now next to impossible in many cases, from lack of a family name, to ascertain where an Indian belongs, or to defend his land title.

Adjourned at 1.15 P. M.

Sixth Session.

Friday Evening, October 15.

The Conference was called to order at 8 p. m. by the President, Mr. Garrett, and Rev. Joseph Anderson, D.D., was introduced as the first speaker of the evening. Dr. Anderson spoke as follows on the Literature of the American Indian.

THE LITERATURE OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN.

BY DR. JOSEPH ANDERSON.

Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen.—The business committee has been, as usual, leading this Conference along the heights of philanthropy, ethics, and reform; but it has seemed to them desirable to descend for a little, at our closing session, to the lower levels of science and literature. Those who constitute this Conference from year to year seem to be interested in the Indian, chiefly, because he is in trouble. But the Indian is interesting in many ways even when he is not in trouble. And it is because I feel sure of this that I am glad to say a few words this evening in regard to the wide subject of Indian literature, regretting only that I could not have had access to some public library, wherein to refresh my memory.

No one who has not made a special examination of the matter can begin to appreciate the extent of the literature of the American Indian. When called upon, some years ago, to write a review of T. W. Field's "Essay Toward an Indian Bibliography," I had occasion to look the matter up, and I found that Mr. Field's volume of five hundred pages, filled with titles of books relating to the Indians, was very incomplete. The volumes which he did not mention are numbered, not by hundreds but by thousands. I found the same to be true in this domain which is true in all others: when you once get inside of a subject you discover an immense literature relating to it.

I use this word "literature" in its broadest sense, of course, and it is necessary to make some sort of division and classification. I may divide the field into three or four sections, and enumerate, first, the books of voyagers, travelers, missionaries, and the like,—a collection which has been steadily accumulating for four hundred years, from the first letter of Columbus down to the last report of the Mohonk Conference. There are thousands of such volumes,

some of them of exceeding value. The reader who is repelled by the titles or external appearance of some of these books commits a serious oversight. Let him take down the narrative of some old voyager or traveler, and he will find himself face to face with scenes of the utmost interest. Prominent among books that are worthy of special mention is the long series of "Jesuit Relations," the narratives of the Jesuit missionaries in Canada, which are just now, by the way, being published in a new and elaborate edition.

Secondly, there are books relating to the Indian languages, and translations into those languages, such as dictionaries, grammars, primers, catechisms, and versions of the Bible. It would take a long time to describe all these, and I hasten on to the class which you have particularly in mind when you hear of Indian literature,—I mean literature produced by the American Indian. You will conclude that this must be very meager, but there is more of it, I venture to say, than you think.

I listened, not long ago, to a lecture by Mr. H. E. Krehbiel, the musical editor of the *New York Tribune*, in which was given an account of Dvorák's American Symphony, a composition suggested by negro melodies and the songs which Dvorák had heard sung and whistled on New York streets. From these the composer had produced, after returning to his own country, a symphony which had moved the hearts of musicians and of the people. But at the Worcester Festival, a fortnight ago, Mr. Krehbiel heard a new composition, by Professor MacDowell, which he considers more American than Dvorák's, because it is based entirely on themes suggested by Indian melodies. Mr. Krehbiel's language is fairly glowing as he describes the little transformations through which, under the skillful fingers of a true musician, this music of the Indian has passed, while at the same time retaining its aboriginal characteristics. This morning, as the seven o'clock bell rang, a cricket outside my window raised its cheerful chirp, continued it as long as the ringing of the bell continued, and then stopped. As I heard it I said to myself, "Yes, the chirp of the cricket holds about the same relation to the ringing of the bell which the music of the American Indian holds to the music of our civilization." But one is astonished, as he listens to Mr. MacDowell's new "suite," to discover what has been made out of those little melodies,—how much has been developed from them. All primitive literature begins in song; and from the days of Schoolcraft until now the songs of the American Indians have been a subject of study to a few, and have been gradually collected. So have some of their melodies; and it is from Theodore Baker's collection of these that Mr. MacDowell has derived his aboriginal themes.

Then we have also the folk tales, which students have been collecting for some years past. There is nothing that brings the American Indian before us more interestingly than to listen to the stories that are told in the wigwam or around the camp fire, and in that way to put ourselves in the Indian's place.

We have, again, the various specimens of Indian oratory which

have been preserved to us. This field ought not to be lost sight of. But there is a literature of more account than all this. Within a few years past a series of volumes has been published, under the supervision of Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, of Philadelphia, consisting entirely of aboriginal American literature. There is a volume of Chronicles of the Mayas, of Yucatan; there is a volume devoted to the Annals of the Cakchiquels, of Central America; there is another containing the Walam Olum, or Red Score, a curious Delaware legend; there is the Iroquois Book of Rites, a remarkable liturgy used in the installation of chiefs of the Iroquois Confederacy; and there is a collection of ancient Mexican poems in two or three volumes. All these ought to be interesting to anyone who is a student of literature; but they are specially precious as survivals of that prehistoric American past of which so few memorials remain. In addition to these we have the Popol Vuh, the sacred book of the Quichés, of Central America; we have the Ollantay, that famous drama of ancient Peru; and I might mention many things more.

There is still another section of aboriginal American literature, the nature and extent of which cannot be fully appreciated until we have learned to interpret more fully the Mexican picture writing, and have deciphered the Central American inscriptions and the Central American manuscripts in aboriginal characters that have come down to us. A few courageous men and women are attacking the problems which these present, and we may look for achievements of skill in this field which shall parallel those of the Egyptologists, although, of course, we cannot expect any so valuable results.

My attention was directed the other day to an article in *The Forum*, for August, on "The Future of the Red Man," bearing the signature of Simon Pokagon, who is described as "the last chief of the Pokagon band of the Pottawatomies." The opinion is expressed in this article that the Indian is going to be absorbed in the white race, which is probably true, so far as the United States are concerned. But when I read this, I wondered what elements would be added to the American race of the future in that way. I think we may well believe there will be, at least, an element of seriousness, of solemnity,—an element well worth taking into account when we consider the tendencies of the times in which we live. But the article suggested also another and broader view of American literature; for if Simon Pokagon wrote it, we may conclude that the Indian is capable of producing literature in the English language. I venture to say that, after the "Indian question" has been thoroughly disposed of, we shall have products of the Indian's pen which will be worth treasuring in the libraries of the future alongside of those of the white man.

In closing some remarks which I made here a year ago, I ventured to suggest that we might see sometime, on some hillside in this vicinity, a noble building to be known as the Smiley Institute of Aboriginal Research. In addition to the museum which should be gathered together in that building, there ought to be a library of

ten or fifteen thousand volumes relating to the American Indian. And in a conspicuous place on one of the floors of that Institute there should be two glass cases, one containing an unbroken set of the reports of the Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian, and the other an approximately complete series of versions of the Bible in the various Indian languages, John Eliot's wonderful translation heading the list.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE INDIAN.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

There was a time when the Indian problem was a question how the Indian would treat the white people; but it has been a century and a half, at least, since the problem became almost entirely the question of how the white man should treat the Indian. It has always seemed to me that the manner in which white people will treat the Indians depends greatly upon their conception of the Indian character. Hence such testimony as Dr. Anderson and many others present is of great value, as giving us what I believe to be a true impression of the excellent native qualities in the Indian character.

What was said by several speakers to-day, including Dr. Hailmann and Dr. Frissell, as to the importance and necessity of conserving for the future American people those admirable native traits of the Indian, is, I believe, a suggestion of the greatest importance. We do not need, even if it were possible, to make the Indian precisely after the pattern of such civilization as we have seen in the past. There is a tradition that this is an Anglo-Saxon race. It is not mythical altogether, and yet it is not far removed from that. The American people to-day—and much more, the American people 50 or 100 years hence—are, and will be, a composite people. And into the mass there will be absorbed, we hope and believe, this Indian element. It is of importance, then, that the Indian should bring into the mass of citizenship those elements which have given to his race great dignity, great firmness, great persistency, great courage,—doubtless I should add, too, great honesty. The approach that we make to the problem should be lighted up by such a conception as this. Theoretical and sentimental as is believed to be the estimate of the Indian in the novels of Cooper, there is an element of truth in them. Whether you read of the Indians of the early times, like Philip, or of the Indians of later times, like Chief Joseph, or whether you listen to the stories that are told here by mission workers who come from close contact with the Indians, the story is the same.

And the approach to the problem should be made, also, along the line of Christian brotherhood. I am not going to dwell on that at all; but I wish to mention a historical fact to illustrate it. Reference has been made to David Brainerd, and to his missionary labors among the Indians between 1743 and 1747,—a very brief

work, and perhaps rather disappointing. But there were mission workers in the field before Brainerd, who approached the Indian upon the basis of a true brotherhood between the white man and the red. These were the Moravians: their first mission at Shekomeko, near the Connecticut line, is not far from here. They were driven out of New York by the action of the Colonial Assembly, and resumed their work in Pennsylvania, at Bethlehem and Nazareth. From that time to this—that was in 1741—the Moravians have never ceased their systematic and persistent and Christlike endeavor among the Indians. And if you will read the account of the Moravian missions, you will find that they went to them as brothers, as freely as if their complexions had been the same. There were a number of “Christian Indians” by 1750, and there was Christian marriage between the whites and the Indians. The wife of Christian Frederick Post, the intrepid missionary who went on his perilous mission to the hostile Indians at Fort Duquesne, in 1756, was an Indian woman.

I would suggest that the motto of the Mohonk Conference, which might be put upon this wall,—but would be better placed in the Museum, of which we have heard and which we hope to see on these hills,—should be the words of Paul on Mars’ Hill, when he said that God had “created of one blood all nations that dwell on the face of the earth.” That is the fundamental truth which underlies not only this work, but all such work; unless we believe in that, our efforts are in vain.

I want to add a very few words on a different line. Miss Scoville spoke this morning of the situation of some of the tribes of the Northwest, and of the difficulties impending over them. That suggests to me, and I think it ought to suggest to this Conference, that the time to help those Indians with regard to their land, and to prevent their being driven away from the valleys where there is wood and water, to the arid and unfertile hills, is beforehand and not afterwards. When the mischief is done, you may struggle in vain to apply a remedy. If you get there twenty-four hours before the wrong happens, your service will be infinitely greater than if you arrive twenty-four hours afterward. There should be more foresight in regard to these matters, and such suggestions as Miss Scoville has made should not pass unheeded.

Rev. Addison P. Foster, D.D., presented the Platform of the Conference. It was read as a whole and by sections, and, after a little debate, was adopted in the following form:—

LAKE MOHONK PLATFORM.

The Lake Mohonk Indian Conference, during the fifteen years of its existence, has seen vast changes for the better in the condition of the Indian. In this period the education of Indian youth has been systematically undertaken by government (the appropriations for this purpose having increased one hundred and thirty fold): this education has been for the most part freed from anomalous alliance with religious bodies, has been steadily elevated and made

more efficient by improved methods under a competent superintendent, and has become more and more industrial in character; the Civil Service Reform has been extended to nearly all subordinate officials who have to do with the Indian; corruption and fraud in the purchase of Indian supplies are largely a thing of the past; Congress has given unwonted attention to Indian reform, and has framed wise laws for securing to the Indian his lands in severalty, thus breaking up the tribal relation, protecting him from injustice and securing order; Indian wars seem to have ceased; while the religious bodies of this land have increased their missionary effort, and brought the larger part of the Indian tribes under the influence of the gospel.

The most recent advance made has been in the line of an effective extension of law for protecting the Indian from the liquor traffic, and in the great reform inaugurated in the government of the Indian Territory. We congratulate the United States government on the success of the commission appointed to treat with Indians in that Territory, and we are glad that Congress has decided by legal enactment to put an end to the unhappy condition of affairs there, and to establish a government, essentially territorial in character, in the Territory.

In view of all these facts it is plain that the civilization of the Indian is steadily advancing, and that our great task must be to see that the machinery already provided to secure this end be kept at work, and be rightly worked. We have the following suggestions to make;—

1. This Conference urges that the Civil Service Reform should on no account be impaired in its efficiency in Indian matters. There is reason to fear, however, that there is a failure in some quarters to enforce the law, both in its spirit and the letter, and there are abuses remaining on certain of the reservations which a strict application of the law would remedy.

2. The severalty law has already proved itself a great blessing to the Indian, and we are convinced that the time has come when certain of the existing agencies should be discontinued, both for the better progress of the Indian, and in order to save the people of the country a needless expense.

3. It is recognized that the issuing of rations to the Indians is a great injury, pauperizing them, and destroying their energy and character. We again affirm that in all cases where such rations are not issued under treaty obligations, wherever such action can be taken, they should speedily cease, and that it is most desirable that, as rapidly as possible, treaty rights or contracts which require the issuing of such rations be modified, so that national obligations to the Indians may be met in less objectionable ways.

4. We recognize the great value of industrial education for the Indian, but it is plain that, while we teach him habits of labor and ways of work, it is necessary also to help him to find a market for the results of his industry.

5. We commend the admirable system of the present superintendent of Indian education, and we think that it should be continued.

6. We reaffirm our conviction that government appropriations to contract schools under the control of any religious body whatever should cease without further delay.

7. During past years the friends of the Indian have been repeatedly obliged to raise considerable sums of money (this year amounting to over \$6,000) to defend in the courts of law the rights of the Mission Indians of California, although such defense was conducted in the name of the government. Since this is a matter which properly belongs to the government, we urge upon it to make adequate provision for such legal defense in any emergency which may arise.

8. Recognizing the success of the effort of Dr. Sheldon Jackson to introduce domesticated reindeer among the Eskimos of Alaska, we urge Congress to increase the appropriation for this purpose. We request it also to furnish better postal facilities to missionaries and others in Alaska, using the reindeer, if necessary, for winter service.

9. We earnestly renew our request that the number of field matrons be increased, and that an additional appropriation be made to cover their needful expenses and supplies. We do this believing that their work is vital in its influence on Indian homes.

10. We recognize the wise liberality of the present Secretary of the Interior in restoring to the Indian youth of the State of New York the privilege of education at Hampton and Carlisle.

11. In the progress of events a new emphasis must now be laid on the importance of religious training for the Indian. All doors are open as never before for him to receive the uplifting influence of the gospel. We call upon the Christian people of this land, and especially upon the missionary societies, by no means to diminish, but rather to increase their missionary efforts, and to seek to win the whole Indian race as speedily as possible to accept the Christianity which is the strength and blessing of this nation.

After the adoption of the platform addresses were made as follows.

OUR WORK AND ITS RESULTS.

BY REV. J. G. VAN SLYKE, D.D.

There is an old utterance, by an authority we all respect, which declares that "a nation shall be born in a day." But God counts time not by earthly chronometers. We are not to beguile ourselves with the thought of any supernatural magic, which can extemporize results without any antecedent processes. If these Conferences have prompted the iridescent dream of a transformed Indian, who shall emerge out of barbarism to become at once a church deacon, we ought to correct the illusion. There is a great deal of refractory human nature in the Indian yet, after all our long incantations to exorcise his barbarism, and after all our blundering medication.

And yet we have achieved results, the largeness of which can only be appreciated as we see, through the process of the years, what has been accomplished in moulding legislation, and in supply-

ing inspiration to the multiform activities of Christian benevolence. These annual gatherings have distilled influences which have made it impossible for our churches to forget their debt of service to the Indian. They have quickened the pulses of zeal, they have raised the temperature of devotion, and, above all, they have spread among all our churches a broad illumination of sanity and sagacity.

What has been accomplished in the moulding of legislation has been admirably and succinctly told in the preamble and resolutions which have been adopted. I have but this to say,—that these annual gatherings have impressed a sullen and reluctant Congress, as by a sense of some superior power residing here, and have coerced it to register the decrees which have emanated from under the roof of this great dictator of philanthropy.

Some of you remember that very entertaining picture of Zama-cois, “The Return to the Convent.” A monk is tugging away at a reluctant mule; the animal is determined not to come. His brethren of the monastery are much entertained; but the monk, with teeth clenched, and with his heels braced in the ground, is pulling at his obstinate animal, and gaining inch by inch. So we have been gaining inch by inch from Congress, and have achieved such results that the propositions formulated at Lake Mohonk have actually been solidified into the decrees of the nation.

But our work has been, not so much the history of a series of acts as the history of a process,—a process by which those disintegrating conditions which divide races have been removed, so that the Indian has been brought into something like homogeneity with our American people. In the amalgam of our civilization the Indian must be made a harmonious part. As has been said here to-night, the distinctive features of the Indian character need not be effaced, but he must not remain a foreign or an insoluble ingredient. The essential ideas which underlie all Christian civilization must be kneaded into the very fibers of his being by Christian education, and his whole life must be made to correspond with ours. “For how can two walk together except they be agreed?”

The next speaker was Rev. E. H. Rudd, of the First Presbyterian Church, of New York City.

EDUCATION, AVOCATION, LEGISLATION, SALVATION.

BY REV. EDWARD HUNTING RUDD.

Mr. Chairman and Friends of the Indian.—I feel as if I were a general practitioner coming into the presence of a number of trained specialists,—specialists who have been carefully looking at the red-man patient whom they have been trying to cure, and whom they have successfully brought on toward health and vigor, toward manhood, womanhood, and Christian citizenship. The specialist in

surgery has been at work, and has cut out much that was harmful and which foretokened corruption. The eye specialist has opened the eye of the Indian to see with a larger vision the unique opportunity that lies before him. The ear specialist has made the Indian's ear open to something beside the sound of nature, to a larger and broader sense of humanity, civilization, Christianity. As a general practitioner, a minister busy in his routine church work, I come up to this mount of privilege to see what these specialists are doing for the Indian, and I feel that I am gaining much from them, and it is a pleasure to express the gratitude I feel for this broader touch with humanity.

The Mohonk Indian Conference stands for a benefit to the Indian along four lines, which I shall briefly mention. It aims to provide for the Indian, Education, Avocation, Legislation, and, best of all, Salvation. As you group the progress made for and by the Indian under those four heads, you touch every department of the work that has been so magnificently done.

When we consider what this Conference, which is a body without the right of legislative enactment or immediate educational agencies, has accomplished in the way of Education for the Indian in the last fifteen years, we are brought face to face with a wonderful achievement. See what has been wrought in education in the home. One of the workers in this splendid service told me to-day that the Indian mother and father, when a daughter or son went from home, used to look upon the event in the same light as a death. They went into a period of mourning, prostrate upon the ground, feeling that the child had gone from them, and that the occasion called for the saddest of lamentation. That is so changed now that a son or daughter, going forth to an education, goes with the equipment that comes from motherly love and proud fatherhood, and with the blessing and enthusiasm of the parents. The Indian wigwam has become a home; and the Indian mother, no longer a squaw, is the center of that Christian home, the giver of comfort and of inspiration.

Then, this Conference has provided for positive and abiding blessings along the line of an Avocation. Young men and young women going out from Hampton and Carlisle and the other schools, feel a new throb of manhood and womanhood as they face a profession. They are entering the professions of medicine, the ministry, the law, and are learning some trade, and thus more and more are they coming to take the place which God meant they should take, as citizens under the American flag.

Again, as to Legislation: when an intelligent body of men and women, such as is here, comes together with singleness of purpose, with enthusiasm of heart, with tactful wisdom of utterance, and with the fearlessness which has so marked these conventions, it makes itself felt upon legislation at our state capitals or at our national capital; it has something to say, and is listened to with respect. The words spoken by one and another here have shown how our legislators at Washington, the members of the Cabinet, and the President himself, stand ready to listen earnestly to the requests

that come from this body. And the very phrasing of your platform shows that you feel that, back of this Conference, there is a great social, moral, and spiritual force, which shall have its effect upon the powers that be.

And, finally, this Conference has provided inspiration for giving to the Indian Salvation. That is best of all,—salvation in his mental life, salvation in his professional life, and in following that which shall call out the best there is in him; but, better still, salvation from sin,—salvation which brings a larger, grander view of life, a stronger grasp of eternal verities. Then the child of God, new born by the blood of Jesus Christ, humbly and reverently looks up to the One whom he knew only in a mystery in the past, but now intelligently, because faith and grace have opened to him the mysteries of God, and made of him a saved man.

Those four things are splendid things to have accomplished in fifteen years of activity and service; and we may thankfully realize that each of us has had some little part in bringing about this blessed result.

Hon. W. M. Beardshear, the President of the State Agricultural College at Ames, Iowa, and a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, was then invited to address the Conference.

THE UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.

BY HON. W. M. BEARDSHEAR.

Mr. President and Friends.—It was my lot some years ago to attend the meeting of the National Educational Association at Nashville, in Tennessee. Being in the city over Sunday, and desiring to attend the service of the colored people, a number of us went to one of the principal colored churches, where it was announced that a prominent member of the Association would speak. The colored minister of the church, in introducing him, closed his remarks by saying, "Brethren, the speaker of the evening has a white face, but a black heart!" So I find, as I come among you, that you have Eastern faces but Western hearts.

I am carried back to my memories of a frontier home,—one of those homes from which are drawn the best elements of boyhood. It used to be the custom, before churches were established on the frontier, to hold services in the houses. My father's house was a place where these meetings were frequently held. What was called a "two-days' meeting" would be announced, and for 20 and 30 miles around the people would gather, until there would be 70 or 80 to be entertained, and the house was tasked to its utmost. The best influences of my life came from that large-heartedness, that large-mindedness. I have been lamenting, in these later years, that that spirit of hospitality has flown with the freedom and breadth of those early days. And I do not know when in all

my life I have been so gratified and so uplifted as in the discoveries that have come to me here, an utter stranger, amid the environment of Lake Mohonk. Its magnificent hospitality makes you forgetful of the giving, and leads you into the great spirit of the brotherhood of man. "A man's a man for a' that." East or West, or North or South, whatever his creed, whatever his nationality, black or white, Indian or civilized, let him be as he will, here he is a brother; here he is at home, in the boundless hospitality of this great-hearted man. He reminds me of the whole spirit of the broad West. He has a Western heart, broad as the prairie, and wide as its horizon.

I am going to make a confession. I believe I have lived too near the Indian. For eight years I lived on the border of the reservation of the Muskogees in Iowa. For a time I had great hope of them: I admired the physical manhood of the young men as they came into the town, and the brightness and promise of the young women. All that hope and poetry was turned to disgust when I saw them eating swine that had died of cholera, and I have been cynical about their future. But since I have come to this Conference I have a new vision. I am not on this Commission by my own solicitation; yet I believe that a good Providence—for my own good, whatever may be the result for the Indian—has directed it. I am baptized with a new spirit of devotion, of consecration, not only to the Indian, but to humanity in every form. I think we ought to have a meeting of this sort for the whites as well as for the Indians. The very spirit that is manifested here is the spirit which the white man of this nation needs to-day more than he needs anything else this side of God's grace.

You remember how the rain fell as we came here on Tuesday,—how refreshing it was, after the drouth through which I had come! As we came up the mountain the sun broke through the clouds; and just as we alighted I noticed in the west, like John Ruskin's "patch of infinite" in a picture, a great, broad garden of blue sky, giving a touch of the infinite as we looked. It seemed to me a symbol of the spirit that reigns here, above creed, above caste, the love for man because he is a child of the same Father. Because of this we want him to have our civilization, our institutions, our duties; we want him to share our government; we want him to stand heart to heart with us, and hold his share in all that we have, and all that we can have in the years that are to come.

We had an old evangelist down in Keokuk a few winters ago, and he had the evangelist's habit of dividing the sheep from the goats. One night he said to his audience, "I want all of you who want to go to heaven to rise," and all rose except one man in the back seat. After they were seated he said, "Now I want all who want to go to hell to rise." Not a soul stirred. Then he looked at the man who had not risen or moved, and said, "You man on the back seat, I should like to know where you want to go?" The man rose, put his foot up on the bench tranquilly, and said:

“Well, I don’t know as I want to go anywhere. Iowa’s good enough for me.” I am fond of Iowa, friends; there is no part of the United States so good. But since I came here,—well, I don’t believe I want to go anywhere!

The next speaker was Major William H. Lambert, Chairman of the Municipal Bureau of Charities and Correction, of Philadelphia.

THE APOSTLES OF TO-DAY.

BY WM. H. LAMBERT.

I must confess that, as an American citizen, when I look back upon the relations of this government to the American Indian, I find very little cause for congratulation. The century passing has indeed been “a century of dishonor.” We do not in the slightest degree waver in our devotion to our country, or in faith in its magnificent institutions and its righteous intentions, but we must admit the existence, within our borders, of these thousands of people who have been deprived of their rights, while the great mass of our citizens looked on supinely. And yet, dark as has been the past, there has been a gleam of brightness in the existence through these years of this Conference, composed of earnest men and women from all parts of the nation, coming together to consider the best interests of this wronged race. This Conference, not in itself possessed of legislative or executive authority, has diffused influences which have moulded and shaped the dealings of our government with the Indians, and we stand now looking into a sky of promise. God forgive us and our ancestors that this glorious day has been postponed so long! But, God be thanked, the day has come when many are seeing duty and recognizing it; are making sacrifices fearlessly.

The name of Mohonk is dear to many of us; but it will be dearer still to our country because of the precious influences that have proceeded from this place, the encouragement that has gone forth, the uplift that it has given to our national and religious life.

I must confess that my interest in the Indian has been somewhat vague. This is the first Conference I have attended. For these three days I have listened, with intense appreciation, to the reports and proceedings of this gathering with a sense of reproach that I had taken so little active interest in this great question.

We sometimes feel that we are so far away from the days of the great Apostle, who counted everything but loss as compared with his duty to the Lord Jesus Christ, that it is impossible to emulate now his faith and deeds. But as we listen to the story of these home missionaries,—of these women who, taking their lives in their hands, regardless of ease and home, have gone out on the Western frontier devoted to a great cause,—we feel that they are of the same mould as Paul; that the same spirit which actuated him is

actuating them,—the trust in Jesus Christ and in the power of his gospel.

A few weeks ago there appeared a remarkable poem by Rudyard Kipling, entitled "Pharaoh and the Sergeant." It told how the English sergeant had gone down to Pharaoh in the old land of bondage, with a rod in his hand, almost as powerful in its way as the rod which Aaron had carried; and how, though England seemingly forgot him, and failed to appreciate the work he had done, he had lifted the Egyptian fellah to the level of a man. The burden of the song is,

"Though he drilled a black man white, though he made a mummy fight,
He will still continue Sergeant Whatsisname."

So red men are being drilled white, and those who are doing it are having, seemingly, as little reward as that English drill sergeant. Their names may not be written high on any earthly roll, but on that other roll, when the true adjustment of values is made, who shall rank higher than those who from degradation and paganism have raised up men and Christians?

Rev. WILLIAM E. BARTON, D.D., of Boston, was then introduced. He began by explaining that he had never attended an Indian Conference before, and that he considered himself as a learner. But he had been impressed at once with the practical aims of the Conference, and with the definiteness with which it moved toward the accomplishment of its work. He illustrated by several clever stories the popular notion that benevolent people are mere impractical theorists, and showed how much truth there is at the foundation of it; but he had gained no such impression from this Conference. He then continued: And I have been impressed also with the spirit which has pervaded these meetings. It is manifest more and more, as the result of philanthropic effort, that there is but one spirit in which any good work may be so put forth as that good shall result. All our man-and-brother theories work better at a distance. It is a great deal easier to pass resolutions against the lynching of negroes at the South, than it is to treat well the negroes upon our own streets. It is easier for us to have great sympathy for the Indian than to love our servant girls as ourselves. It is easier to have disagreeable brothers and sisters a good long distance off, and let other people go and minister to them for us, than it is to apply practically to the problems nearest at hand that same spirit in which we expect our missionaries to labor. But the same spirit must pervade all good work, both near and remote. All our talk, all our alleged philanthropy, all our pleasant phrases about sociology and progress, are but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal, excepting as our work touches the heart with the real spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ.

I have known something of missionary work, though not for the Indian; but I believe that human hearts are very much alike, and that the same principles apply to all phases of missionary effort. I

have little confidence in any "civilizing agencies," in commerce or in education, or in anything which merely varnishes a savage life or veneers a savage heart. I have little hope of permanent good resulting from any system which does not have moral and spiritual power, which shall transform the life of the man whom we are striving to help into the image and the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ himself.

In a certain way our duty to the Indian lies nearer to us because the Indian himself is so far away. Have you not been impressed with the wonderful reasons which the Bible gives for some of the actions therein described? Do you remember what reason John gives for the service of Jesus, in that most signal act of his humiliation? Not, "Jesus, remembering that he was the son of Mary;" not, "Jesus, remembering that he was a carpenter;" not, "Jesus, remembering that he was still human;" but, "Jesus, knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he came from God and went to God, began to wash the disciples' feet." Just because he was not compelled to serve, did he count service eternally fitting. Just because we are so placed that we need not do it, just because we are relieved from the exigencies that compel it, are we the more under obligation, in the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, to apply ourselves to the solution of the problems that vex our brothers. Just because they seem remote are they so much nearer to us in our ability to bring to bear moral, and social, and spiritual agencies by which apparently insoluble problems may be solved.

It has often been said, "Treat the negro as a man and there is no negro problem." It is false. It has been said, "Treat the Indian as a man and there is no Indian problem." It is false. There is a negro problem; there is an Indian problem. The Lord could have saved us a deal of trouble by making us all white, or black, or red. There are problems. The war settled one problem; it precipitated twenty. We have only begun to touch on the outer fringes of that problem in the South. We have hardly begun to wrestle with great problems that are about us on every side, and which threaten the very life of our civilization. Education will do much; it is not a panacea. Education will not solve the negro problem; education will not solve the Indian problem. Nothing will solve any of these problems that does not dig right down to the root of character, and touch men where they live.

It is a great thing for us to be here, where we may consider these things and feel their noble impulses in our hearts, and go again to our duty with renewed determination; to our duty as it lies far from us, to our duty also as it lies nearest to us. It is very pleasant for us to feel that while we are driving about in Mr. Smiley's carriages, and using his boats, we are showing our friendship for the Indian. But our real work begins when we go to apply these principles to the problems around us, by so living, and so loving, and so serving, as that we shall be solving them where they press upon us sorely from day to day, and also where they seem to be most remote.

And now I am charged with a pleasant duty in offering this series of resolutions:—

Resolved, That the Fifteenth Annual Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian returns its sincere thanks to our host and hostess, Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley, for the hospitality unstinted and without grudging which has been displayed by them toward this Conference and its members. We are grateful for the opportunity which this hospitality affords for fellowship and social enjoyment; for the sharpening of iron against iron in the discussion of this free forum; and for the high ideals which obtain here, and raise to their own level the thought and spirit of this Conference. And while not the less personally grateful for the benefits of this Conference to its members, we rejoice far more with these our friends who have called us together, in the ever-crescent influence of their large-hearted undertaking, as manifest in wise legislation, in improved administration, and in the application of successful social and educational methods to the solution of the Indian problem. We rejoice in the evidence, which has become demonstrative, that the Indian can be made something better than a pauper or a savage, or alternately both; and that this promise, which is to them, is yet more largely to their children, and to as many as are far off. In all this we rejoice with our friends under whose roof this Conference has been held these fifteen years. We, having the same spirit of faith that all these years has proved itself here by its works, depart with renewed courage and confidence in all good work for these our Indian friends, and in this faith and fellowship we bid our honest host and hostess a sincere and grateful farewell.

The resolutions read by Dr. Barton were seconded in a pleasant speech by Rev. Wm. S. Hubbell, of Boston, and were adopted by a rising vote.

Upon motion, it was

Voted, That a Committee of five be chosen—of which the President of this Conference, Hon. Philip C. Garrett, shall be chairman, the rest to be appointed by him—to represent this Conference till the next meeting, look after its interests, and especially, if necessary, to call upon the authorities at Washington.

Mr. GARRETT then congratulated the Conference on the harmony and interest which had characterized its sessions. He urged the members to look forward with resolute hope to the future, taking courage from the past and from the remarkable assurances of the history which had been related in the preamble to the Platform.

Mr. SMILEY thanked the Conference for the kind expressions conveyed in the resolutions. It had afforded him intense pleasure to see so many earnest men and women come together to consider, in a kind spirit, and with a single aim, the needs of the Indians, and he felt that the Conference had been remarkably harmonious and successful. It was his intention that the Indian Conference should continue until there is no Indian Bureau and the Indian question is settled. He hoped to see them all another year, and he begged them to work for the Indian meanwhile, and to tell the story wherever they might be.

On motion of Dr. Wortman, the thanks of the Conference were extended to the President, who had so successfully conducted the meetings, to the Secretaries, and to Mrs. Hall, whose singing had added much to the interest of the sessions.

The Conference then adjourned.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

- ABBOTT, REV. DR. and MRS. EDWARD, President Indian Industries League, Cambridge, Mass.
- ANDERSON, REV. DR. and MRS. JOSEPH, Pastor Congregational Church, Waterbury, Conn.
- ATTERBURY, REV. DR. W. W., 31 Bible House, New York.
- ARBUCKLE, MR. JOHN, 315 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- ARNOUX, Hon. and MRS. WILLIAM, 710 Madison Avenue, New York.
- AVERY, MISS MYRA H., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- AUSTIN, MRS. L. C., 891 Prospect Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
- ADAMS, MISS MARTHA D., Dorchester, Mass.
- BAILEY, MRS. H. J., Superintendent World's and National W. C. T. U. Department, Peace and Arbitration, Winthrop Centre, Maine.
- BAKER, MR. and MRS. WILLIAM E., 137 Park Street, Hartford, Conn.
- BARROWS, Hon. and MRS. SAMUEL J., Boston, Mass.
- BEARDSHEAR, Hon. W. M., President Iowa State College and Member Board Indian Commissioners, Ames, Iowa.
- BERGEN, REV. DR. and MRS. G. S., 230 West 123d Street, New York.
- BRIGHT, MAJ. MARSHAL H., Editor *Christian Work*, Tarrytown, N. Y.
- BROWNING, MR. and MRS. E. F., 18 West 51st Street, New York.
- BRUCE, REV. and MRS. JAMES M., Memorial Baptist Church, New York.
- BURTIS, MISS M. P., Carleton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- BARTON, REV. DR. and MRS. W. E., Pastor Shawmut Church, Boston, Mass.
- CAPEN, DR. FRANK S., Principal New Paltz Normal School, New Paltz, N. Y.
- CARTER, REV. and MRS. JAMES, Williamsport, Pa.
- COIT, REV. and MRS. JOSHUA, Secretary Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, Winchester, Mass.
- CRANNELL, MRS. W. W., President Albany Indian Association, Albany, N. Y.
- CUMING, THE MISSES, 28 West 12th Street, New York.
- CUYLER, REV. DR. and MRS. THEODORE L., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- DAVIS, MR. J. W., President Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston, Mass.
- DAWE, MR. G. GROSVENOR, Editor "*The Altruist*," New York.
- DAWES, Hon. and MRS. HENRY L., Pittsfield, Mass.
- DAWES, MISS ANNA L., Pittsfield, Mass.
- DOX, MISS VIRGINIA, 306 La Salle Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- DREHER, DR. JULIUS D., President Roanoke College, Salem, Va.
- DRURY, REV. and MRS. J. B., Editor *Christian Intelligencer*, New York.
- DUNNING, REV. DR. and MRS. A. E., Editor *Congregationalist*, Boston, Mass.
- DURYEA, MRS. SAMUEL BOWNE, 46 Remsen Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- FARRAND, DR. and MRS. S. A., Principal Newark Academy, Newark, N. J.
- FERRIS, MR. ROBERT M., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- FERRIS, MISS, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- FIELD, MR. FRANKLIN, 81 Grand Street, Troy, N. Y.
- FOSTER, REV. DR. ADDISON P., Secretary American Sunday-school Union, Boston, Mass.
- FOUNTAIN, MR. and MRS. GIDEON, 34 East 64th Street, New York.
- FRISSELL, REV. DR. H. B., Principal Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
- FRYE, MRS. MYRA E., President Maine Indian Association, Woodfords, Me.
- GALPIN, MR. and MRS. S. A., Secretary New Haven Indian Rights Association, New Haven, Ct.
- GARRETT, Hon. PHILIP C., Member Board Indian Commissioners, Logan, Penn.
- GILMORE, PROF. J. H., University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
- HAILMANN, DR. W. N., Superintendent Indian Education, Washington, D. C.

- HAMLIN, REV. DR. TEUNIS S., Washington, D. C.
 HAMILTON, MR. J. TAYLOR, Secretary Moravian Mission, Bethlehem, Penn.
 HALLOCK, REV. DR. and MRS. J. N., Editor *Christian Work*, New York.
 HARKNESS, MR. and MRS. WILLIAM, 293 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 HATFIELD, THE MISSES, 149 West 34th Street, New York.
 HARR, REV. DR. GEORGE E., Editor *The Watchman*, Boston, Mass.
 HOWARD, REV. DR. and MRS. G. A., Catskill, N. Y.
 HUBBELL, REV. DR. and MRS. WILLIAM S., Hotel Bellevue, Boston, Mass.
 HUNTINGTON, RT. REV. and MRS. F. D., Syracuse, N. Y.
 HUNTINGTON, MR. DANIEL, 49 East 20th Street, New York.
 HALL, REV. DR. and MRS. HECTOR, Troy, N. Y.
 IVES, MISS MARIE E., New Haven Indian Association, New Haven, Conn.
 JENKINS, MR. and MRS. HOWARD M., Editor *Friends' Intelligencer and Journal*, Philadelphia, Penn.
 JOHNSON, MRS. ROSSITER, 140 East 16th Street, New York.
 JOHNSON, MRS. ELLEN C., Woman's Reformatory, South Framingham, Mass.
 LAMBERT, MR. and MRS. WILLIAM H., W. Johnson Street, Germantown, Pa.
 LEUPP, MR. F. E., Washington Agent Indian Rights Association, Washington, D. C.
 LIPPINCOTT, REV. DR. and MRS. J. A., Corresponding Secretary M. E. Hospital, Philadelphia, Penn.
 LUKENS, MR. and MRS. CHARLES M., E. Walnut Lane, Germantown, Penn.
 LYON, HON. WILLIAM H., Member Board Indian Commissioners, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 LYON, MRS. WILLIAM H., 170 N. Y. Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 LOCKWOOD, MR. J. S., Secretary Boston Indian Citizenship Committee.
 MARRS, MR. and MRS. KINGSWELL, Saxonville, Mass.
 MESERVE, DR. CHARLES F., President Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.
 MOWRY, DR. WILLIAM A., Hyde Park, Mass.
 McELROY, MR. and MRS. John E., Albany, N. Y.
 MORSE, MRS. ANSON D., Amherst, Mass.
 MOSS, REV. DR. LEMUEL, President American Baptist Historical Society, Philadelphia, Penn.
 MERRILL, REV. DR. J. G., Editor *Christian Mirror*, Portland, Me.
 OLIN, MR. HARVEY C., Treasurer Board of Home Missions, Presbyterian Church, New York.
 OLIN, MRS. HARVEY C., 156 5th Avenue, New York.
 POLHEMUS, REV. and MRS. I. H., 565 Park Avenue, New York.
 PECK, MR. and MRS. CYRUS, 80 North 6th Street, Newark, N. J.
 QUINTON, MRS. AMELIA S., President Woman's National Indian Association, 1514 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Penn.
 ROCKWELL, MISS CORRING M., Philadelphia, Penn.
 REDFERN, MR. BENJ. F., 435 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.
 RUDD, REV. DR. EDWARD H., First Presbyterian Church, New York.
 RUDD, MRS. EDWARD H., 120 East 34th Street, New York.
 RYDER, REV. DR. C. J., Corresponding Secretary American Missionary Association, New York.
 SAGE, MR. and MRS. HENRY W., Cincinnati, Ohio.
 SCOVILLE, MISS ANNA B., Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
 SEELYE, REV. DR. and MRS. L. CLARK, President Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
 SHAW, REV. DR. and MRS. JOHN BALCOM, West End Presbyterian Church, New York.
 SHELTON, REV. DR. and MRS. C. W., Eastern Field Secretary, Congregational Home Missionary Society, Derby, Conn.
 SHINN, MR. and MRS. JAMES T., Bryn Mawr, Penn.
 SLOCUM, REV. DR. W. F., President Colorado College, Colorado Springs.
 SMITH, MR. and MRS. N. DENTON, 17 West 17th Street, New York.
 SMITH, MISS HELEN SHELTON, 17 West 17th Street, New York.
 SMITH, REV. GEO. W., D.D., President Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
 STURGES, MR. and MRS. WILLIAM C., 37 West 20th Street, New York.
 SMILEY, MR. ALFRED H., Minnewaska, N. Y.
 SMILEY, HON. and MRS. ALBERT K., Member Board Indian Commissioners, Mohonk Lake, N. Y.

- THOMPSON, REV. DR. and MRS. CHARLES L., Madison Avenue, Presbyterian Church, New York.
- TEAD, REV. and MRS. E. S., Somerville, Mass.
- VAN NORDEN, MR. WARNER, President National Bank of North America, New York.
- VAN SLYKE, REV. DR. and MRS. J. G., Kingston, N. Y.
- WALK, MISS LINA J., Editor Home Department *Christian Work*, New York.
- WELSH, MR. HERBERT, Corresponding Secretary Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia, Penn.
- WHIPPLE, RT. REV. and MRS. H. B., Member Board Indian Commissioners, Faribault, Minn.
- WHITTLESEY, GEN. and MRS. E., Secretary Board Indian Commissioners, Washington, D. C.
- WISTAR, MR. and MRS. E. M., Secretary Friends' Orthodox Mission Society, Philadelphia, Penn.
- WOOD, MR. and MRS. HENRY, Mt. Kisco, N. Y.
- WOODSON, MAJ. A. E., U. S. Army, Darlington, Okla.
- WORTMAN, REV. DR. and MRS. DENIS, Saugerties, N. Y.
- WOOD, MR. and MRS. FRANK, Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, 34 Alban Street, Dorchester, Mass.
- WINSLOW, MISS FLORENCE E., Assistant Editor *Churchman*, New York.
- YOUNG, REV. and MRS. EGERTON R., Toronto, Can.

LIST OF SPEAKERS AND WRITERS.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Anderson, Dr. Joseph, 110.
 Avery, Miss M. H., 76.
 Barrows, Hon. S. J., 87.
 Barton, Rev. W. E., 122.
 Beardshear, Hon. W. M., 119.
 Boyd, Rev. Oscar E., 73.
 Carter, Miss Sibyl, 56.
 Crannell, Mrs. W. W., 75.
 Cuyler, Rev. T. L., 79.
 Davis, J. W., 30, 50, 92.
 Dawes, Hon. H. L., 38.
 Dawson, Miss Annie, 100.
 Dreher, Dr. J. D., 75.
 Dunning, Rev. A. E., 108.
 Eldridge, Mrs. Mary L., 61.
 Ferris, Robert M., 105.
 Foster, Rev. A. P., 73.
 Frissell, Dr. H. B., 99.
 Garrett, Hon. Philip, 8.
 Hailmann, Dr. W. N., 32, 103.
 Hamilton, Rev. J. Taylor, 68.
 Hubbell, Rev. W. S., 94.
 Ives, Miss Marie E., 29, 101.
 Jenkins, Howard M., 90, 113.
 Lambert, Maj. Wm. H., 121.</p> | <p>Leupp, Francis E., 12.
 Lippincott, Rev. J. A., 95, 105.
 Merrill, Dr. J. G., 29.
 Meserve, Pres. Chas. F., 29, 52.
 Mowry, Wm. A., 106.
 Quinton, Mrs. A. S., 84, 108.
 Rudd, Rev. E. H., 117.
 Ryder, Rev. C. J., 29, 64.
 Scoville, Miss Anna B., 25, 102.
 Seelye, Pres. J. E., 30.
 Shelly, Rev. A. B., 70.
 Shelton, Rev. C. N., 30.
 Slocum, Pres. W. F., 58.
 Smiley, A. K., 7, 27, 90, 94, 95.
 Smith, Pres. G. W., 104.
 Tead, Rev. A. E., 28.
 Thompson, Rev. Chas. F., 73.
 Welsh, Herbert, 27, 51, 80.
 Whipple, Rev. H. B., 43, 90.
 Whittlesey, General, 9, 27, 49.
 Wistar, Edward M., 29, 67, 90.
 Wood, Frank, 92, 104.
 Woodson, Maj. A. E., 18, 92.
 Van Slyke, Rev. J. G., 116.
 Young, Rev. Egerton, 57.</p> |
|--|---|

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Agencies, Abolition of, 84, 92.
 Agents, Character of, 85, 92, 106.
 Agriculture, 22, 53, 62.
 Agua Caliente, 49, 86.
 Alaska, 66, 68, 71.
 Allotment, 10, 20, 30, 93, 108, 115.
 American Missionary Association, 64.
 American Sunday-school Union, 73.
 Apaches, Chiricahua, 14, Jicarilla, 16.
 Arapahoes, 18, 70, 105.
 Appropriations, 9, 27.
 Bannocks, 86.
 Brainerd, David, 30, 113.
 Cakchiquels, Annals of, 112.
 California, Missions in, 85, 86.
 Canadian Missions, 57.
 Cayugas, 76.
 Central American Inscriptions, 112.</p> | <p>Cheyennes, 10, 18, 70, 105.
 Chickasaws, 11, 40.
 Chippewas, 72.
 Chiricahua Apaches, 14.
 Choctaws, 11, 40.
 Churches, Indian, 65.
 Civil Service Reform, 11, 37, 80, 115.
 Coconino County Outrage, 17.
 Colleges, Provision for Indians in, 52, 75.
 Conference, the First in History, 78.
 Contract Schools, 9, 115.
 Creeks, 11, 40.
 Crime among Indians, 22.
 Crow Creek Reservation, 10.
 Dawes Commission, 11.
 Dawes, Senator, 89, 94.
 Delawares, 68.</p> |
|---|---|

Douglas Island, 67.
 Education, Indian, 9, 32-38, 52-56, 58-61, 88, 95.
 Education, Industrial, 34, 115.
 Eliot, John, 87.
 Employment of Indians, 22, 37, 94, 100.
 Eskimos, 66, 68, 71.
 Farmers, 21.
 Field matrons, 24, 93, 116.
 Five Nations, 76.
 Folk-tales, 111.
 Fort Berthold, 64.
 Fort Defiance, 16.
 Fort Hall, 10, 29, 30.
 Fort Sill, 14, 85.
 Friends, Missions of, 67.
 Gros Ventres, 64.
 Homes, Indian, 23, 99, 101, 103.
 Hoopa Valley Agency, 84, 86.
 Hospitals, Indian, 65, 69.
 Hualapai Indians, 85.
 Indian Character, 44, 58, 99, 112, 113.
 Indians, Employment of, 22, 37, 94, 100.
 Indian Industries, 15, 53, 56, 61.
 Indian Office, Future of, 12, 18, 27, 80-84, 88, 90.
 Indian Territory, 38-43.
 Iroquois, 76; Book of Rites, 112.
 Irrigation, 10, 62.
 Jesuit Relations, 111.
 Jicarilla Apaches, 16.
 Johnson, Sir William, 77.
 Kayoderasseras Patent, 77.
 Kieft, Policy of, 77.
 Lace-making, 56.
 Legislation, 11, 23, 42; Needed, 37.
 Liquor, Sales of to Indians, 11, 25, 30, 75, 94, 115.
 Literature of the Indian, 110.
 Mandans, 64, 72.
 Maya Chronicles, 112.
 Medicine Men, 23, 26, 55.
 Mennonite Missions, 70.
 Mexican Literature, 112.
 Minnesota, Indians of, 43.
 Mission Indians, 10, 11, 50, 68, 84, 116.
 Missionary Reports, 64-74.
 Modocs, 67.
 Moquis, 10, 17, 71, 86.
 Moravian Missions, 68, 114.
 Music, Aboriginal, 111.
 Names of Indians, 108.
 Navajoes, 11, 61, 72, 94.
 Negroes in Indian Territory, 42.
 New York Indians, 75, 76-78, 94, 116.
 Oahe School, 64, 104, 105.
 Oklahoma, Settlement of, 19; Missions in, 72.
 Ollontay, the, 112.
 Oneidas, 76.
 Onondagas, 76.
 Ottawas, 67.
 Quapaw Agency, 84.
 Quichés, 112.
 Peru, Literature of, 112.
 Philip, King, Story of, 106.
 Pimas, 10.
 Pine Ridge Agency, 10.
 Platform of the Conference, 114.
 Popol Vuh, 112.
 Pottawatomie, 84.
 Presbyterian Missions, 57, 73.
 Protestant Episcopal Missions, 71.
 Pueblo Indians, 16, 95.
 Rations, Issue of, 20, 24, 115.
 Rees, 64.
 Reformed Church Missions, 71.
 Reindeer, Introduction of, 66, 69, 116.
 Reservation and Non-Reservation Schools, 33, 99.
 Responsibility for the Indian, 79.
 Returned Students, 103.
 Rosebud Agency, 10.
 San Gabriel, Destruction of Mission, 107.
 Santee School, 64.
 Schools, Statistics of, 9; organization of, 33; work of, 34-36, 96.
 Schuyler, Peter, as Indian Commissioner, 77.
 Scientific Instruction, 66.
 Scott, Capt. Hugh, 14, 85.
 Seger Colony, 53.
 Seminoles, 73, 86.
 Senecas, 67, 76, 84.
 Severalty, Land in, 10, 20, 93, 115.
 Sisseton Agency, 84.
 Shawnees, 85.
 Shiletz Agency, 84.
 Shoshones, 10, 84, 86.
 Sioux, 72.
 Skokomish, 65.
 Spokanes, 85.
 Standing Rock Agency, 72.
 State Care of the Indian, 58.
 Superstition, Power of, 26.
 Supervisors, 32.
 Tunesassa, 67.
 Tuscaroras, 76.
 Umatilla Agency, 84.
 Utes, 10.
 Walam Olum, 112.
 Warm Springs, 84.
 Warner Ranch case, 11, 49, 50, 86.
 Wheelock, Eleazar, 77.
 Winnebagoes, 27, 47.
 Women, Rights Granted to, 78.
 Women's National Indian Association, 68, 71, 85, 101.
 Wyandotte, 67.
 Yakima Agency, 10.
 Yankton Agency, 84.
 Zeisberger, David, 68.
 Zufis, 16.

14

23

LIBRARY
PEABODY MUSEUM
RECEIVED
DEC 29 1941

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

OF

FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN

1898

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
1898



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
OF
FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN

1898

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
1898

L. S. Dixon, F.S.
Rec'd Dec. 29, 1941

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES, 1898.

President: Mr. PHILIP C. GARRETT.

Secretaries: Mrs. BARROWS, Messrs. J. W. DAVIS and S. A. GALPIN.

Treasurer: Mr. FRANK WOOD.

Business Committee: Messrs. LYMAN ABBOTT, W. F. SLOCUM, T. J. MORGAN, DANIEL SMILEY, Mrs. C. S. QUINTON, and Mrs. S. T. KINNEY.

Publication Committee: Messrs. FRANK WOOD and J. W. DAVIS, and Mrs. ISABEL C. BARROWS.

Standing Committee for 1898-99: Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT, Gen. E. WHITTLESEY, Hon. DARWIN E. JAMES, Gen. T. J. MORGAN, Dr. WM. HAYES WARD, Mr. FRANK WOOD, Mr. P. C. GARRETT.

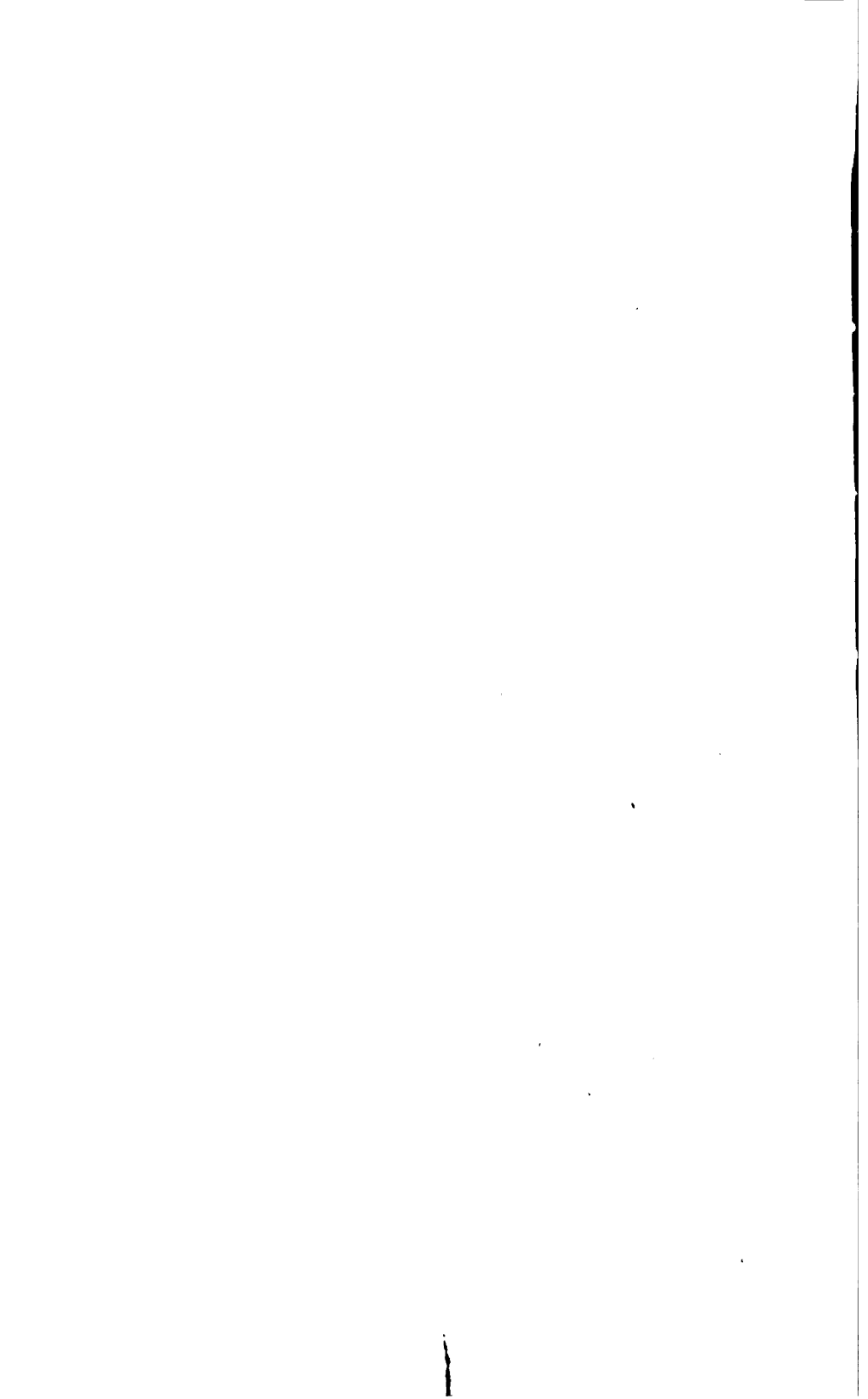
PREFACE.

THE sixteenth Lake Mohonk Conference was no exception to its predecessors in interest. The unwearied hospitality of the hosts, Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley, brought together a large number of guests, many of whom took part in the proceedings.

The Report has been abridged as much as possible, according to instructions, but it is hoped that nothing essential has been omitted.

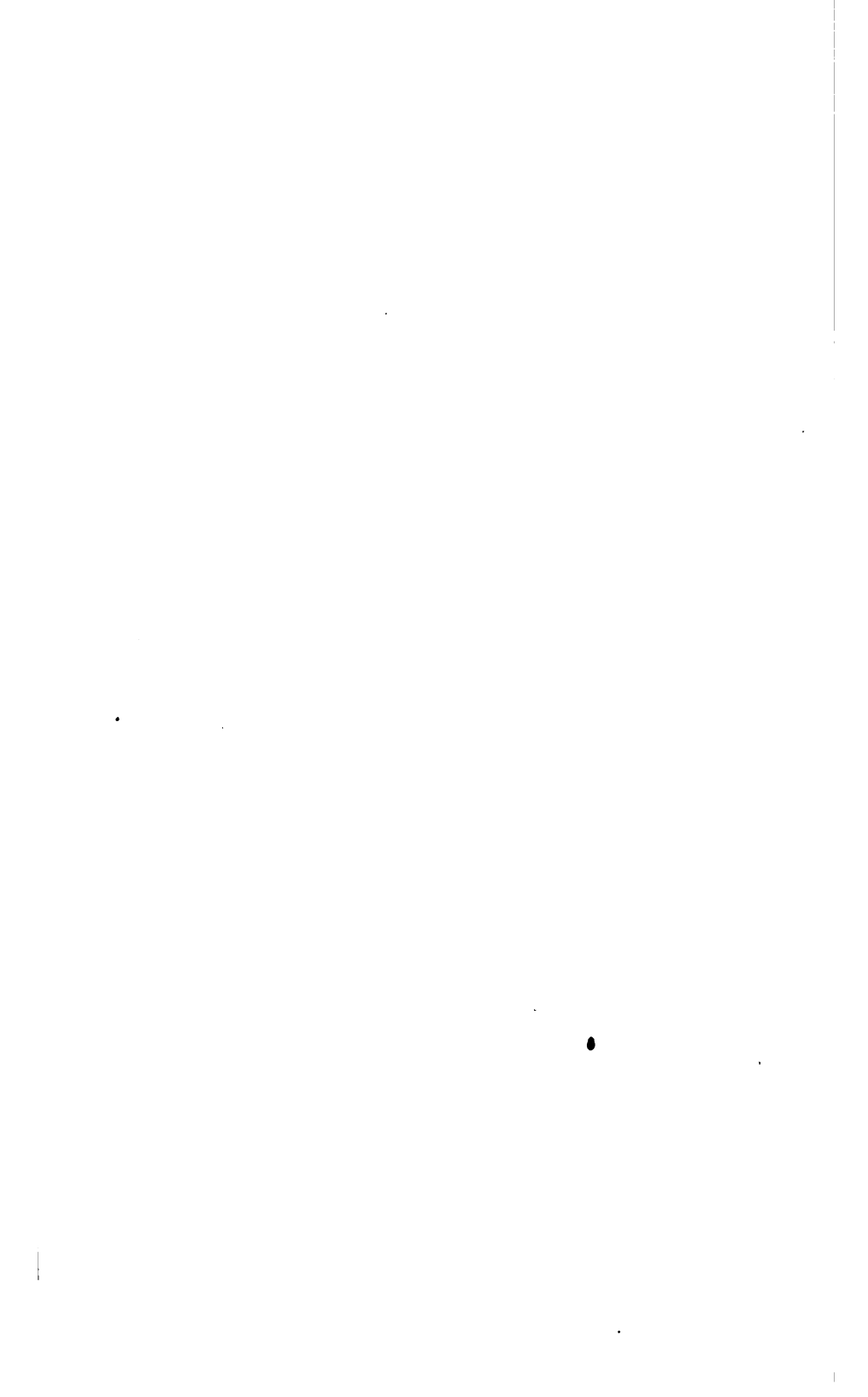
For convenience of reference the Platform is printed in the beginning of the book.

BOSTON, January, 1899.



CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
PLATFORM	7
 FIRST SESSION.	
Opening Address	9
The Survey of the Field, by Gen. E. Whittlesey	12
The Minnesota Trouble, by Rev. J. A. Gilfillan	18
The Revolt of the Pillagers: Who is Responsible? by S. M. Brosius	28
 SECOND SESSION.	
The Five Civilized Tribes, by Hon. H. L. Dawes	33
The Efficiency of the Indian Bureau, or the Administration in Relation to Indian Problems, by Herbert Welsh	35
 THIRD SESSION.	
The Foundation of Education, by President W. F. Slocum	43
Reports of Missionary Work	57
 FOURTH SESSION.	
We have Liberated; now we must Educate, by Rev. Simeon Gilbert, D.D.	61
Liberty for the Indian, by Dr. Lyman Abbott	64
 FIFTH SESSION.	
Missionary Reports	74
Addresses by Rev. W. C. Roe and F. D. Gleason	75, 77
 SIXTH SESSION.	
Addresses by Mrs. W. C. Roe and Bishop Gray	82, 84
Closing Address	86
•	
INDEX OF WRITERS AND SPEAKERS	99
INDEX OF CONTENTS	99



PLATFORM OF THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

Great progress has been made in dealing with the Indian races in our country. The nation no longer regards them as a hostile people, nor even as a foreign people. The reforms inaugurated under President Grant have been carried forward toward their logical results. The policy of discontinuing the reservation system has been accepted; in many of the reservations the land has been allotted in severalty, and the surplus land sold for the benefit of the Indians; less money is spent in rations, which pauperize, and much more in schools, which prepare for self-support; the Government has recognized the value of the education of the Indian women in their homes, in the domestic arts, and has increased the appropriations to carry on that work. The anomalous partnership between the National Government and the churches has been discontinued, and now only one denominational body looks to the Government for aid in support of its schools; the schools of the other denominations are supported by themselves, and the Government itself has assumed the responsibility for organizing and carrying on the work of the secular education of all Indian children of school age on the reservation.

Nevertheless, the Indian problem is still far from solution. A needlessly expensive system is maintained, nominally to care for the Indian, but in too large measure to care for party and political favorites. The schools, the clerks in the Bureau at Washington, and the Agency physicians have been brought under the Civil Service, but, with these exceptions, the Indian Bureau remains a political machine, subject to change in all its *personnel* after every Presidential election.

By both Democratic and Republican administrations men have been put at the head of the Indian Bureau who are neither familiar with Indian affairs nor acquainted with methods of education. Indian agents and Indian inspectors have been appointed without training or evidence of their fitness for the office. In more than one instance a drunken official has been appointed on a reservation, and well-authenticated complaints have failed to secure his removal, or have resulted only in his transfer to another field with an increased salary. In cases in which the reservation has been discontinued and the land has been allotted in severalty, the machinery of the agency has been retained, though no considerable service is required, and the retention is clearly against the spirit of the law. These evils have shown themselves alike when the appointments have been left with the Indian Commissioner, when they have been reserved by the Secretary of the Interior to himself, and when they have been practically left to local politicians.

Some excellent officials have been appointed, and some excellent work has been accomplished; but this is not because, but in spite of, the system. Two illustrations of the evils of the system have been afforded during the past year. The first is the removal of Dr. Hailmann, notwithstanding his splendid record as Superintendent of Indian Schools, attested by protest against his removal from men of all parties and all sections who are familiar with his work, including many educational experts. The second is the outbreak of some of the Chippewa Indians, whose valuable pine timber the Government, by the agreement of 1889, covenanted to sell for their benefit, and is still appraising and reappraising as a preliminary to such sale—two successive appraisements, extravagantly conducted at the expense of the Indians, having already been set aside as worthless, with a third appraisement now in progress.

We have appealed to successive administrations to remedy these abuses, and the abuses still continue. We now appeal to the people of the United States to demand of their Government that the Indian Bureau be taken out of politics, that the Indian Commissioner be no longer treated as a political officer, to be changed with every change of administration; that the work of the Bureau be entrusted to experts, and left in their hands until it is accomplished. And we also appeal to them to demand of Congress that it recognize that the Indian Bureau is of necessity a temporary institution, and should be discontinued at the earliest practicable moment; that it expedite the dissolution of the reservation, and the allotment of the land in severalty; that it give all Indians everywhere a right to appeal to the courts, and render all Indians everywhere accountable to the courts; and that it thus prepare the way for the abolition of a costly policy, unjust to the Indians, injurious to the whites, and an impediment to civilization.

Resolved, That a committee of seven, of which the Chairman of the Conference shall be the Chairman, and which shall have power to increase the number, be appointed by the chair to prepare during the next year a scheme adapted to carry out the policy outlined in the above platform and appeal, and to propose it to the next Conference for its action; that the Committee be also authorized to gather, in the interim before the next Conference, specific facts concerning defects and abuses on Indian administration, and in behalf of this Conference, in their discretion, to present them to Congress, the Executive, and to the Press.

THE SIXTEENTH LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 12, 1898.

The Sixteenth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference was called to order at 10 A. M., Wednesday, October 12, 1898, by Mr. A. K. Smiley, the host of the occasion. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Boardman.

Mr. SMILEY.—It gives extreme pleasure to my wife and myself to welcome you all here. Many of you have been at previous Conferences, and I think some have been present at every one of the fifteen Conferences,—this is the sixteenth. It is pleasant to welcome the old veterans in the Indian service. Others are here for the first time, but you are all welcome.

The question has once or twice been asked me why I make so much fuss about Indians, why so many people gather here to discuss the Indian question. Aren't the Indians, they ask, an inferior race? Aren't they disappearing? Are they worth preserving? Is it worth while to spend so much time over two hundred and fifty thousand Indians?

To those who hold such views I would say, the Indians are not diminishing in numbers. They are in many respects inferior to the whites, but have many excellent traits of character superior to our race. Their weakness and defenseless condition call for sympathy and help.

Extremely different views are held in regard to their proper treatment. We bring together at these Conferences men of wide experience in dealing with the Indians, officials of the Indian Bureau, members of the Board of Indian Commissioners, secretaries of the missionary boards of the different religious bodies, the Indian Rights Association, the Women's National Indian Association, the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, men and women who have long lived amongst Indians, and leading citizens who take an interest in helping a downtrodden race.

In a free discussion by experts a general basis of agreement is reached, so that all can work harmoniously, in the future, for the

bettering of the Indian's condition. The Indian problem changes from year to year, requiring new methods of treatment; and this Conference tries to meet these new conditions as they arise.

No nation is safe that does not vigorously undertake to put down the criminal abuses of its humblest citizens. Look at Armenia,—what a storm of indignation swept over the civilized world at the unjust cruelty of the Turk. Oppression of the Cubans brought on the war with Spain. The supposed unjust sentence of Dreyfus comes near overthrowing the French government. So long as there are ten Indians cruelly oppressed, with no proper defense in the courts, it is worth while to make a vigorous effort in their defense.

Any one who attends this Conference is at liberty to say what he pleases in a Christian spirit. Those who come here are all earnest people who want to do good to the Indian. They speak the truth plainly and boldly, even though sometimes it cuts.

I always claim the privilege of naming the person who shall preside here. I propose to-day the man who served us so well last year. I have known him for about fifty years, and have loved him and respected him all that time. I name Philip C. Garrett.

Mr. Smiley then put it to vote, and Mr. Garrett was unanimously elected President of the Conference.

Mr. GARRETT.—I am grateful to you for your confidence, and crave your kind indulgence; you will find presently that it will be needed by me.

We are fortunate in having a beautiful morning, and I hope our discussions will be as placid, as serene, as the lake by the side of which we are meeting. This is a republican country, and it is the privilege of the American people to discuss any great national question freely. As regards the Indian question this is an Ecumenical Council, a sort of Pan-Indian Conference, where Government officials and ex-officials, workers in the field, agents, teachers, missionary bodies, editors, thinkers, and those laboring for the Indian's good, and Indians themselves, meet to consider Indian problems from all points of view, and I think we may fairly claim that it represents the best sentiment of the American people on the subject of the Indian. It is our incontrovertible privilege to declare ourselves on all points relating to their welfare.

I say this especially because I think the United States Government should listen to the counsels of this Conference, as if to the *vox populi*. I have sometimes thought that the time was near at hand when the whole Indian Bureau could be safely abolished, and the Indians freed from all peculiar treatment, and recognized as American citizens in common with the Anglo-Saxon race, subject to all the penalties, and free participants in all the privileges which are given to the people of which this nation is composed. The great strides that the Indians have made toward civilization, and the total change in their relations to white people, would seem to demand

recognition in our attitude toward them, and a great reduction in expense in the Indian office, but no suggestion to this effect has come from the Indian Bureau. There is a reason for this which is probably to be found in the desire for place. But it is time that the American people were heard and their sentiments felt as to this question. We sometimes cling too conservatively to old notions and institutions. The idea that we must care for the Indians instead of letting them care for themselves is an idea that we must, sooner or later, get rid of. I believe that the Indian as an Indian has nearly reached the point, and the time is near at hand, when, as an Indian, he shall disappear from the arena, and, as a man, as an American citizen, he shall take an important part with all the rest of us. There are different estimates of his capacity for taking that part. I believe that it is greater than is commonly recognized. I believe the tribes are generally, though not universally, capable of taking their place individually as untrammelled citizens of the Republic. The whites are not all capable, nor the negroes; yet, capable or incapable, they are citizens. That time has not quite come yet, but it is coming.

But we have another problem. We have only about a quarter of a million of Indians. But what about the new problem touching several millions of people, including inferior races, which in the course of a year seem likely to be thrust on the American people for care? There are millions of mixed Malays, Negritos, and Filipinos in the Philippine Islands. There are large numbers in Cuba and Porto Rico. There are many half breeds. What part shall we take with reference to them? Has this Conference anything to say on the subject? I think it is possible we have a duty imposed on us to consider our responsibility to the great numbers who may thus be added to those who need our thought and assistance. This is for the Conference to say.

It is customary for the Conference to name a business committee. The first business of the morning is to elect that committee and other officers.

On motion of Mr. Welsh, Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, Mr. Joshua W. Davis, and Mr. S. A. Galpin were elected Secretaries.

On motion of Mr. Galpin, Mr. Frank Wood was elected Treasurer.

On motion of Mr. James, the following Business Committee was elected: Dr. Lyman Abbott, President W. F. Slocum, General Morgan, Mrs. Quinton, Mrs. Kinney, and Mr. Daniel Smiley.

On motion the following Publication Committee was elected: Messrs. Frank Wood and Joshua W. Davis, and Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, with the understanding that Mrs. Barrows, as heretofore, should edit the proceedings.

Mr. Smiley read a letter from Hon. H. L. Dawes, the "Nestor" of Indian work, regretting the inability of himself and family to be present, extracts from which follow:—

You cannot tell how disappointed we are. It seems like breaking the electric current for a twelvemonth, and cutting us off for another whole year from the inspiration, encouragement, and education sure to come from this week's association with so many good men and women engaged in a common work. And, may I not say, most of all do we lose the benediction that beams in the countenances of host and hostess, whose warm greeting and glad welcome make the sun shine everywhere.

I wanted to be with you more than ever this year, that I might tell you of greater and more encouraging progress in our work in the Indian Territory in this than in any previous year. I venture, in place of what I would say were I with you, to enclose a brief statement of what has been accomplished among the Five Civilized Tribes since I met you last year. I am quite sure that the reading it will give you pleasure.

On motion of General Morgan, it was voted that the Secretary be instructed to send to Senator Dawes and family an expression of the regret of the Conference at their absence, and of the most cordial recognition of the great service heretofore done for the Indian by Senator Dawes.

Mr. SMILEY.—Senator Dawes is still at the head of the Commission to reorganize the 60,000 Indians and the 250,000 white people of the Indian Territory. It is one of the most delicate positions in the country. He is wise-headed, and has had long experience. A Democratic President—greatly to his credit—put Senator Dawes at the head of this Commission.

Gen. E. Whittlesey was then invited to give an address on the present condition of the Indians.

THE SURVEY OF THE FIELD.

BY GEN. E. WHITTLESEY.

Mr. Chairman and Friends.—The only trouble which has occurred among the Indians during the past year is the recent trouble in Minnesota, and this, we hope, will not be of very large proportions. I do not need to speak of that, as I shall be followed by one who has spent twenty-five years of noble, self-denying missionary work among the Chippewa Indians, and knows them every one,—man, woman, and child,—and he will state the situation fully.

I have been asked to give such statistics as I have been accustomed to give at the opening of the Mohonk Conference. They

are merely the dry bones of the subject, but other speakers will give them life, I hope.

The appropriation for the Indian service for the fiscal year 1898, which closed June 30 last, was \$7,431,620; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, the appropriation is \$7,653,854,—an increase of \$222,234. This increase arises largely from the necessary appropriations required by provisions or agreements with Indians on the purchase of their lands.

The appropriation for school service for 1898 was \$2,631,771; for 1899, \$2,656,300,—an increase of \$24,529. The total number of schools, including all the varieties, is 295. The enrollment for the year 1897 was 22,964; for 1898 it is 24,004,—an increase of 1,040. The average attendance in 1897 was 18,676; in 1898 it was 19,671,—an increase of 995.

Of the contract schools there is one Protestant school still assisted by the Government to the amount of \$2,160, and thirty-four Catholic schools assisted to the amount of \$116,884.

The beneficial results of Indian education are manifest to every one. By an investigation recently made by the Indian office, independent of those made by the schools themselves, it was found that not less than forty-eight per cent of the graduates from non-reservation schools, like those at Hampton, Carlisle, Santee, and others, have taken up allotments when they returned home, and have become no mean competitors with their white neighbors; and seventy-six per cent of such graduates, who have returned to their reservations, have become good citizens.

The work of irrigation has been continued during the past year on many reservations. The largest work is on the Crow Reservation in Montana. It is said to be one of the best irrigation works in the country. The labor of constructing the canals has been done almost entirely by the Indians themselves under the supervision of a competent engineer. The same engineer, Mr. Graves, has now been appointed one of the Indian inspectors, and is to supervise all the irrigation work on the different Indian reservations.

Allotments of land in severalty have been made during the year 1898 to this extent: approved, 813; reported but not acted on, 979; patents issued during the year, 1,943.

As to the results of the allotment policy some inquiry was made last year. We have endeavored, by correspondence with Indian agents, to find out something upon the subject. I have written to all the agents on reservations where allotments have been made, and have received replies from about twenty of them. I have an abstract of all those replies, and will give a brief summary. The replies which I have received cover about twenty-five thousand allotments and patents issued. The reports indicate clearly that from seventy-five to eighty per cent of the Indians who have received allotments are living on their own individual possessions, and to some extent are cultivating their lands. The testimony of the agents in almost all cases is that the benefits of the allotment policy are many, and the evils are few. It gives the Indian a

chance to make himself independent. It brings him into contact with white settlers—farmers—as neighbors, and gives him the benefit of their example and help. It breaks up the tribal relations, and makes them individual men. This shows that the Indians are making progress toward civilization.

The Chairman requested a report in detail of these results. General Whittlesey continued as follows:—

On the Pottawatomie and Great Nemaha Reservation, Kansas, 1,066 allotments have been made, and 1,066 patents issued. A majority of the Indians are living on their allotments, but their lands are leased, to a large extent, with discouraging results.

The Nez Percé Indians, Idaho, have received 1,997 allotments and patents, and four fifths are living on their allotments; but many hire white men to do the labor. The benefits of the policy are many. It brings the Indian into close contact with white farmers, and opens to his children the district school.

On the Jicarilla Reservation, New Mexico, the number of allotments is 847, and of patents 845. About one half are living on their lands and cultivate four acres each. Arable land is very limited.

Yakima Reservation, Washington, 1,851 allotments and 1,812 patents received. All practically living on their allotments, and cultivate from ten to eighty acres per family. Many results are good.

Warm Springs Agency, Oregon, 979 allotments and 948 patents. Greater part of Indians are living on allotments and cultivating nearly all arable lands. System will prove of great advantage.

La Pointe Agency, Wisconsin, 2,732 allotments and 2,426 patents. About 500 families (2,000 persons) living on allotments. The system is approved.

Siletz Agency, Oregon, 551 allotments and 541 patents. One hundred families (500 persons) are living on their allotments. All cultivate their land to some extent. Allotment the proper thing to do.

Lower Bute Agency, South Dakota. Number of allotments is not stated; 150 families are living on their allotments. The system a great benefit to Indians, scatters them and makes them individually responsible.

Sisseton Agency, South Dakota, 1,500 patents issued, and 400 families living on their own lands. They cultivate 98,000 acres, and lease 30,000 acres for grazing. Indians are benefited by the policy.

Ponca Agency, Oklahoma, 1,714 allotments and 1,523 patents. Two hundred families (about 1,000 persons) are living on their allotments and cultivate 5,000 acres, but mostly by white contract labor. The benefits of the policy are numerous, the evils few.

Grande Ranch Agency, Oregon, 269 allotments and 269 patents. Ninety-seven families are living on their farms, and nearly all tillable land is cultivated. Benefits very great.

Crow Creek Agency, South Dakota, 879 allotments and 199 patents. All living on their allotments, and cultivate their land to a small extent. The allotment plan is disadvantageous in a stock company.

Devil's Lake Agency, North Dakota, 1,158 allotments and 865 patents. A majority of the people are living on their allotments, and have 4,000 acres in crop. Benefits of the system are many. It gives homes to the Indians.

Sac and Fox Agency, Oklahoma, 2,363 allotments and 2,363 patents. Three fourths of the people live on their lands. They cultivate one fifth in person and lease one half, with good results. Benefits of the plan are numerous.

Mission Tule River Agency, Colorado, 361 allotments and 117 patents. All occupy their allotments, and generally cultivate their land. They are becoming better farmers and more self-reliant.

Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency, Oklahoma, 3,328 allotments and 3,328 patents. Eighty per cent of the people live on their farms, and all able-bodied men cultivate their land. Benefits of the policy are many, evils few.

Quapaw Agency, Indian Territory, all (1,448) have received allotments and patents, and seven eighths are living on their allotments, three fourths lease the greater part, one fourth cultivate all with good results. Leasing should be restricted.

Round Valley Reservation, California, 622 allotments and 604 patents received. Seventy-five per cent of the people are living on their allotments and fifty per cent of the land is cultivated.

Pima Agency, Arizona, 970 allotments and 291 patents. Forty families (about 200 persons) live on farm land, and three fourths of the land is under cultivation. Benefits of the policy are great.

Now, I repeat that these reports of results show, beyond reasonable doubt, that the Indians are making progress toward civilization.

A few weeks ago there was held in Boston a great convention of scientific men, and, according to a report which I read in a paper, one of the scientific men in the course of a discussion said oracularly that it has been proved that the American Indian is incapable of civilization, and that he is doomed to extinction. I could not help thinking when I read those words of a man with whom I traveled toward the Crow Agency twenty-five years ago. He was a rough Mormon stage driver, and very fond of talking about the Mormons and the Indians, and among other things he said: "The last time I drove up on this road I carried up Mr. Felix Brunot, Chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners. He was going up to the Crow Agency, and he thinks he is going to tame and civilize the Indians. I told him I knew how to tame Indians. I have an old well down on my place in the valley,—a pretty deep well. It hain't got any water in it, but if you could look down there you could see seven tamed Indians in the bottom of it." I thought the wise man of Boston and the Mormon stage driver seemed to have come to about the same conclusion.

Now if they would visit Hampton and Carlisle, Santee, Haskell, and some of the other great Indian schools, they would see in the bright faces of those Indian boys and girls proofs that Indians can be tamed in a better way than by putting them at the bottom of dry wells. If such men would converse with Dr. Charles Eastman, or Dr. Montezuma, or Rev. John Eastman, or scores of Indian preachers educated by Bishop Hare and Dr. Riggs, they would have come to a different conclusion. And if they would visit those reservations now where the Indians are scattered about, living in comfortable houses, cultivating their own farms, and training up their children in better ways, they would come to a different conclusion I am quite sure. No; away with such foolishness of science, falsely so called. Let us rather have faith in Him who has made of one blood all the nations of earth. Let us rather have faith in him who gave his life to redeem all mankind. Let us rather believe that in every Indian boy there is the making of a man, and in every girl the making of a Christian woman and mother. Let it be ours to do what we can to give every one a chance to be our equal and our brother.

I am reminded that at that very meeting of scientists in Boston a scientific paper was read by an Indian, Mr. Francis LaFlesche. I should have named some of the educated Indian women, like Isabel Cornelius, and other trained nurses and physicians, Delia Randall, Lily Wind, and others, who are doing excellent work. I have heard it stated by physicians that they had never had more skillful nurses than trained Indian nurses.

Mr. HERBERT WELSH.—It may be well at this point to call attention to Miss Angel Dekora, an artist, who has been at work in the Drexel Institute, and where she gained a prize of considerable value—I think of \$500—for the excellence of her work. Just before coming here I was applied to by a gentleman to have something done for a young Indian girl who is a trained nurse. He spoke of her as exceedingly capable. She had lands in the West which were leased to some one who did not give her a proper revenue, and she wanted to have it looked after.

Pres. W. F. Slocum was invited to speak.

President SLOCUM.—I think that the spirit of this meeting is conservative, and that we are all anxious not to make any mistake in our efforts to improve the condition of the Indian. If I understand the nature of these gatherings it is like the watch on the hill-top,—and a beautiful hilltop it is, too,—where one can gain clear conception of the work that is being done, and where, when an utterance needs to be made, it can be made from this watch tower in clear, ringing tones, so that there shall be no misunderstanding of its meaning and purport.

The Indian work is steadily moving on to the point where we can less afford to have mistakes made than we could a few years

ago. There is greater danger where there is lack of adjustment in a locomotive that runs sixty or seventy miles an hour than in one that runs fifteen or twenty. We cannot afford mistakes to-day, and when anything happens that hurts the educational work we must speak in no uncertain terms.

Whenever a leader in this educational work is removed we instantly ask ourselves, What was the reason? First of all we inquire, Is there anything in the moral character of the man who was removed that warranted the step that was taken? When we ask in regard to the Superintendent of Indian Schools, who was removed from his position, we find that his character is blameless. If ever there has been a man connected with the Indian service whose character has been above reproach it is this man whom we honor to-night, as we utter his name in this presence.

Then comes the question, Was he, in his ability, adequate for the work that was laid upon him? If we can accept the testimony of those who knew him best, and who worked with him;—and I attended this summer the Conference of Indian teachers, and I took as great pains as I could to find out the views of the teachers of Indian schools as to the ability of this man,—the testimony comes again and again that his work was admirable. He was a constant source of inspiration to others; his ideas were always clear; he was a man of unusual ability, was the universal expression.

Then I begin to ask, What was there in his training that made him unworthy of the position? And I was assured that his fitness for his work was unusual. Specially educated in a foreign country and trained along the lines of industrial education; a teacher who had devoted himself heart and soul to the work of fitting himself for his profession; a man who during the years of his work in the service of the country along these important lines, had shown himself constantly growing in his profession; a man better equipped to do it to-day than any other day in which he worked, is the universal testimony, and therefore it is evident that there was no reason in his lack of training or in his devotion to the work for his removal.

Then we might ask, Is it true that the time comes when change in and of itself is a good thing? I think we all recognize that in this work, continuity is absolutely necessary for the best results. In other words we had a man who by his character, by his ability, by his training, and by his devotion, was admirably adapted for this important service which is so essential to the higher welfare of our country.

Now I ask you, Is it not our duty to utter our protest against the violation of one of the great principles that has been laid down for this Indian service? We are above personalities. It is not a question whether Dr. Hailmann is your friend or mine. It is not a question as to which party is responsible. We are not discussing politics or parties; but it does seem to me that there has been a violation of one of the fundamental principles of our Indian service in removing this earnest, able man.

It is not always that we have a clear, definite example of a vio-

lation of civil service principles before us as is this one, and in giving expression to our protest against this removal, we shall find the best sentiment of the country with us. God grant that the day may come when the spoils system shall not only go out, but when there shall be in this country a sentiment so strong, that political parties will find that it is "good politics" to keep in office men who are honest and efficient, no matter where they come from or what their political affiliation. God grant, too, that the higher the work, the more important the station, the more sacred the duty, the more strenuously shall that principle be followed. I believe we ought not to leave this hilltop, this place of sacred association, without saying something at least that shows that we do not believe that a man like Dr. Hailmann can be taken from his work, and the whole Indian service deprived of services so valuable, without some expression that shall be heard and understood.

Rev. J. A. Gilfillan was asked to speak on the recent Minnesota trouble.

THE MINNESOTA TROUBLE.

BY REV. J. A. GILFILLAN.

The public has lately been startled and shocked by the entirely unexpected outbreak of some Chippewa Indians in Minnesota, belonging to what is called the Pillager band, and living on Bear Island in Leech Lake. However, on investigation, it turns out that only a very few, about twenty, were concerned in it. We may observe that the name Pillager is given to this particular band from an incident in their history, perhaps two hundred years ago, when their ancestors, in their anxiety to get goods, pillaged the stock of one of the first French traders who reached them, who was too sick to open trade with them in the regular way.

We naturally ask, then, what are the causes that have led to this. It seems very strange that it should occur at this late day, when we thought Indian outbreaks were over; and especially is it strange that it should occur with the Chippewas. They are one of the few tribes who have never had a war with the Government or with the white man. They have always been most peaceable, and the friends of the whites. When Minnesota first began to be settled, about fifty years ago, and there was only a little handful of whites about St. Paul and Stillwater, and the Chippewas were all-powerful, and could easily have swept them from the State had they so desired, they never molested them in any way, but were ever friendly to them. And, again, when a very critical time came, when the Sioux in Minnesota rose during the Civil War, when most of the white men were away at the South, and in a few days massacred over eight hundred defenseless settlers, strewing the

country with their blood for hundreds of miles, and stampeding, over a large area, those who survived; when, at that critical time, they invited their fellow-Indians, the Chippewas, to join them and sweep from their beautiful Minnesota those whom they thought were so crowding them and encroaching on them, the Chippewas refused, and, though sorely tempted, held back and shed no white blood. Had they joined with the Sioux at that time, they would have swept the infant State of Minnesota, then containing less than two hundred thousand population, and would have inflicted incalculable damage. We should always remember with the deepest gratitude their steadfastness at that trying time.

It may be proper to say that their proper name is Ojibways, corrupted by us into Chippewas, and that it means "To-roast-till-puckered-up," from an incident in their history long ago. They owned the northern three fourths of Minnesota, their hereditary enemies, the Sioux, occupying the southern fourth. There are now about nine thousand Chippewas in Minnesota, including perhaps three thousand French-Canadian mixed bloods, the descendants of the old *voyageurs*, who came over the lakes perhaps one hundred years ago.

What, then, has caused this phenomenon of a Chippewa outbreak? That there is a cause for every Indian war we may be sure. The experience of the writer is that the Indian, notwithstanding his confidence has been so often abused, has yet a deep underlying faith in the white man and in the United States Government, and only when his grievances have become to him intolerable, as it seems to him, and when he has no other means of redress, does he raise the tomahawk.

The origin of these troubles dates back to 1889. Then the Government sent three Commissioners to obtain from the Chippewas a cession of their extensive and valuable reservations, which were covered with forests of most valuable pine. Those Commissioners were ex-Senator Henry M. Rice, a former Indian fur-trader; the Rt. Rev. Martin Marty, Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Cloud, Minn.; and Joseph B. Whiting. At first the Indians were very unwilling to make a treaty; they were afraid of being deceived, afraid of the duplicity of the white man; and it was only after many months of great effort and much finesse and some stratagems that the requisite number "touched the feather," as they call signing. They knew that those reservations and those pine forests were all they had; they knew the pine was worth millions, and that if they lost that they lost all. Knowing that white men attached great importance to an oath, they had the Commissioners repeatedly swear, with uplifted hand to God, and by kissing the Bible, that all the promises made them would be carried out. The report of what was said in those treaty-making councils, both by the Indians and by the Commissioners, with the promises that were made, was printed by the Government, and is accessible to any one who chooses to read it. The Indians endeavored to make sure, as they say that they should be

made "well off" out of the proceeds of their lands sold, and especially of their valuable pine.

But the promises made to the Indians by the Commissioners were not kept. To instance one, the Commissioners promised to the White Earth Reservation Indians and mixed bloods that they would, as heretofore, be allowed to take, each man, and woman, and child, one hundred and sixty acres in severalty; and those Indians signed the treaty on the strength of that promise, and would never have signed but for that promise. But the Government broke that promise, giving each eighty acres only. Again the Commissioners swore to the Mille Lacs band, numbering some eight hundred, that if they signed they should always be allowed to live at Mille Lacs, their ancestral home, to which they were so much attached. They did sign on the strength of this; but the Government broke the promise, withholding their annuities for many years to force them to leave, and so plunging them into poverty and great trouble of mind. In many other places, also, as at Cass Lake, the Indians say that the Commissioners promised them a sawmill if they would sign, a blacksmith, a school, to build them a village, etc., none of which promises were ever attempted to be fulfilled. As one of the Commissioners was a Christian bishop, the Indians thought that his oath would be very binding on him, and his promises carried out. It is to be observed also that many of the Indians refused finally to sign the treaty, and did not sign it, fearing fraud, and principal among them were the Bear Islanders in question; who thus were apt to consider that they were not bound by the treaty, having never signed it.

All the above broken promises, however, might have been passed over, affecting single bands only, as the three thousand White Earth Indians, and not the whole body, but that the Indians saw, or thought they saw, that their money coming to them, the proceeds of their pine, was being absorbed by white men, and that they would finally have everything stolen from them. This conviction steadily grew upon them, watching through the years. There were three ways in particular in which they thought this was being done. One was that a Commission, consisting of three men, ex-Congressmen and others—unexceptionable men in themselves—was quartered upon them for over six years, each of whom received, with allowances, out of their funds \$13 a day, or \$39 for the three daily; and those men again gave offices to men under them—mixed bloods and others—at the rate of \$5 a day, and other sums; so that the daily cost of that Commission to them was, they said, \$88 a day, and there was no work for those men to do to equal that expenditure; most of them seemed to be doing nothing but drawing those high salaries. The ostensible business of those Commissioners was to allot lands to the Indians; but I may mention what a United States inspector sent from Washington—a very honest, capable, and experienced man—said, that he knew one woman in the employ of the Government who would allot more Indians than that Commission, or that an additional clerk under

the Indian agent at \$1,000 a year could have done it all. I think the Indians and the United States inspector were right in their view. Of course it was very aggravating to an Indian who was hungry, and who would have dearly liked just two cents out of his millions of dollars' worth of pine forests to buy himself one pound of flour, but could in nowise get it, to see so many white men and others drawing fat salaries out of him, and doing very little or nothing.

Besides this Commission many other white officials were sent, some to supervise the cutting of timber and many other things, and the Indian had to pay for it all.

Finally this Commission of three, with their numerous retainers, became so glaring an imposition that the members were reduced to one, and everything seemed to go just as well or better under that one.

Another way in which the Indians saw they were cheated out of vast sums was in the estimating and sale of their pine timber. Under President Harrison's administration a corps of estimators, each drawing \$6 a day out of the Indians' money, was appointed to estimate the amount of pine on the Red Lake Reservation, or a part of it, and did so. When the new administration of President Cleveland came in, the cry was raised that the former estimating had been done fraudulently, and that it must be done over again. So a new corps of estimators, numbering, I believe, some twenty-six, was hired, each receiving \$6 a day out of the Indians' pine. This new corps was said to be, as to its members, grossly incompetent. Some of them were paper hangers, some saloon keepers, some had got their appointments from having control of negro votes in the South, some had never seen a pine tree, and most knew nothing about estimating pine. As to how they fulfilled their duties, the general report was that they spent their time mostly in playing cards under a pine tree. They were always well supplied with whiskey, and drank heavily. When there was to be a dance at some neighboring town, fifteen or twenty miles distant, they would go there, and after remaining a few days return to the pines. Some were said to absent themselves for months, but still drew their pay. One took the Keeley cure. Their operations, with those of the former corps of estimators, covered a period of many years. The Hon. Melvin R. Baldwin, Chairman of the Chippewa Commission in the Indian country, and at the head of all the work, said that those first two corps of pine estimators were paid \$350,000, and that the real value of the work was \$6,000; that he could have it done for that sum, and done it honestly, whereas it was done dishonestly, he said, in the interest of the purchasers. He said that much of the pine was very greatly underestimated—sometimes only a trifle of what was really growing on the tracts; that when it came to be sold at the Government Land Office those tracts were snapped up, the purchasers getting them for a small part of their real value, while any tracts that they had estimated up to the actual amounts of pine growing on them were not bought. He denounced

those sales as fraudulent; went on purpose to Washington, and did all he could to prevent their confirmation. There is on file at Washington a report of Special Agent J. George Wright about these gross underestimates of the pine. When that second corps of pine estimators had finished their work, that was not the end; a new corps, the third, was set to work to go over what the second corps had done; and so it seemed as if their pine would be estimated all away. It seemed like an estate sometimes among white people, which is all frittered away in legal expenses till nothing is left for the heirs.

Then the Indians saw another means of fraud introduced in the shape of fire. According to the law, what is called "dead and down pine" could be cut; and the Indians realized 75 cents per thousand feet for such pine. But green standing pine on the lands they had ceded was not allowed by law to be cut at all, unless it had been bought by an individual purchaser. They complained constantly that their green standing pine was being cut by wholesale, under the pretense that it was "dead and down" pine. The cutting was done almost altogether by white men. For the pine so cut they got only 75 cents per thousand feet of logs, whereas green pine logs everywhere were worth from \$4.75 to \$5 per thousand. This was taking their pine from them almost for nothing; and they saw no end to it, nor any means of stopping it, for they complained and tried with all their power to stop it, bringing it to the notice of the authorities in every way they could, but they were not listened to, and the thing was allowed to go on. By this means again they foresaw the loss of all their property; that they would get 75 cents a thousand for their pine—expenses to come out of that—instead of \$4.75 or \$5, which it was worth. A lifelong, experienced lumberman, and an honest man, who examined the cut of logs on one reservation last winter, said that two thirds, at least, of them were green.

Then, as by the law, green growing logs could not be cut, but only dead and down, it was a great temptation to those who wished to cut to fire the pine, especially as by doing so they would get for 75 cents what otherwise would cost them \$4.75 or \$5. So on the Red Lake Reservation, where the largest body of pine was, fires ran everywhere; the whole country was burned over. It was the common report and belief all through that country, and was openly avowed by some who were engaged in cutting pine, that fire was constantly used by those who wished to cut pine which, by the law, they could not cut, being green, and, in addition, to get it for 75 cents instead of the real worth—\$4.75 or \$5. It was a pitiful sight to see the beautiful, shapely pines that formerly covered the country for a hundred miles, and which, like the buffalo, could never be replaced, yield to the devouring element. The Indians all said and believed that the pine was fired that it might be capable of being cut and got for 75 cents instead of \$5. That was what made the Leech Lake Indians, including the Bear Islanders, ask, just before this trouble began, that the cutting of

pine on their reservation, begun last winter, should be stopped. They saw how the Red Lake Reservation pine had gone by fire; they saw how the White Earth pine was going; and they knew the same thing was going to take place on their own reservation—that it had already begun. One can make allowance for the feelings of poor men seeing themselves about to be plundered by their elder brothers, who should have loved and protected them, of the last remnant of the noble patrimony they had inherited from their fathers.

It ought to be noted, also, that when the Indians found the promises made to them, by which they were induced to sign, were broken and would not be kept, they repeatedly offered, and would have been most eager, to undo the treaty, to take back their land, even with a great part of the pine burned and cut off it, and release the whites from their promises to pay.

But this, of course, they were not allowed to do. The edict was: We will break our promises to you, by which we got your land, as much as we please, but we shall not allow you to undo that treaty, nor take back your land, and if you attempt to do it we will kill you. You must stand by and see us plunder you all we want to, and if you resist we have soldiers and will send them and shoot you.

There is a very strong and clear sense of justice in the Indian's breast, stronger than in any race I know; and what they felt and feel may be imagined. Their white brother so rich, and they so poor! And this was a sort of invisible and intangible enemy that was striking them down; it was no person they could reach; it was law, and it was government. No wonder that the poor Bear Islanders, not knowing where to strike, struck at last wildly and blindly. But they struck no woman nor child, nor man without arms; to their nobility be it said that, as men, they sought men and heroes with arms in their hands.

That is always the way the Indian does: he bears till he can bear no longer; he has no newspaper nor organ by which to make known what is being done to him; he does not speak our language, has no powerful organization of friends to champion his cause, and at last he does the only thing he thinks he can do—strikes a despairing blow.

There was another thing occurred which was, as it were, the last straw; that was the cutting down by the Government of their little annuities from \$9.20 to \$5.50.

Senator Rice repeatedly promised them at the time of the treaty that they would be paid an annuity of about nine dollars a head for fifty years; that, as their pine was sold and the proceeds lodged in Washington, that annuity would increase to perhaps three times the amount or more; that this increase might not all be paid to them in money, but in useful things, but would certainly be paid. Having the treaty before it, the Government for many years paid the Indians about nine dollars each—about nine dollars and twenty cents, I believe—as promised by the Commissioners. Then, all at once, without any previous notification to the Indians, the Government cut down the annuity to \$5.50, the amount paid at the last annuity pay-

ment. I believe this cutting down was ordered by some official on the ground of a clause in the treaty that some of that annuity money was to be used for schools. But the Government, having paid \$9.20 per capita under that treaty for so many years, having the treaty before it, had fixed that as the proper interpretation of it, and had morally bound itself to pay them that sum, and not one in a thousand of the Indians was aware of the existence of any such clause in the treaty. All they knew was that the Commissioners had promised them \$9 per capita, and that the Government had always paid it. When, therefore, the annuity was suddenly cut down, it filled them with alarm and dismay. They said: "All our pine is going, by fraudulent estimating, by fraudulent selling, by fraudulent cutting, by swarms of officials at high salaries eating us up, most of all by being fined, and now the only thing left, this annuity, which we looked on as as sure to come as the sun to rise, is cut down almost one half. Won't the next step be that it will be taken away altogether? and then the whites will have got everything we have, and only our bodies left."

An annuity is bad for Indians, and should never have been promised. This annuity was put in the treaty to please the Indian traders, who were anxious to get hold of the money every year, and thus their influence was gained to induce the Indians to sign it. But, having been promised, there is nothing to be done but honestly to pay it. No one but one who has lived among them can understand how they set their hearts on those few dollars; and there are hundreds among them, poor widows and others, who make the best use of them. It is a pity if they cannot be restored to them. Good friends of the Indian, including the Hon. Mr. Baldwin, Chairman of the Chippewa Commission, begged the official who made that decision not to do so. They reminded him that it might cause an outbreak that would cost a million dollars. We see what the accumulating causes behind it, above detailed, have caused.

To any one living among them the things above detailed have been perfectly plain. Even those living at hundreds of miles' distance, who had no such opportunities of seeing, could see it. For instance, the Hon. Mr. Eddy, member of Congress from the Red Lake and White Earth districts, said, as quoted in the newspapers some months ago, "The funds of the Chippewa Indians are being rapidly frittered away," or words to that effect. We all thought that promises solemnly made to Indians only to be broken, and dishonest handling of their affairs, were things of the dim and distant past; but, seeing how things have gone since the Rice Treaty of 1889, one learns that they are just as operative now. It is the same old story.

An admirable official of the Government, an inspector or supervisor of schools, once said to the writer when they were riding along together in the Indian country: "As long as the Indian has ten cents the white man will camp with him, and never leave him till he has got that ten cents away from him. That always has been the history of our Government from the beginning, and always will

be." No words could express more accurately what has been going on ever since the Rice Treaty of 1889 among the Chippewas than those words.

The Chippewa Indians have been most patient, forbearing, long-suffering, under very great provocation, for many years, hardly even uttering a complaint, and, in the opinion of those who have seen the working of things, they have been deeply wronged and abused. And the lamented death of the noble Major Wilkinson

In pursuance with the vote of the Conference, proofs of Rev. Mr. Gilfillan's address were sent to Indian Commissioner W. A. Jones.

The following reply was received too late to be published in connection with the address:—

"I have nothing that I desire to add except that, in my opinion, the statements made by Mr. Gilfillan are in the main correct. The cutting of the dead and down timber is now largely under the control of the General Land Office, and it would be, to say the least, in bad taste in me to comment on or criticise the conduct of another Department."

responsibility for any violation in the letter or the spirit of that treaty. If you can, I should like to have that located. If not, I am sure that our friend Gilfillan would be very swift to withdraw that reflection upon the Indian office.

MR. GILFILLAN.—The promise was made by the Treaty Commissioners, whether it was in the treaty itself I do not know.

PRESIDENT SLOCUM.—These facts should be put before the public. I want to add one suggestion. I think the impression has gone through the country that the trouble in Minnesota is of such a nature that it proves a reflection on all Indian work.

REV. DR. BUCKLEY.—I am not able to sympathize with this motion made by General Morgan. In the first place, we learn that the proposition relating to the one hundred and sixty acres and the

eighty acres did not apply to the whole body of the Indians. In the next place, it appears that the Commissioners had not the authority to make that arrangement. As I have heard these statements I have been racked with contending emotions. This country has recently rung with declarations that we are the most civilized nation, the most humanitarian in spirit, and that God is leading us out where we are going to take charge of the Philippine Islands, fourteen hundred in number, appoint agents and manage them, and have a vast amount of machinery for all sorts of people. Alas, the history of the treatment of the Indians in Minnesota is exactly what it always has been. It is the same old story.

The motion was referred to the Business Committee.

Mr. HERBERT WELSH.—There are some things in connection with this subject which I think ought to be said in a very quiet and dispassionate way. I think we should make a careful, guarded statement of what we believe to be essential truths which will affect the minds of the American people. There is a popular demand to know the truth upon this matter. The most important result to be reached is to show the influence of the spoils system. It is not so important that we should indict and punish any one man. This evil has been going on for a long time, but at this juncture it will have a very valuable effect on the public mind if we can show the importance of eliminating the partisan spoils system from the management of the Indian service. If the country can be shown that the whole thing is cursing Indian management, it will enable us to do what we ought to do,—separate it from the spoils system. We know that a great deal of what has been said is the simple truth. I know from one of the best inspectors in our service, a competent man, Major Wright, what has been going on with reference to those pine lands. If we can get some of the essential facts, which Mr. Gilfillan has stated, before the public, it will have a powerful effect. Whether you can hold the Government responsible for the promises which were made by those Commissioners, I do not know. That does not seem to me to be the important question; but if you can show the people of the United States that these particular Commissioners have only in one case promised those men what they have not performed, you have done a valuable thing. I know that this trick has been played again and again. If you can prove that the Indian has been deceived by those in whom properly he was led to trust, that is valuable work. The value lies in this, that it shows he, the Indian, had as strong a reason for taking up arms against the United States as our own colonists and the Cubans had in their respective rebellions. I believe the essential facts of this case bring a most powerful indictment against the people of the United States. If it can be shown that in the year 1898 the killing of a number of our officers and men in the Indian outbreak in Minnesota was the direct result of wrong inflicted by our representatives, we have proved that the Indian has

been doing that which we praise in another man, and which we would do for ourselves. You have removed the stigma from the Indian to place it on us. I think this kind of fraud and trickery should be shown to the people of the United States. We are blaming no particular set of men. Our contention is, that, from a human standpoint, the Indian was justified rather than condemned.

Dr. BUCKLEY.—To justify the Indians in an outbreak would be something which no American body would be likely to commit itself to. What we have to do is to show the grievances. As Geronimo is reported to have said in a recent interview, he has learned that it is better to suffer great wrongs from the United States than to shed blood in a useless fight.

Mr. WELSH.—I certainly did not mean that the Indians were, in any sense, justified in causing that outbreak. I meant that the conditions of wrong and fraud which have pressed upon them had put them in a condition where all men, under their circumstances, if they had been deprived of other means of relief, would have done as they did.

Mr. SMILEY.—I think Mr. Gilfillan has made out his case, and shown that the Indians were shamefully mistreated. They trusted the Commissioners who had sworn on the Bible, considering them the representatives of the Great Father, and believing that the United States would carry out the Commissioners' promises. They do not know anything about the Indian office. The agreement made between the Commissioners and the Indians was very materially altered by Congress without consent of the Indians, and they have, therefore, reasonable ground for resentment.

General CHARLES HOWARD.—There has gone out to the country a statement of the cause of the trouble, and it seems to me there ought to be some other succinct statement of the case. I was among those Minnesota Indians twenty-five years ago, and there was cause for dissatisfaction then. To have it go out that the outbreak was the result of resistance to arrest is a lie. We ought somehow to get the truth before the country.

Miss SIBYL CARTER.—I have traveled among those Minnesota Indians a great deal on my long trips. They have a great distrust of the American people. They feel that we do not keep our word. On numbers of occasions I have talked with them about the breaking of this treaty. Once I said to one of our Indian clergymen, "Are you sure that it was in the treaty?" He replied, "We could not read, but the Commissioners told us that it was in the treaty, and we want it because we were promised by the Commissioners. They afterwards told us that it was not, and we felt that they had lied." So do I. On other occasions I have talked about these deputy marshals. I do not know the name of one of them, but the Indians have told me repeatedly that the marshals wanted them to drink, because they got money for every man they arrested.

Mr. S. M. Brosius, Washington agent of the Indian Rights' Association, who had just returned from the Southwest, was asked to speak on the Minnesota trouble. He made the following statement.

THE REVOLT OF THE PILLAGERS.—WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

BY MR. S. M. BROSIUS.

The Pillager Indians have a grievance. It is the old story of promises made and unfulfilled by the Government. Previous to the year 1847 they had long been at war with the Sioux tribe, and readily agreed to a cession of a portion of their reservation to the United States for the future home of the Menominees of Wisconsin, who were alike friendly to them and the Sioux; the land ceded lying between the Pillagers and the Sioux, thus separating them from their bitterest enemies. Relying upon the promises made by the United States, on August 21, 1847, the Pillagers ceded to the Government seven hundred thousand acres, for the occupancy of the Menominees, for the nominal sum of \$15,000, the principal consideration being the settlement of the friendly tribe thereon. The Menominees afterward became dissatisfied, and refused to settle upon the land selected for them. By the Treaty of 1854 they receded the land in question to the United States for a portion of their old home in Wisconsin, and the further consideration of \$242,686. The seven hundred thousand acres receded to the Government was opened to settlement; the game forests soon being destroyed, thus affecting the value of the diminished reservation occupied by the Pillagers. These Indians have never ceased to complain of this unfair treatment. The Treaty of 1847 was negotiated by Isaac A. Verplank and Henry M. Rice as Commissioners on the part of the Government. Mr. Rice fully realizing that a wrong had been done the Indians by the settlement of the ceded lands by whites, executed the following certificate as the only surviving Commissioner:—

“St. Paul, Oct. 4, 1880.—The following statement is made at the request of Flat Mouth, Chief of the Pillager Indians: In 1847, when the Pillager Indians, by treaty, sold to the United States the Leaf River country, for a nominal consideration, it was understood that the country ceded had been selected for the future residence of the Menominee Indians, who were friendly to the Chippewas, and the country would remain Indian territory. Not only this, but the Menominees would form a barrier between the Pillagers and the Sioux Indians, who had for centuries been at war. The old men thought by having the region thus occupied peace would follow. Hence their consent to yield to the request of the Government. They were sadly disappointed, for after the ratification of the treaty other provisions were made for the Menominees. The Leaf River country was thrown open to settlement, the game driven out, and the Pillagers exposed to all the evils that beset a frontier border. The country ceded contains about one million acres; the price paid about one and one half cents per acre. The sale was positive. The Pillagers have no legal claim to the land,

but morally have a claim upon the Government, which claim, I hope, may at some suitable time be acknowledged by giving to this poor band such aid as will improve its condition.—Henry Rice, One of the Commissioners.”

In further explanation thereof he stated to the Council of the Pillagers, held at Leech Lake, Minn., Aug. 12, 1889 (referring to the above certificate written nine years before) :—

“In regard to the land that you loaned your Great Father forty-two years ago, all that you have said is true. It was understood between Flat Mouth and myself that that land was not to be used by the whites, but that it was for the use of the Menominees. In 1855, when Flat Mouth went to Washington and made the last treaty, the question had not been decided that the Great Father would sell the land to the whites; consequently nothing to prevent it was done. Time passed on, and the matter seemed forgotten. As I was the only one living who knew anything about it, and for fear that I might be taken away, that paper which has just been handed to me was given to Flat Mouth. And I believe I am the only white man living whose hand touched the pen to the paper authorizing the cession. The Commissioner who was with me died long ago, and I do not know that there is a witness connected with that paper who is now living. So I am left all alone to receive all the blame that attaches to it, but I know that I am in the hands of my friends. It was not long after Flat Mouth was in Washington that there came a change in the administration, and then, or soon after, came the great war, when everything else was laid aside; and it has taken nearly all the time since to settle the questions that were raised by the war, paying the great debt incurred, taking care of the four million blacks who were thrown upon our hands, of the widows and orphans of the soldiers killed in battle, and of the soldiers who were wounded during the war.”

Under an act of Congress, approved Jan. 14, 1889, entitled, “An Act for the Relief of the Chippewa Indians in the State of Minnesota,” Henry M. Rice, Martin Marty, and Joseph B. Whitney were appointed members of the Chippewa Commission. From the report of this Commission, dated Dec. 26, 1889, it appears that the Pillagers were dissatisfied by reason of the broken promises on the part of the United States. The said report reads as follows: “We (the Commissioners) had to give a solemn promise, with raised hands, that we would, to our utmost ability, urge immediate settlement of the unadjusted claims.”

The said Commission further states :—

“The Pillagers, at the time of the cession, were told by the Commissioners that the said tract would be held as Indian lands are usually held, and that their friends, the Menominees, would occupy it. The Commissioners were Isaac A. Verplank and Henry M. Rice. The Pillagers from the time that they heard that the tract was not to be occupied by the Menominees, as stipulated, had to this day considered that they had been injuriously overreached. They have never ceased to complain of this, and never

will until reparation shall be made. We cannot too strongly urge that the Government cause this matter to be carefully investigated, and in some way allow the Pillagers what may be found to be in equity due them. Indians are not unreasonable when fairly dealt with, and as they are about starting out as citizens under this act, aid will be of greater benefit now than heretofore, and is more needful now than it can be at any future time."

This injustice to the Pillagers has never been adjusted by our Government. The Pillager Indians have further cause for complaint. I am informed by a former employee of the Indian Department that cession of large tracts of their lands has been made to the United States from time to time, and they were led to believe they would receive many million dollars when the same was settled by the whites. Lumber experts have been appointed and, in turn, supplanted by others through changes of administration, or on the ground of collusion with lumber dealers; and at this time I am informed that it is doubtful if the Indians have anything to their credit when a final settlement is made. The law allowing *per diem* and mileage expenses to United States marshals has been a source of much trouble to Pillagers, as it is to other Indians. On one pretext or another the Indians have been arrested or summoned to appear at St. Paul before the United States District Court, and often held there for weeks, awaiting some pretended trial. In the meantime boarding houses and cheap hotels were doing a "land office" business, often providing for more than two hundred Indians at a time. Whatever industry had been followed by the Indian suffered in consequence of his enforced absence from home. Indians are fast learning that the way to secure their rights is by open revolution against the authority of the Government, thus calling public attention to their wrongs. The Sioux boast that they have never been conquered by the United States, being uniformly successful in their uprisings, the Government conceding their just demands as the price of peace.

Mrs. QUINTON.—The points that have been made in this case are points that apply to the Indian service elsewhere. I have been asked to speak of my recent visit to California. I found the Mission Indians had improved in industrial work. They have had great difficulties in their path. I think they take in the fact that a new life must be begun by them all, and they are beginning a life of civilized industry. It is crude, but it would be unreasonable to expect perfect fruitage in the first generation. A few years ago where I saw nothing approaching the idea of village responsibility, there are now streets laid out, trees planted, and civilized appliances are used. There are among them about twenty-eight Indian villages, from ten to forty miles apart. The officials in charge cannot do their full duty over such long distances. It is not practicable to go over such an area every month, or even every three months. Not long ago the Government furnished funds to open an artesian well among the desert Indians. Water was found at eight feet, it was said, and again at about four hundred feet. But

more work is needed to secure an adequate supply, and it will take another small appropriation to make the well a success. But the water is there, we are told.

I visited the Hualapai Indians in Arizona. They have gone down from 1,100 to 600 in number in recent years. A few years ago they had nothing in the way of civilization, but on this visit I found them in something like homes. They formerly wore nothing like civilized garments, but many now are well clad, and a majority are making progress. They have a good day school and excellent teachers. The Government will, at an early day, we hope, provide a boarding school for them. The Indians are very cheerful. The old-time sadness of expression has gone from many faces. I had calls from some of their leaders who showed that they were moved with the spirit of true progress. Their agent is capable, faithful, and interested in his work.

I next visited our new mission among the 25,000 Navajo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico, and saw there pictures that would interest you all. You remember Mrs. Eldridge, the Government field matron who was with us here two years ago. She has done admirable work, is devoted and brave, and does not hesitate even to camp out alone, when it is really necessary, with the protection only of a good fire, and her trusty revolver under her pillow. She can groom her own horses, and do many other things at need which are not considered a part of woman's work. She has captured the hearts of some of the leaders of those Indians, and of many of the people. I visited one camp where there are 300 Indians learning the ways of civilization, and Mrs. Eldridge was their instructor. She had told them that they must get a man teacher, but they continued to come to her, and so she continued to give them help. They have placed a dam across a cañon, have made a reservoir, and were irrigating their wheat, which was planted in hills. Cultivation under such circumstances is slow, though sure. White men would not think of doing such work, but the Indians are making crops which will feed them. There was another group of farms seven miles in another direction where Navajoes were also working with success. They are very capable Indians, have ceased to ask favors, and only ask fair play and unhampered opportunity. Some of them were taken to the World's Fair, and were soundly converted to the white man's civilization. From a former trip some came home and reported what they had seen, and the Indians replied, "you have learned to lie like the white man." But when the delegation went to the Fair and were convinced their report was believed on coming home, and the Indians began to clamor for schools, and are still asking for more of them.

There is a new Episcopal hospital at Fort Defiance, and it should be strongly supported, for it is doing an influential work in the way of civilization as well as medically. Dr. Harper, the resident physician, is a woman deeply interested in the Indians, as well as in her profession, and she is doing a most useful work in Indian homes also. I hope that Miss Thackara, who is at the head of the

institution, will have furnished to her all the money needed for its work. There should be there a kindergarten also for the instruction of the many little ones near.

As to the criticisms which have been made this morning I would say that these are not against any one administration nor against individuals, for they apply to all administrations, as they do to all reservations, to a greater or less extent. Drinking has lately been on the increase on some of the reservations, we are credibly informed, and the officials over Indians are never sure to be temperance men. Strong drink is being sold at many places, we are told, and the condition of things is of the saddest at some points. We do not wish to complain. It pains one's loyalty to do so. We thank God for the great advancement made, but some things should be exposed in order to be changed. We are not pessimists about it, but it does seem to us that with the progress already made much more should soon be done in the way of radical reforms. God's great committee of righteousness is in the world still, and we cannot yield to wailing and despair if we are true Christians. I am sure all the wrongs in our Indian system can be righted, since God's promises to righteous work are sure, and not only for our own tribes of Indians, but for all the other people whom God is now forcing into the keeping of this nation. We ought to be hopeful. We must hope ever if loyal to God. What is needed in Indian affairs is honest men in all administrative places. When we have righteous inspectors, supervisors, and agents, the Indians can be civilized and educated. Christians must furnish the religious teaching needed.

Mr. Frank Wood, the Treasurer, made an appeal for subscriptions to meet the expenses of printing the report.

Adjourned at one o'clock.

Second Session.

Wednesday Night, October 12.

The Conference was called to order at eight o'clock, the President in the chair. Dr. Lyman Abbott, Chairman of the Business Committee, announced the following order of business as adopted by that Committee: Two sessions a day, from 10 A. M. to 12.30 P. M.; in the evening from 8 to 9.30 or 10, not later than 10. Unless otherwise directed, speakers in discussion to be limited to ten minutes, with the understanding that the President shall, at his option, confine each speaker in discussion to five minutes.

The resolution submitted by General Morgan at the morning session was read by Mr. Galpin, seconded by Dr. W. H. Ward, and unanimously adopted.

The following paper submitted by Senator Dawes was read by Mr. Galpin.

THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES.

BY HON. H. L. DAWES.

A summary of what has been accomplished during the past year in the work under charge of the Commission will, I think, show the most gratifying results, and a greater advance toward the consummation of the objects aimed at, than in any previous year. Since the last Conference the Indian laws in force in the Territory, and the Indian courts in which they are administered, have given place, by Act of Congress, to laws corresponding to those of the State of Arkansas, applicable to the same subject matter, and applicable to all persons in the Territory, without distinction of race. These laws are to be administered in United States Courts, and enforced by United States officers. Every Indian resident claiming to be a citizen can try his title in these courts in the Territory, and carry his cause, for a final decision, if he desires it, to the Supreme Court of the United States, like any other citizen of the Republic. These courts are now open to every Indian citizen to secure, as against the Tribe or any one claiming under it, the equal use with all other citizens of the common property of the Tribe, or he can, if he choose, have his equal part set off to him by partition for his own exclusive enjoyment. All laws hereafter enacted in the legis-

lative councils of the Tribes are to be, before taking effect, submitted to the President of the United States for his approval or disapproval. All the monies belonging to these Tribes, and all their revenues, are to be paid to, and disbursed by, United States officers. The royalties from their coal mines and rentals from their grazing lands are no longer to be paid to individuals, but into the United States Treasury for the equal benefit of every member of the Tribe. Provision has also been made during the year for the allotment of all the lands of the Territory equally among all its citizens. And this has been attained upon terms to which the Tribes themselves have agreed by popular vote, as to all except the Cherokees, and, possibly, the Creeks; and, as to them, it has been provided by statute. It has also been provided by these agreements and this statute that white residents in the Territory, now numbering many thousands, unable heretofore to obtain title to the land upon which they have built their homes and expensive business houses in flourishing towns, can now purchase, at a fair appraisal, the land upon which they have built, and upon which they have expended large sums in expensive outlays.

In short, whatever rights, civil or political, are enjoyed by the citizen resident in any of the territories of the United States, the same rights are now secured to the citizen Indian, and, largely, to the white resident also in the Indian Territory, if he care to exercise them.

While much work is still before the Commission in the important duty of allotting these lands, as well as in carrying to completion the minor details made necessary by these other comprehensive measures, yet what has been done is fundamental, embracing the elementary conditions essential to the healthy growth of a prosperous people. By them the government of the Indian Territory and its land system will, at an early day, be brought into harmony with those of the United States and of the states by which it is surrounded, assuring it a most encouraging and hopeful future.

The subject for the evening was then taken up, "The Efficiency of the Indian Bureau." The first speaker was Mr. Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia.

THE EFFICIENCY OF THE INDIAN BUREAU, OR THE ADMINISTRATION IN RELATION TO INDIAN PROBLEMS.

AN ADDRESS BY MR. HERBERT WELSH.

The subject allotted to me is the question of administration in relation to the Indian problem. I think that we cannot lay too great emphasis upon the importance of sound administration in the management of any great enterprise. It would seem hardly neces-

sary to take up any time to prove that such is the case. In relation to this Indian question, I think it is true that we never have had a sound administration. We never have had an administration which did not violate the fundamental principles of right management. I look back to-night over sixteen years of personal experience of a very close and intimate kind with the management of Indian affairs, and I beg to lay before you some of the facts and some of the conclusions at which I have arrived.

My interest in this subject covers a period spanning five administrations, those of Presidents Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison, President Cleveland again, and President McKinley.

There seem to me to have been two vices in all those administrations. First, a confusion of purpose; second, a division of control in the administration of Indian affairs.

Now what is the confusion of purpose? There have been two purposes where there should have been but one. But one purpose should have animated the management of Indian affairs during all this time—the welfare of the Indian. It seems so simple that it is almost absurd to be obliged to state it, and yet every one knows that it has not been the primary purpose which has animated those in control. It has been at best, and under the most charitable construction, a secondary purpose. The primary purpose has been political, partisan,—the use of the Indian service to reward the partisans of the various administrations. Any one who has tried to do anything for the Indian service knows that this is true. He knows that this is the great stumbling block in the road, and that no one, from the Secretary down, has been appointed primarily for the reason that the welfare of the Indian was to be advanced. Had that principle been in operation I am sure that Mr. Gilfillan would not have been obliged to tell the miserable story that he has narrated so pathetically for us this morning.

Observe this false principle at every step, for it is only by observing and understanding principles that you can ever understand how the difficulties in the administration are to be remedied. Usually the difficulty lies in the first step. It is the first step that costs. During all that time I remember only one Commissioner of Indian Affairs who was appointed for the sake of getting the best man that could be secured for the Indians. With that one exception, every appointment was political. And I know of one Indian Commissioner who frankly acknowledged, when asked to speak on the subject of the Indians sometime after he had been appointed, that he did not consider that he knew enough to speak on that subject, and that he would rather listen to those better informed upon it. Reflect upon the meaning of such a confession as that! Is it not true that the fundamental principle which should have governed the control of this service has been wanting?

During all that period the appointments of agents have been made primarily for political purposes in one administration after the other. Take the Democratic administration for example, since that was the first that came in after I became cognizant of Indian

affairs. When we looked for consideration on behalf of good officials, and for the appointment of good agents, we found that nearly all of those officers were turned out and others appointed for political reasons. During that administration nearly all the employees were likewise turned out. The question of the ability of those who were called to do the work—the question of their fitness—was at no time the primary question which determined the removal or the appointment. Nearly all the appointees were drawn from the two States of Tennessee and Mississippi. Those from Tennessee were the political friends and followers of the Assistant Indian Commissioner, who came from that State. Those from Mississippi were the friends and political followers of the Secretary of the Interior,—an excellent man in many respects,—who came from that State. You see the falseness of the principle on which this great instrumentality for civilizing the Indians was conducted.

I would also ask you to consider what I think I can truly say from my experience, that every advance which has been made in the management of the Indians has come in direct proportion to the amount of pressure—very often necessarily in the form of an attack, and a sharp attack—brought by the friends of the Indian upon the administration in power. The pressure from politicians was only minimized by the counter pressure brought by the organized friends of the Indian upon the administration to do better. In this criticism my position is a purely non-partisan one. I think it is fair to say that about as much harm was done under one administration as under the other. There are some points which should be made in justice to both. During that time there was no president who exhibited a more earnest desire to help forward the Indians or who did more conspicuous acts in that regard than President Cleveland. I think he is worthy of that expression of opinion, but at the same time in his first administration there was a general looting of the Indian service. In some respects the employees sent in were of a lower grade than those under the previous administration, but it is fair to say that Mr. Cleveland in several instances exhibited the utmost courage and decision in support of the rights of the Indians. In the case of the Crow Creek Indians, whose lands had been intruded upon, the order permitting this was revoked, and the rights of the Indians were restored. We owe him a great debt of gratitude for that act. I think it should also be said that he was willing, to an unusual degree, to receive a presentation of the views of the friends of the Indians.

The men who have had a political pull, who could come with the backing of senators and representatives, and other powerful people, have been listened to. You heard Mr. Gilfillan's accounts of those appraisers. I happen to know that some of those appraisers were chosen in this haphazard way, and I know, from testimony outside of what Mr. Gilfillan has given, of the indefensible and wretched character of their work.

What we want to do is to go back to the simplest principles. I

never could see why it is that the Government of the United States in any branch should be conducted in violation of those principles which are considered necessary in every well-regulated business. Why should it be?

It is also necessary to look at the brighter side. I think we ought to bear in mind that it will require only the organization of a small number of citizens who know that this is a false principle, which brings destruction upon any private business; it requires only the organized effort of the people of the United States pressing upon those in authority to bring about a better condition of affairs, and to do away utterly with this false principle. Those who have had experience in such matters feel that there are certain national evils inherent in our national life which must be eradicated before this can be done. We have not the sobriety which we ought to have, and which I believe we shall arrive at.

For our encouragement look at what England has accomplished. She had her days of the spoils system when incompetents were placed in positions of authority, but with the vigor of her civilization she has worked out a different condition of affairs, and those who know her present civil service, as shown in Egypt and India, know that she has reached almost the perfection of administration in such work. How is it done? By proper selection, by picking out the best, by determining what are the sane and sound principles of administration, and allowing nothing to interfere with them; no selfishness, no personal demand, nothing to come in conflict with the great design which the nation has in hand, and the great principles which the nation recognizes as necessary to the accomplishment of that design. I take it that our position at present as a nation favors the accomplishment of this great reform, which the friends of the Indian must urge before their work can be done. We are unquestionably face to face with larger responsibilities in respect to government than we have ever faced before. Whether we like it or not, whether we are expansionists or not, we are committed to a degree of expansion and to a certain degree of administrative expansion which will require, unless we are to be disgraced before the world and in our own eyes, the adoption of sound principles and the exercise of sound methods.

I believe that if we can only hitch on to this movement that we shall get the advantages which are so necessary in order to win success. There must be a harmonious movement, a recognition of the fact that in all these places, so different in many respects, there is a common ground.

With all that we have to mourn there is much to rejoice over; it is not unmixed dissatisfaction. While the advance has been slow, with many slips back, still the general movement has been forward. Under President Harrison's administration a great advance was made. It is true that all or nearly all the agents who had been appointed by Mr. Cleveland were removed. It is true that upon the Secretary of the Interior, who did not resist that pressure, and upon the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who did most fully re-

sist it, that this pressure was brought. Consider their position. What is it that makes it hard to do their duty? They are obliged to get appropriations from Congress for schools, for irrigation, for whatever must be carried on. In order to get those appropriations they must have the good will and concurrence of members of Congress. Sometimes senators, sometimes representatives, will come in and use threats and every kind of pressure in order that their political hangers-on may find places in the Indian service. General Morgan was subjected to that pressure, but he resisted, and President Harrison stood by him. But consider the falseness of the position! What a dreadful state of affairs it is when the man in authority, and who ought to have in his mind only the civilization of the Indians entrusted to him, is continually thwarted by members of Congress, who will tell him that unless he will yield to their demands he will not get the appropriations necessary to carry on the work in his department.

During President Harrison's administration, largely through General Morgan's efforts, the Civil Service regulations were extended to seven hundred places in the Indian school service; which means that they were taken from the hand of the spoiler. We can look with great satisfaction upon the work which has been accomplished under those rules. Better work has been done, better teachers obtained, and they have been able to do their work not with the depressing feeling that at any time they might be removed by political opponents, but that they would be protected so long as they did their work well. That was a great advance, but it is by no means all that we desire. I am sorry to say that at the present time, I think it is fair to say, under the present administration, there is very great cause for regret on the part of the friends of the Indian.

Under Mr. Cleveland's second administration, when Secretary Hoke Smith was in office, some good things were done, and one of the best was the appointment of Dr. Hailmann as Superintendent of Indian Schools. I ask you to note that that was in no way a political appointment; that it was not made at the behest of politicians. It was made upon the suggestion of the head of the Bureau of Education, Dr. W. T. Harris, and it was with the hearty concurrence of the friends of the Indian. I think that that marks one of the greatest advances that we have made. It was a logical step forward. General Morgan had come into the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, himself a trained educator. He had thrown great force and vigor into building up the Indian work, bringing it to a point where it had never been before, and this appointment of Dr. Hailmann was a step yet farther in advance. To-day we must mourn the removal of Dr. Hailmann.

Now notice that in all these changes of administration there was a continual loss at some points; men who were utterly unfitted were placed in the service,—in some cases men who were actually criminals. I remember one man from an eastern city, who had stolen a considerable sum of money from the town and was under

sentence from the court, went out West and received an appointment from the Secretary of the Interior under a Democratic administration, and was placed on a distant reservation. It took us nearly a year to have him removed, and when it was finally accomplished the Secretary said his friends had obtained this place that the man might have an opportunity to retrieve his character! That was a low way to look on the service of the United States Government. There are fitter places for men to retrieve their character than in the Indian service.

What do we face to-day? After all these sixteen years of progress and retrogression we have made substantial progress. It is always difficult to criticise passing events, and yet I hold that there is nothing more important upon the part of any citizen who desires the advancement of the service in the United States than legitimate criticism, not inspired by animosity or partisanship. It may not be based on fact, but the only true view of the matter is that the citizen is the sovereign. He must never abdicate his throne of authority. When those high in position violate fundamental principles in the management of the country, they are subject to legitimate condemnation; and this, when sincere and rational and based upon facts, is one of the greatest elements in progress.

During this administration it seems to me that, upon the part of the authorities, there has been less willingness to hear reasonable and fair suggestions from the friends of the Indian than we have ever experienced in the sixteen years past. I think that many feel this is the truth, and that, instead of the reception of suggestions from persons who have no end to serve but the nation's purpose,—the advancement of the Indian,—there is a very great willingness to listen to the suggestions of partisan politicians. I would have you observe that there are changes going on highly detrimental to the service, and which must push this work of civilization backward. Our experience leads us to believe that it is possible to civilize the great majority of the Indians; that they have the same minds and dispositions as ourselves, and in some respects qualities which really put us to shame. In this work of civilization, if partisanship in politics is to interfere, we are sure to waste money and effort. What we want to do is to so arouse the people of the United States to this subject as to make them feel that it is impossible to have a great educational system successful unless the principles which educators tell us are necessary to success are acted upon.

If, for instance, you have a fine educator, and he is removed, not on sound principles but from political influence, the people of the United States suffer, and the money that is spent for education does not do its full work for education, and so the Indians suffer. We, the friends of the Indian, stand in a representative capacity, and act as your agents. We warn you of what is going on, and beg for your influence.

Another point: Along with this vicious principle of letting partisanship control has been a *divided* control. There must be a

great change in the system under which Indian affairs are administered before they will be administered well. The Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs are two heads; there should be but one head. The Indian Commissioner is put in the position of a clerk.

If we were to look to the Secretary of the Interior as the only head of the Indian Service, we should find that he is overburdened with a hundred other important functions, so that he cannot give the time, and attention, and care to their management they deserve. What we must have, if the Indian is to be civilized, is some single point of authority to which the whole people of the United States can look, and demand an account of stewardship. I believe that a much larger authority ought to be given to the Indian Commissioner, and that that part of the burden should be taken from the Secretary of the Interior, before satisfactory results can be reached.

Can we not urge these two things? Are they not both approved by your conscience and intelligence? Can any man pretend that a great organization can succeed which has for its purpose the civilization of two hundred and fifty thousand souls if that organization is used for some other purpose—for a base purpose, for a corrupt purpose? Is it not manifest to every intelligent man and woman here that there should be a complete divorce of the Indian service from politics, and that it should press forward for one end only,—the end of civilizing the Indians? I think in every change of administration there ought to be a public sentiment so powerful that some worthy man could be selected as Indian Commissioner, not one who confesses that he knows nothing of the Indians; not one placed there to satisfy the demands of some partisan, but one known to care for the Indians. Is it worth while to pay out money for the services of a man who does not know his business and confesses it? Is it common sense? If England has been able to solve this problem, and to send her administration into Egypt and India and in a few years bring order, peace, and comfort out of the chaos there by the accuracy of her system, shall we be behind her? If we are to go to Cuba, or Porto Rico, or the Philippines, and care for the depressed races, who have had no education, and who must be educated and cared for, how are we going to do it unless we have first learned to care for ourselves? And as long as we must consider that question, isn't it well now, without waiting longer, to demand that those who represent us in Washington—but who sometimes misrepresent us—shall do their plain duty, and when earnest requests are received in favor of humanity and common sense, those requests shall not be thrown to one side that the whisper of the politician may be heard? If this question is to be solved, it is to be solved by us,—by the thinking people of the United States,—and it cannot be solved by sitting still where we are. It must be solved by the work of the brain, the heart, and the hand. What America needs is an awakening in all this great question of honest administration. She needs it here and elsewhere. We have sometimes had the failure to consider it written

in blood; that has been the tragic result of putting political partisanship before public duty. Shall we not share the responsibility of the crime of those Indians in Minnesota, who have been wronged and robbed as thousands before them have been?

These are national problems, and we are part of the nation. We appeal to the conscience and the brain of the people of the United States. It is as clear as the sun in the heavens. It is a duty as plain as any duty. If we do not meet it we cannot blame those who fail to do their duty in positions of authority. It is our duty to be willing to perform the functions of the citizen.

Mrs. QUINTON.—We women have been in the work since the administration of President Hayes, and a great many instances of the evils spoken of have come under our observation. These evils have not diminished of late. We are asked to speak of some of the things that we have seen. Mr. Welsh has alluded to the fact that there has been a misappropriation of money. An inexperienced man comes in and an experienced man goes out, and two years are wasted. It seems to me that is a misappropriation of funds. I remember one case in which an official had been addicted to drink. He was not himself for a week, and had delirium. Complaint was made, and he was removed from that position, but transferred to another where his salary was increased. Places have been made and filled which did not help the Indian service. I have known physicians to be appointed over so large a field that it was impossible properly to serve it. In some cases there was a good salary, a horse, driver, and an interpreter perhaps. Visits were made here and there, but they were of little avail for chronic cases, and acute cases could not be reached in time. I have seen reservations that should have been abolished long ago. I have seen men who did not do their work, and I have seen supervisors whose reports were far from accurate. All this is a sorrowful thing to talk about. I have seen officers who were anything but gentlemanly in their treatment of teachers, although the teachers were true and faithful. In some cases I have known inspectors, supervisors, and agents to be courteous to those in power, and rude and unjust to others. These are the evils that inhere in the system. The system itself must be changed. How can it be done? By criticism, by kind complaint, by loyalty to truth and righteousness, loyalty to the good of the race which we profess to serve. And the duty comes to every man to bear his testimony, to use his influence, and to give his vote for the needed reform.

Mr. SMILEY.—This is a very important subject, and Mr. Welsh does well in insisting on having the Government conducted on business principles. The views which he has given so clearly apply not only to the Indian Bureau, but to every department of government in this country. There can be no permanent progress in government until Civil Service rules become universal. I believe we are going backward steadily in some respects. Our large cities are going into the hands of political managers. We are not

selecting men of the best character. When I was a boy in New England they used to choose the best men in the town for "select-men," and a man did not propose himself for office, but the community selected him for his fitness for the place. But now a man proposes himself, and argues his own case, and gets as many people as possible to join with him, by fair means or foul, and so he gets the position. That is the case all over the country. It has become, therefore, no credit for a man to be elected to any high office. It takes a great deal of courage for a good man to be a candidate for office because of the corruption of our politics. This is lamentable.

As the first remedy for the inefficiency in the Indian Bureau I would suggest this, that we have a President elected for eight years, and ineligible for the same office afterwards. Then he can appoint a Secretary of the Interior who will hold his office for eight years. It is well understood that the Secretary of the Interior requires from two to three years to become acquainted with the Indian question. All the other bureaus of the Interior Department require comparatively little attention. I do not agree with Mr. Welsh in one thing, in making the Commissioner of Indian Affairs independent of the Secretary. This practically creates a new secretaryship, and will not remedy the evils which we now complain of. Furthermore, this plan will fasten the Indian Bureau upon us forever. I long for the time when the Bureau shall be abolished, placing the distribution of Indian funds into the hands of the Treasurer of the United States. If you are going to get rid of the Indian Bureau don't make the office too high and important.

A large number of the Indian agencies should be immediately abolished, and all of them at no distant day. I am more and more convinced that Indians should be thrown upon their own resources. There has been too much coddling, which tends to pauperize them. Anything which is given to them and not earned is little valued. Most Indians are capable of taking care of themselves if let alone. Put the Indians on their feet; teach them to swim by throwing them into the water. When practicable, I would do away with all rations, but make the Indians work for their food. I long for the time when all the Indians will be absorbed in the body politic.

Adjourned at 10 P. M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 13, 1898.

After prayer by Rev. Dr. Webb, of Boston, the Conference was called to order at 10 A. M. The Treasurer asked for early contributions for the publication of the report.

President W. F. Slocum, of Colorado College, was asked to give an address.

THE FOUNDATION OF EDUCATION.

BY PRESIDENT W. F. SLOCUM.

A few weeks ago I had the pleasure of being at the Trans-Mississippi Educational Convention at Omaha. Among the speakers was a gentleman who graduated with highest honors at West Point,—was at one time a distinguished member of the Faculty of Harvard University, and is at present the President of a leading university in the West. He closed a memorable, scientific, and critical address with these words: “I would rather turn one student from wrong to right than make sixty great engineers.” It is conceptions like that which transform the mere teacher into a maker of citizens.

I trust that in all I try to say this morning in regard to the education of the Indian I shall succeed in making clear that at the foundation of all education is a moral problem, and that, however scientific the discussion into which we enter may be, it will appear to you all that the purpose of it is primarily ethical.

I wish to speak of the problem of larger opportunities for the Indian, and I hope to be able to show that very much that is the outgrowth of the reservation plan is thoroughly unscientific, both from an educational and an ethical point of view.

We all admit that the purpose of the government, and also of private movements, for this ward of ours should be to develop such character in him that he may be fitted for citizenship. I think we are all also willing to admit that no attempt to make a citizen is of value which does not develop both the capacity as well as the desire for a moral life. In other words, the education which does not make a moral being with inherent force of character is inadequate, and will not fit the needs which exist under a republican form of government. It must also be recognized that the mere exhortation to any one “to be good” really accomplishes very little. We may as well say to the stutterer, “Don’t stutter,” and expect him to speak as other people do, as to think that an un-

trained person will become a moral being by simply telling him "to be good." The capacity for right doing is just as distinct a capacity as the one that makes a man into a skillful mechanic, and one needs development just as much as the other. Truthfulness is a habit, and needs to be cultivated just as much as the habit of driving a nail straight.

It will be a matter of great convenience if we can use some word which will characterize that condition which we term moral in the individual, and I know of no word that will better suit my purpose than the word self-control, or the expression, "power of self-control." This is the word that the expert alienist uses to test the sanity of his patient. Power to control one's mind, and especially power to control it for a definite end, is the test of a sane mind. When one loses power over himself, over his thinking powers, over his mind, he is insane; when he can control his mind, especially for a definite and fixed purpose, he possesses power as well as normality. Self-control, however, is much more than a mere negative quality; it is infinitely more than capacity for not doing certain things. Self-control is power to hold one's self to a task until it is accomplished; to do the thing given one to do; to carry through to a successful termination that for which one is in the world. It is power or capacity of this kind that must come into the life of our Indian if he is to be a true citizen; if he is to be what we believe God meant him to be.

President Hall, of Clarke University, has been telling us lately that "character is muscle habit." We can assert that there is a physical basis for the moral and intellectual life, and if it can be shown that we have been violating the simplest facts of this physical basis of character, we shall have at least taken one important step toward a solution of the Indian problem.

We are now carrying very many of our educational problems to biology, and asking what it has to say, and the neurologist is rendering important service. Weismann finds no adequate solution of the question of heredity until he studies the problem of the germ cell, and I think we shall find the same to be true of the educational problem. We have discovered, beyond contradiction, that distinct localities in the brain are for distinct purposes. The study of the localization of brain functions has given most interesting and important results. A recent case in one of the hospitals in Denver, which was in charge of that great authority on brain diseases, Dr. J. T. Eskridge, and which I had the opportunity of studying with him, has helped to show that there is a distinct locality in the brain which is utilized for the memorization and use of words. I think another case of a school-teacher, who, by a fall, injured a certain well-defined locality in her brain, has shown that there is even a spelling center, and that power to spell correctly depends upon a right development of the cells at that locality. Dr. James, of Harvard University, tells us that habit is due to the plasticity of the organic materials of which our bodies are composed; that the reason why an act is easier after being done several times

is because these cells assume certain fixed conditions because of reflex nerve reactions, and that it is the adjustment of these cells to certain demands which are made upon them which makes things easy to do a second, third, and many more times. Dr. Maudsley says in his "Physiology of Mind," that man might be occupied all day in dressing and undressing himself, and that the working of his hands over the fastening of a button would be as difficult to him on each occasion as to the child on its first trial, if it were not for this development by experience of the cell life of the brain. M. Leon Dumont in the *Revue Philosophique* tells us that just as the sounds of a violin improve by use in the hands of an able artist, because the fibres of the wood at last contract habits of vibration conformed to harmonic relations, and so give inestimable value to instruments that have belonged to great masters, so our mental habits affect the nervous system, and produce fixed conditions that establish the moral and intellectual life of the individual.

The truth is being clearly demonstrated that we do not secure the necessary brain development unless we give our pupil the training which produces that development of the cells of the brain which is essential to right habits.

It is a very significant fact that it was the boy raised on the old New England farm who made the well-balanced, clear-minded man of affairs who, in business and in professional life, has been the power for good in the evolution of the nation.

Dr. G. Stanley Hall has rendered a great service to the nation as well as to the cause of education, by showing why it was that the training on the farms of New England produced the moral and intellectual power which has been such a saving force in the nation. The training of the hand aids the development of the brain, and the boy who was obliged to do about everything on the old farm was laying the basis of mental and moral power which made a good citizen of him. In other words, it was making a good machine with a marvelous living mechanism through which the soul could express itself. A leading banker in Chicago told me within a few months that seventy per cent of the successful men on 'change in that city had been brought up on the farms. We want no better argument than that for manual training as an essential part of our educational movement. There is certainly truth in the old German couplet:—

"Bilde das Auge, übe die Hand,
Fest wird der Wille, scharf der Verstand."

("When eye and hand you deftly train,
Firm grows the will and keen the brain.")

All self-control needs certain brain conditions, and there are good reasons why the nervous, broken-down person is impatient, and loses control over himself. It takes a healthy, well-developed person to preserve power over himself; it is the well-developed man who is fitted best to wield himself for work and duty.

The question that every well-wisher for the honor of the nation

asks himself is, Have the opportunity and the training which have been granted to him made it possible for our Indian to secure such development that we can expect him to be ready for citizenship?

There can be no intelligent person who knows anything about recent investigation along the lines which I have indicated, who can for a moment maintain that the life on the Indian reservation, with its pauperizing tendency, its shutting the Indian into a life of laziness, of undeveloped resources, with nothing to stir his ambition, and rouse him to a life that possesses the true elements of citizenship, is not thoroughly unscientific, unnatural, and positively vitiating in its tendencies. Before leaving this phase of our subject I want to bring to your attention another series of facts which support the position that altogether too little has been done to develop the Indian for a useful and self-respecting position among the citizens of the country. Until a man is a hopeless pauper or idiot, let us treat him as if he were material for citizenship, and not make him a helpless ward.

I want to try to show from the types of criminal heads that bad environment, poor training, and one-sided education do produce abnormal brain development. I have here about one hundred carbon sketches of some of the most notorious criminals in the world. They are the faces of those who have made the life of the criminal their profession; and most of them are the children, and often the grandchildren of thieves, forgers, or murderers. Most of them are from the celebrated pictures of criminals gathered by Dr. Cesare Lombroso, of the University of Turin, Italy. [Here there were presented to the audience pictures of criminals, showing in every one abnormal types, curious-shaped heads, and among them all were none that could be called normal. Dr. Slocum told the history of many of them, showing that their education had been exceedingly faulty, and that there had been little or nothing which could be called manual training in their education.] We must all admit as we look at these faces that something is wrong with them so far as their brain development is concerned. There must have been with all these some seriously unfortunate conditions that could have produced such modifications in their normal development.

Some time ago I had the opportunity to make a study of a boy who was operated upon at Denver, under the direction of Dr. Eskridge, for idiocy, produced by abnormal shape of the skull. The boy previous to the operation was the most helpless, drivelling idiot I ever knew. He could not feed himself; he had eyes, but could not see; he had feet, but could not walk; he could not utter a single word, and, apparently, had no intellectual life and no moral capacity. A marvelous surgical operation was performed upon him; the skull was opened, and the poor, cramped brain given a chance to grow. In six months the brain had expanded two inches; and what was the result? He could walk, see, feed himself; more than that, he could use sixty-seven words,—“father,” “mother,” “watch,” “good,” “bad,” etc. In other words the operation had enlarged his capacity for farther development.

Now, we ask for our Indian that every circumstance in his surroundings and his education should help to enlarge his capacity for citizenship: that he may have power and become an intelligent and worthy man. He is by no means a person of naturally weak intellect; but unless the reservation plan is overthrown he never will develop into what it is possible for him to become. The discoveries in the educational movement have made this very clear. Every cell developed adds to the power of the brain, and all training of muscles develops these cells,—the power of self-control; power to use one's self for a definite and high purpose. A self-control that is infinitely more than the power to suffer pain and say nothing, comes only with the development of the highest capacities.

If it is true that we are born with the same number of cells as we have at the end of life, and that the only change is the development of these cells into functional capacity, and that this development comes only under certain conditions and with a definite line of training, how can we expect to transform our Indian into a man of power unless we give him that training?

One reason, and a powerful one, why certain vices appear in school children, is because the child, who has been active from morning until night, is suddenly taken from such a life, put into a poorly ventilated room for hours, so that the physical expansion of his powers is suppressed, and, as a result, there is almost sure to be an intellectual and moral reaction, which is abnormal. Healthful physical and intellectual conditions produce healthful moral results in the child, and the same thing is true of the Indian.

Something should be said in this connection in regard to the matter of environment as affecting the education of the Indian.

The same laws of growth bear upon him as upon all other human beings. The boy who grows up in a wholesome moral atmosphere, where all influences are helpful, the language which he hears is correct, the attitude toward what is right is clearly and strongly on the side of the best morality, has infinitely better chances than the one living under conditions which are just the opposite. Those who have had to do with wise transference of children from the slums to country life and training, have found that the large majority are saved from lives of vice, pauperization, and crime, to those of morality, independence, and self-respect. We are slowly learning that the State is recreant to its prerogative, which allows children to grow up in an atmosphere and under conditions that are almost sure to produce bad citizenship.

Some time ago I looked into the conditions of the Whitechapel district, in East London, trying to see the problem of "darkest London." There was the drunken mother with her babe at her breast, and the drunken, swearing, fighting father, ready for all kinds of crime. There were there, too, city missions, the Salvation Army, "The Palace of Delight," and Toynbee Hall; movements that are filled with noble, self-denying effort, but the sad fact was that they were not solving the problem. They were helping a few

here and there to better lives; but, slowly and surely, is it dawning on the English mind that the only solution for "darkest London" is for the Government to step in, and radically change the conditions which produce it. A state that is true to its high function has no right to let a slum exist at all. The rookery must be supplanted by the model tenement; the sanitary conditions of every section of the city must be perfected; the pseudo home destroyed, and the children placed where they will have the best possible chance to grow up as moral men and women.

This, now, is the law which I wish to enunciate as the working principle for the solution of our long-delayed Indian problem.

The State has no right to violate a scientific law in the development of the Indian into citizenship.

I intended to say something of training as essential to the best results in the education of the Indian. That is, I mean that discipline which brings obedience not so much to a person as to law; to what is right and true for their own sakes; but I have already taken too much of the valuable time of the Conference.

As to the future of the Mohonk Conference, I believe it is entering into its largest work, great as has been its service in the past. If what I have said means anything, it means that the spoils system must let the Indian problem alone. Just as long as men like Dr. Hailmann are to be removed from the work which they are doing so well, and for which years of most careful work has fitted them, the Government is recreant to its sacred trusts.

Am I saying too much, to add that the time has come when it must be accepted as a definite working principle that the Indian reservation must be done away? This cannot be done next week, or in the next twelve months; but one becomes very tired of changing the definite and fixed plan to do the thing which ought to be done into a mere theory, which is tossed about by politicians who never intend really grappling with the problem. I mean not the slightest reflection upon the noble work done by such men as him whom we all delight to know, Senator Dawes. But the Indian problem will never be solved as long as the Indian is shut up to the narrow, and too often demoralizing, life of the reservation. He must be placed in contact with modern civilization,—that is, real civilization; those movements which underlie all that is best in our national life; which make for better physical, moral, and religious ideals. So shall we save him; save him to a useful life, and to those high duties and privileges which are the sacred prerogative of all true citizenship.

In regard to the work of the Mohonk Conference, I believe the time has come to take advance ground on two or three things. I do not mean to say that they have not been said over and over again. The moment you get at these scientific facts, as well as at the great moral facts, you find the real crime of the spoils system. Just so long as men like Dr. Hailmann can be removed, you are striking blows at those Indian children who ought to be trained and made into what God calls them unto. The spoils system, cer-

tainly, as it bears upon this Indian question, must go if we are going to realize the largest results.

Am I saying too much when I say that the time has come, also, to do away with the reservation? I am very impatient with the notion that puts off the doing away with the reservation as a theory rather than laying hold of it as a great working proposition. Just as soon as possible—and that does not mean that we are going to wait and wait—we should say to the Government that the time for that bad condition of things—the putting of the Indian onto a tract of land, usually one that could not be cultivated by a white man, and expecting him to grow up in idleness to a good life—the time has come for that bad condition of things to cease. I do not mean to ignore the hopeful side, and the hopeful thing is that the Indian is cultivating his land; he is training his hands, is training his brain and his moral capacity. You will never solve your Indian problem so long as you put great groups together on the reservation. The reservation must go. That is a great working fact.

You never produce the best kind of citizen or race without getting your individual out into a broad life. This question of environment is a very serious one. We shut ourselves up to a narrow set of opinions, and our intellectual life goes down to them. You must get the Indian in contact with modern civilization, decent civilization. It is the blackest sort of paganism in which he often finds himself. That is de-civilization of the worst kind.

A VOICE.—It is devilization.

President SLOCUM.—It is, indeed. It is not civilization. We must put him, as far as we can, in contact with the great underlying movements of our civilization that make for a better intellectual and better physical life, a better moral and religious life. In that way we shall really save him,—body, and mind, and soul. That is what we are after. So I pray that in all these educational movements we shall deal with scientific facts. Our work is not done; our work is only begun.

Gen. T. J. Morgan was invited to speak.

General MORGAN.—I shall confine myself to sketching an outline of what might be called The Natural History of Indian Education. The first step was the securing of the necessary money from Congress. In 1876 this was begun largely through the instrumentality of Senator Dawes. Twenty thousand dollars was appropriated from the United States Treasury for Indian education. Slowly the appropriations increased from year to year, but it required almost Herculean efforts on the part of the friends of education to secure a sufficient amount from the Government for the doing of this work. There was a wide-spread conviction, or prejudice, that the Indians could not be educated. A member of the Finance Committee of the Senate said to me with great positiveness,—a man who had lived among the Indians, who felt that he knew whereof he spoke,—

"This is a simple waste of money. Every dollar that you put into Indian education is thrown away." The Assistant Secretary of the Interior, through whose hands the recommendations in the Indian school service passed, said to me: "You are a fool; you cannot do anything in educating the Indians. There is not a case on record of an educated Indian. You are not only throwing away public money, but you are antagonizing Senators, and you are acting very foolishly."

I might multiply such speeches indefinitely to show the difficulty of getting from Congress the money necessary to carry on Indian education. It was only because of the sentiment expressed through the Mohonk Conference year after year in every Platform, and through the agency of the great religious newspapers of the country, and through organizations bringing to bear upon Congress such pressure of public sentiment, that forced it to grant these appropriations. While Senators would privately ridicule the suggestion of money being given for Indian education, they would, in obedience to public sentiment, vote the money necessary. General Whittlesey reported to us that the money available to-day for Indian education out of the treasury of the United States is \$3,200,000, as against \$20,000 in 1876. That is the first marvelous change.

Second, to secure the proper equipment of Indian schools. The schools were first held in rude buildings without any of the necessary equipments. There were no blackboards, no facilities whatever for industrial training, no attention paid to sanitation. If there were attempts at farming, for instance, they were in utter violation of all principles of business in carrying on farms. After a struggle running over a series of years, such places as Carlisle, Lawrence, and Chilocco were secured. It was at one time proposed to have Fort McDowell, Arizona, which was no longer needed as a military fort, used as a school. This is precisely the place for an Indian school, they said, and the orders were about to be issued for the establishment of one at that point. I concluded I would look into it, and went down to see for myself, and a more desolate or outrageous place for an Indian school could hardly be imagined. The proper denizens of that place were the native Gila monsters, the tarantulas, and other things that live in that heat. Instead of that the school was planted in Phoenix, within two miles of the courthouse, and it has grown to be a school of magnificent proportions, which has changed the condition of those desert Indians, and is helping to change the whole character of the Pimas, Papagos, and others. To secure the proper building equipment and facilities for work there was a hard task, but it has been substantially accomplished. The development has been such that if you were to visit these Indian schools now, you would be gratified to see that much attention is paid to health, and comfort, and facility for work.

The third stage was to secure the attendance of the Indian children. That has been one of the great difficulties of the whole situation. When I was visiting a school at Fort Hall, as we passed along, boys and girls of school age, suspecting that we were after them,

would dodge into the sage bush like so many quails. When it was proposed to fill the schools at Fort Lewis by police force there was practically a rebellion on the part of the principal men. It was difficult to get children away from their parents; to get them to consent to have their children put into school; to overcome their inertia, their prejudice, and their fears. The parental love and devotion of the Indian fathers and mothers are just as strong as that of the Caucasians; the love of home is even stronger on an Indian reservation than it is on Fifth Avenue. This instinctive attachment to father, mother, and home of birth, is one of their strongest characteristics, and one which we have not yet fully recognized. It is the great conservative force which holds the Indian. That has been overcome to a large extent. Nine years ago, when my attention was first given to this, there were sixteen thousand children enrolled in all the schools. Yesterday the number was given as twenty-four thousand. There is a gain of from sixteen to twenty-four thousand, fifty per cent, nearly,—eight thousand more than were in school nine years ago. Those of you who know the significance of that—the toil, the difficulties, the obstacles removed—may well say, Praise God for the marvelous advance we have secured. It only needs patience and persistence along that line until every Indian child of both sexes of suitable age and health will be enrolled in school.

The fourth step was the organization of the school system, the adoption of suitable text-books, an arrangement of a graded course of study, a proper method of securing teachers, and the elimination, so far as possible, of politics from the schools. This, as every one knows, has been a tremendous struggle, but it has succeeded; and to-day, while there is much yet to be accomplished, there is in the main a greatly improved condition of things, namely, in all the Indian schools there is a course of study, beginning with the kindergarten work and ending with normal and academic work. The students are promoted from school to school, and enter according to the standard of the different schools. The English language lies at the basis of instruction, and is the medium of their training. It has been so widely introduced that the Indian language is disappearing, and even on the playground the Indian children talk English. An industrial system has been introduced. The schools are under the supervision of men supposed to be experts. I am afraid, however, that the good of the school service is sometimes sacrificed to lower motives. The blight and mildew on the Indian school work are partisanism and Romanism.

Now we have reached what might be considered the final stage; if not that, then the penultimate stage, that of administration, when the schools are to be administered as a system,—administered precisely as we should administer the school system in Massachusetts or New York, where men shall be selected to supervise the work, and the men and women who are to give instruction shall be selected simply with regard to their capacity as school-teachers. Has not the time come for the removal of school work from the Indian

Bureau and placing it in the Bureau of Education? We all know that Dr. Harris, who is at the head of the Bureau of Education, is one of the ablest educators and scientific thinkers now living. Such a change should cut off politics. The public school system of the United States, wisely administered, would train mind, and heart, and hand, and develop the character of the Indians. We ought to eliminate politics, and put the school system under the Bureau of Education.

General WHITTLESEY.—The progress in the work of education, of which General Morgan speaks, is due in no small degree to the persistent effort of our friend General Morgan when he had semi-control of Indian affairs. I want to say one word more, which he omitted to mention, that the Indian school plant, now owned by the Government, is estimated to be worth at least \$3,000,000.

Mr. WISTAR.—Will General Morgan tell us his thought about getting the Indian schools under state and county organization?

General MORGAN.—An attempt was made to solve that question some years ago, by offering to pay in districts where Indians were located, ten dollars a quarter out of the public treasury of the United States as tuition for every Indian boy and girl admitted into a public district day school. There are so many difficulties connected with this, although the idea is admirable, that it has been hard to put it into practice. The average Indian child whose father and mother live in tepees, or tents, is hardly fit to go to school. He is not clothed properly, he is not washed and combed, and his presence is undesirable. It has been found necessary, therefore, to open boarding schools, and take away the Indians from their homes, and surround them with the environment of which President Slocum has so well spoken. The public school system is not a boarding-school system; so if there is a necessity of a boarding-school system, you see how difficult it will be for the States to take it up. It is said with some degree of bitterness, that in Oklahoma, while the boys and girls from the Indian families are taken to Government schools, and are clothed and fed, and taken care of for four or five years, or taken to Carlisle and surrounded with all the attractions of modern civilization, without any expense, the children of the white settlers, on the next quarter, are left to seek their education for themselves. The time has not come when you can persuade the States in this matter of Indian education, because the State must depend on the day schools, and the Indians are not ready for the day schools. We must, for some time to come, keep them in the boarding schools, where we can break the continuity of the reservation life, and get rid of the traditions of Indian modes of living, and instill new thoughts, ideas, and aspirations.

A compulsory law was at one time enacted, at my request. There is a law on the statute books compelling the Indians to go to school. I had all the power I wanted. It is only a question of administration. The truth is this (I wish some one else would say it), any man who occupies the position of Commissioner of

Indian Affairs, whose heart is in it, and who is willing to pay the price for it, can get about all he wants for Indian education.

Miss Sibyl Carter was asked to speak on Indian industries. The following is an abstract of her remarks:—

MISS CARTER.—My work seems to begin where the others leave off. It begins with the people who have been left out,—the Indian mothers. Other people have taken the boy and the girl and put them to school, but they have left the old woman on the reservation. They have left her completely out of their thoughts. I had occasion, a good many years ago, to make a visit with Bishop Hare all through Dakota. I was struck with the fact that everywhere Indian women were asking for work. Accordingly I established schools for teaching lace-making; and I believe it is the greatest blessing that ever came into the lives of these people, just as it was the greatest blessing that ever came into my own life that I had to earn my own living. I have now seven schools. They all look to me for their support. The lace which they manufacture I dispose of for them.

There is another industry which might be used for the Indians,—that is, the making of pottery. If I had money I could start it to-morrow. The Rookwood people are back of me.

MR. SMILEY.—We will get you the money if you will start the pottery.

MISS CARTER.—Well, I will do it. The pottery, however, will not be so easily disposed of as the lace, which can be sent in the mail all over the country. The Navajoes have blankets for sale; these also ought to be disposed of. I am willing to do my part. I have with me a lady who has just come from Red Lake, who has been making visits to the schools for me because I had not the strength. You must remember, however, that it is the Indian women themselves who are doing the work.

It is the Indian women for whom we are doing this work. It also appeals to the Indian young women who come home. Did you ever think what it is to an Indian girl to come back and have the old home cleaned up? How it must seem to an Indian girl to come back to her dirty old wigwam from Carlisle! I have seen them come back in that way. I have seen their faces and felt sorrow for them. One sweet young woman who had been three years at Carlisle came back. I wish you had seen the little old dirty house of her mother. She could not stay in it. She came and stayed with me in my own house. I discovered she knew very little English, so I recommended that she should be taken to the Lincoln Institute. She learned a little lace work before she went, but I supposed she had forgotten it. When she came home she picked up her lace pillow and went to work at it, and had forgotten nothing. They never forget what they learn. They are worth teaching, I assure you. I have sent this young woman now to Wisconsin, and I am flooded with letters telling how wonderfully

she does. She had been three years at the Lincoln Institute and had not learned to cook meals or to make bread. I had her learn, because no woman passes out of my door without knowing how to make bread.

She went into the lace room and began a piece of work, and to teach the other women. They liked her very much, they said; she is so gentle and so dignified it is a pleasure to have her for a teacher. She is of invaluable help. This is what we must do for our Indian sisters. We must give them industries and let them work for wages.

Miss Carter then exhibited some exquisite lace work, snowy in its whiteness. Some one asked if it had been laundered. Miss Carter replied that in the seven years the Indian women had been making lace there had never been occasion to launder a single piece.

Miss Annie Dawson was introduced as an Indian who had come to Hampton in 1871 for her education.

Miss DAWSON.—I left my field of work at Fort Berthold to bring sixteen young people to put into the Hampton and Carlisle schools. As I have been among the people of the United States I have come across a great many who have known nothing about the three tribes which are settled in the very northwest part of Dakota. I account for it in this way. These three tribes—the Gros Ventres, Mandans, and Arikarees—have been so faithful to the whites that they have been brought little before the eyes of the public. From the very beginning they have been friendly to the whites, and have stood by them. I remember when I was a child, during the Custer massacre, many of our young men, as well as the older ones, went as scouts and soldiers to fight against Sitting Bull and his party, and many of them never returned. They died fighting side by side with the white men,—fighting against their own people, whom they thought to be in the wrong.

I was brought in the first party of Indians who came East to be educated. As I had no family to claim me at home I was permitted to remain at Hampton until I graduated, and then went north for training in the State Normal School at South Framingham. Afterwards I went to Santee to teach. It was from that I received the idea that the homes of the Indians ought to be elevated. While I was there I had the opportunity of escorting young people who returned to their homes on these reservations. When I went back to my own home I found all of our people camped near a white village. They had come to welcome me home. It was very pathetic to me as I heard them calling me by my Indian name, for it was many years since I had been with my own people. As they came to shake hands with me tears fell from their eyes, for they thought I would never come back to the old home. I felt then that my field of work must be among my own people,—that I must devote my life to them. It was with that thought that I came East again for further training in the School of Domestic Science

in Boston. My work as field matron is to carry industrial education into the homes of the older people, who have not been able to have school advantages.

When I returned I was fortunate in having for my companion an earnest, devoted, and capable young woman who had been a classmate of mine through my course in the School of Domestic Science, and who was as much interested as I am in my work. We found things in the most deplorable condition, and it seemed a very discouraging work to lift the homes and life of the people in their one-room cabins. Things are in a transition stage with my people. They are leaving the old and gradually learning new ways. I have preached the gospel of soap, and after three years I can speak encouragingly of the efforts made by the women for themselves, but they are almost entirely without resources. Advance must be slow. In only a few cabins do we find cupboards, chairs, tables, and other things of that kind. The only piece of civilized furniture that you are almost sure to find is a cooking stove. Three years ago the one-room cabins in my camp were little better than pens, the filth being most revolting. The utensils and dishes which had been used were put away under the stove and beds, and often the dogs were the only ones that cleansed them. To-day you will find them washed, and arranged in a cupboard made of boxes nailed on the walls and neatly covered with old newspapers.

Perhaps it is just as hard for the Indian woman to go from her ill-ventilated tepee as for her daughter to adapt her ideas to the present limitations of the Indian home. Better ways of life must be established before the Indian home can be what it should be, but much progress has been made in the last three years.

The laundry is one of the most trying things. Most of the Indians live two or three miles from water. The only way to supply them with water is to haul it. Once hauled it is too precious for such an endless and troublesome work as washing dishes and tables.

The first thing to look into is the condition of the children. They have to be bathed, and put into clean clothes. There is really an evidence that they are caring for better things. The women come from every direction, and ask for clean papers and pictures with which to adorn their homes. There is some awakening of interest among the men. Many have come with plans for new homes. One man there has saved \$60.00 in three years, with which to build a three-room log house, that he hopes to make look like a white man's house.

Many needs of a good home can be supplied only when the people have some industry by which they will get employment and learn economy. There are many idle young men now who have no use for their time and strength.

Cooking classes have been carried on in our house, and the women have shown a great deal of interest, and have carried the lessons into their homes, where they have made dishes for their families as they have been taught in the cooking class. We have sew-

ing classes also. They show skill in learning to make garments. The schoolgirl, who comes back in her well-fitting garments, is an object lesson. At the close of our gatherings we have mothers' meetings, and this gives us an opportunity to talk with the women on various subjects, such as the feeding and care of the sick, or the proper training of children. Protests against bad customs can be made,—such things as giving coffee to babies and stuffing the children at all hours of the day.

We do not claim great results in the work which we have tried to do on our reservation. We notice, however, the greater effort which they make for tidiness in the home. The children suffer less from inflamed eyes, and scrofula has been reduced since they have received good care. The agency physician is a conscientious man, and is doing all he can. He has a warm place in their regard. The homes are being better fitted to receive the returned students, and they are encouraged to keep up civilized ways of living so far as possible. If the spirit of earnestness, sincerity, and honesty of purpose pervaded the whole of the Indian work as it pervades this Conference, I feel that the time would not be far off when this Indian question would be settled, and the blanket would be transformed into the robe of righteousness.

Mr. SMILEY.—This excellent speech shows what the Indians are capable of, and there are thousands among them just as capable as Annie Dawson if they only had the chance. A few years ago some money was raised for the higher education of selected Indians. A noble man from Rhode Island, who died a few weeks ago, when this money was being raised, slipped into my hands a little check, saying that he was interested in the higher education of the Indians. It was a check for a thousand dollars. Roland Hazard was a noble type of man. I wish there were more like him. He left \$100,000 for Brown University, and all his life he was a friend of humanity. I am sure many Indians ought to have higher training. Many Indians are excellent orators. They are most skillful in handiwork. Before we are through here, I am going to hold Miss Sibyl Carter to her promise with regard to the pottery.

Mrs. QUINTON.—I have seen Miss Annie Dawson teaching, and I never saw better teaching, more alert thinking, and better management of pupils. It was really admirable. As I went over the reservations this summer, I was struck over and over again with the fact that there is the same capability and the same aspiration as among ourselves. The people long for work. They feel the necessity for it, are ready to do it, and are capable of doing it well. I wish there were a place where articles made by Indians could be disposed of. I am sure the Navajo women would send blankets. One of the Navajo women made a blanket which took her months. She took it to a trader to dispose of. It ought to have brought at least fifteen dollars. He would give her only three dollars; and as she had to have some money she was obliged to let it go for that. I saw a great many of these blankets on the reservation. The Navajoes are very capable.

Mrs. Quinton called the attention of the Conference to a book entitled "The Red Patriots," a story of the Seminoles, which is now on sale.

Mr. Galpin said that in looking over the last year's record of the Conference, he had found an excellent sketch of Miss Dawson, which he would like to read. It may be found on page 100 of the Proceedings of the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference for 1897.

Reports from the different religious societies were called for. The first to respond was Rev. Dr. F. P. Woodbury, of the Congregational Board.

Dr. WOODBURY.—The work done for the Indians at Ooaho has been most inspiring. The work under Mr. Thomas Riggs had to be stopped, as we feared. Our committee on the 9th of November, by vote, authorized enough money to be added to that already received through the efforts of this Conference, and the results reported at the end of the year were very encouraging. Mr. Riggs, half blind as he is from his devotion, is carrying on his work. At Standing Rock we do not have charge of the school, but we do station work, the work of evangelizing, and of Bible reading, and of going into the homes and teaching the old people there. When I was at Fort Berthold a few years ago it made my heart ache to go into those homes, and I want to testify to the great joy which has come to me, knowing what Miss Dawson is doing to aid our missionaries at that station. I want to emphasize every word that has been said.

Miss SCOVILLE.—For the past two days I have been applying President Slocum's science to the facts stated here by others, and what I myself have seen among Indians.

Two pictures of our method of educating the Indians are stamped on my mind. One is the State House of Minnesota, where the scalp of Little Crow, the leader of our enemies of 1862, now hangs. There, where there are plenty of Little Crow's people to mourn over it, we hang that trophy as a sign of our civilization. When I hear that Minnesota again trembles under an Indian war, I doubt whether the education of such a civilization tends to peace and the highest development of the Indian. But there is another method of educating Indians. I heard an account of it as I drove the thirty miles to Running Antelope with Mr. Noble, the teacher at the Government school. He had come to the village since my last visit, and I asked him what he thought of the people. He answered, "They are the nicest Indians I ever had to deal with." I knew what he meant; they were wild Indians who, when they came onto the reservation, fell into the hands of the A. M. A. workers in general, and Miss Collins in particular.

He went on to say that he heard that the teacher before him had found it hard to get wood and hay, but said he: "I have had no trouble. I got one of my boys for interpreter and went out and showed the men of the village how to measure a cord of wood, and

told them I would pay so much for every cord of wood delivered at the school before November 1st, and by the 1st of August the wood was cut and stacked." As to hay, Mr. Noble said that he found the Indians had no idea but that a load was the same as a ton, so once more he went and gave them a practical lesson by showing them how to measure a ton. "Well," he ended, "they've kept me busy measuring hay all summer, for every man wants to sell me at least one load, and with it all we've not had a word of trouble."

For weeks I came and went among those Sitting Bull Sioux, and I found woodpiles and big haystacks the fashion rather than the exception. It does not seem to me possible to estimate the educational value of that man's work. He is the teacher not only of the children, but the parents; a teacher not in books alone, but in thrift and self-help.

This is the civilization we want the Indian to receive; this, rather than border ruffianism, we claim as white civilization.

These two forms of civilization that we offer the Indian show in their homes, faces, and children.

The old men among the Dakotas have finer faces and better developed heads than the Indians who have lived among the whites; while the young Indians who come to us from wild tribes are better balanced morally and mentally than those who have lived among the whites. This evidence goes to show that the convolutions of the Indian brain were properly and healthily developed before they met the white men, and that in many cases contact with the whites has checked that development.

This would not seem extreme to you if you had taught the boys and girls from Minnesota and Nebraska and other non-reservation schools, and found that your first duty was to root out the teachings, not of their Indian parents, but of their white neighbors.

If the throwing down of the agency limits means handing the Indians over to our border towns for education, every man and woman who knows a reservation and its surroundings will protest. We all want the reservation to go, but we must not flatter ourselves that we can escape from our responsibility by handing the Indian over to be civilized by the worst elements in our communities. We shall have to pay the piper later, if we do that.

Some say that the reservation is a God-given opportunity for training these people; some that it is a colossal blunder. I care not which; but this I know, it is not alone the fault of our Government that the reservation cannot go to-day. It is our fault,—your fault and my fault,—because we do not use the opportunities put in our way. Let us stop growling about the Secretary, and even the agents, and turn our attention to something that is crying for our care.

There is the field matron. You have all heard what can be done by an honest one, and yet there is but one who is doing anything among the 3,800 Dakotas of Standing Rock. The other four draw their salaries, and make out their reports. The agent says

he cannot find anyone to appoint, and asks why the Indian's friends do not give him names of suitable candidates. For the very sake of politics most agents would see that their under officials did their work, if we demanded it.

Then, again, the hated ration issue is allowed to take these people away from their log houses, wood piles, and haystacks every two weeks, and keep them for three days in a camp a hundred times worse than in the days of Sitting Bull.

Mr. SMILEY.—Are those rations issued by treaty stipulations?

Miss SCOVILLE.—Yes; and I doubt if a white man could live without them three years out of five in Standing Rock, but there is no reason why they should not be made educational. They are an opportunity. In every village among the Indians there are some men who could take the whole issue of rations and see that it was fairly distributed to the people, thus keeping alive among the men the sense of responsibility. These rations need not be issued every two weeks, but every month, then every two, until we teach them not to live from hand to mouth; to receive not rations, but interest on their funds that the Government holds.

Again, this land can never support them by farming; cattle are their only hope. Yet Indians know cattle only as game. Few have ever had a glass of milk; they must be taught to use it. But our Government issues coffee and crackers for the dinner of a six-year-old school child, and does not insist on either the farmer, field matron, or schools keeping cows. Here, again, Mr. Noble has felt that one of the lessons he must teach the children is to drink milk, and by always having it on the table he now has a flourishing class of milk drinkers; while Miss Collins preaches to all, "If you want to raise your children keep a cow."

Truly the reservation ought to go; yet it should go, not because we cannot trust ourselves to administer it wisely, but because we have so faithfully used the opportunities offered by our Government as to do away with the need of a reservation.

Rev. George F. McAfer was asked to report for the Presbyterian Church.

Mr. MCAFER.—The Presbyterian Church in the United States is doing missionary work among 32 tribes of Indians. It supports 16 white and 35 native missionaries, total, 51. These minister to 91 churches, with 4,348 communicants. It maintains 19 day and boarding schools, with 67 teachers; caring for 1,427—888 day and 539 boarding pupils. It expends annually in support of

The 51 missionaries (white and native)	\$21,230
Teachers and pupils	69,897
Total annual expenditure	\$91,127

In prosecuting this work the school department has erected and equipped 92 buildings, at a cost of \$203,000; and in the missionary

department there have been built about 50 churches and manses, costing near \$50,000. A total property of \$253,000.

Value of the products of the farms connected with the training schools :—

Anadarko, I. T. (Kiowas), corn, oats, cattle, hogs, etc.	\$2,000
Good Will, S. D. (Sioux), wheat, oats, barley, millet and stock . . .	1,600
Tucson, Arizona (Pimas and Papagos), wheat, alfalfa, etc.	1,200
Tucson, Arizona, cash receipts for work done outside the school . . .	2,600
<hr/>	
Total value of labor and products	\$7,400

Henry Kendall College, Muskogee, Indian Territory, has an enrollment of 275 pupils, 70 of whom are in the college department. Received for the school year, 1897-98, in payment for board and tuition, strictly from pupils,—not from the National treasury,—nearly \$8,000. All the five civilized tribes are represented in this school, and many of the smaller tribes.

General Morgan was asked to speak for the Baptist denomination.

General MORGAN.—The Baptists are going on with their missionary work in Oklahoma and the Indian Territory. They have between three and four thousand church members. The Kiowas and Camanches in Oklahoma are to find their own subsistence without rations. The farm region is arid, we have been experimenting with alfalfa, and it is claimed that it is a success. We have shown that it can be grown in that part of the territory, and have furnished the foundation for Indians to care for their cattle and make their own subsistence.

Adjourned at 12.30.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Night, October 13.

The Conference was called to order at 8 P. M. by the President. General John Eaton was asked to report for the Presbyterian Board.

General EATON.—I feel that we must carry the Bible along with all that we do for the Indian. We shall fail if we do not bring the precepts of the Bible to bear on his life and conduct. We are approaching one of the most interesting subjects that can engage our attention, and we want to be prepared for its responsibilities. We have been trying to lift degraded races,—the negro and the Indian. We commenced with the negro. We saw how they could be carried forward under military direction. We have seen diverse sentiments harmonized, and the beginning of the elevation of the Indian. Here you have been studying all these ideas with reference to the Indian. We have now thrust upon ourselves a new responsibility for the same class, and I believe that the Lord God Almighty has been using this preparation that we may see the way to go forward. The Catholics have made their assignments in the supervision of the new fields, and I would not be surprised if the Mormons sent the first missionaries into these new fields. We do not want to lay down a plan that is to destroy our possibilities, but to take the experiences that have given us new methods. We have many other things to learn, but if we use our advantages aright the work must go forward, and we shall be prepared for our wider responsibilities.

The subject for the evening was "The Extent of our Responsibility to the Less Favored Tribes."

Dr. Gilbert, of Chicago, was asked to deliver an address on the subject.

WE HAVE LIBERATED: NOW WE MUST EDUCATE.

BY REV. SIMEON GILBERT, D.D.

I have been wondering that so little has as yet been said, even in our pulpits and journals of the higher light and leading, as to what we are bound to do for our new allies, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. That we have liberated them at last from Spain's blind and cruel domination has, so to speak, "opened a new door

in heaven" before them. Everyone is now asking, What shall we do with them? Is not the more important question, What shall we do for them?

"A Spaniard" closes a remarkable article in the August *Fortnightly* with this dramatic statement: "Under the *agis* of Dona Maria Christina and Don Praxedes Sagasta, Spain makes her melancholy bow to the vast Continent which her enterprise opened to the world, and exclaims, '*Moritura te Salutat.*'" The world has accepted the pathetic salutation, not indeed without pity, but with a profound sense of relief.

Colonial Spain is dead, and outside of Spain there are no mourners. A hideous chapter in history is closed; the record of that history will always remain useful to the world as an awful warning. Spain at any rate has shown what not to do.

Yesterday the supreme duty of America was, as at one fateful stroke, to end in the name of humanity the almost infinitely wicked colonial misrule of Spain; now having done that, quite to the wonder and satisfaction of the world, what greater duty can there be for to-day and to-morrow than to undertake in the same spirit, and with the same limitless courage and resource, the further conquest and radical transformation of these several island nationalities by education? But in order to do this, the educational policy on the part of both the Government and the great Christian organizations of this country will have to be of the most comprehensive character, and will need to be up and at it in the time of it.

The point of urgency in this matter, as it seems to me, is this, that at the very beginning, and when all doors are swinging open, we start right. There is a Spanish proverb, with plenty of Spanish history to illustrate it, to the effect that "The road of By-and-by leads to the City of Nowhere." We shall, of course, make sure from the start of the "open door" for commerce, and the industries, and all that. We shall insist upon the American way as to the entire separation of church and state; there should, also, at the same time be made some comprehensive and thoroughgoing provision for the public education. If we are not to have infinite trouble the "schoolmaster" will have to be abroad there the same as here. The fact is, even in America, where so willingly we vote our millions for the public schools,—New York City its ten millions, Chicago its seven millions a year, and so on,—we do still but scantily realize how much of all that which makes us the envy of the world is due to our provisions for the universal popular education. What Porto Rico wants is just that which early gave to New England its educational distinction, with such potency for good to the whole national commonwealth. What Cuba wants, and without which its sorrows, distractions, and perpetual turbulence can never be healed, is just that which the glorious "Ordinance of 1787" put into the primary organic law of the original "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," providing from the outset and forever for Freedom, Religion, and Education; an ordinance so incomparable in its wisdom, beneficence, and timeliness, that alone

among all the laws of the United States Congress it is known simply by the year of its enactment.

Naturally, and in a vital and very efficacious way, the Government of the United States is to be itself in the place of school-master, as well as protector and sovereign, to these peoples—people who have so many really primary lessons to learn in matters of honesty and justice, of personal rights, social duties, and public responsibility. And especially will it be one of the greatest of lessons to them if they see the American Government intent from the beginning in laying plans for the education, the personal and social uplifting of all the people. Following up its brilliant achievements in war by such an educational policy as this, the great Republic will show itself to be a world power of quite a new sort—all in all, the foremost educator and leader among the nations. As President McKinley expressed it in his noble speech at Omaha the other day, “An inspiration to the whole human race.”

It is a wonderful and quite unique relation of opportunity and moral advantage which the Government and the people of the United States now have toward these liberated peoples, brought as they are so strangely, so providentially, within our new “sphere of influence.”

With even-handed justice, patience, kindness, consideration, and tact, it will be possible to do great things for them. At first and for some time military government will, of course, have to keep its strong hand on the situation. The chief dependence, however, will have to be upon forces and influences of another sort. There is but one way in this matter if we would avoid infinite trouble.

I am aware that Sagasta is reported as saying, “We have at least the consolation, amid our misfortunes, of knowing that we have in Cuba and the Philippines bequeathed to the United States almost insurmountable obstacles for years to come.” It is indeed, in many respects, an *hereditas damnosa* which the Spanish rule, civil and ecclesiastical, has left in the Islands. But America knows a way poor Spain never dreamed of.

The truth uttered by President McKinley some years ago is as pertinent to-day as it could ever have been, “We might just as well remember now that God puts no nation in supreme place that will not do supreme work; and God keeps no nation in supreme place which will not meet the supreme duty of the hour.” The London *Spectator*, speaking of Mr. McKinley himself, says that he has “risen to the height of his circumstances.” It is just that which history glories in saying of Washington and Abraham Lincoln. What if history shall have occasion to say the same thing also of the great Christian churches of the country; the same thing of the young men in our seminaries, universities, colleges, and other schools,—at least of those among them whose souls are touched to the finer issues of the new age and the greater America?

For how can we fail to see here right at hand the opportunity of the century. And how befitting it must seem to be that we, too, whom God is trusting with such a transcendent missionary and

educational responsibility, should, at this new turning point in our history, as in their history, take good heed

. . . "lest we forget
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine."

We have conquered; Spain vacates; now we must protect, lift up, and educate. As Dr. Cyrus Hamlin puts the case, "Now we have them, we've got to keep them, and govern them, and educate them, or woe will be to us and to the world."

It used to be commonly enough remarked a few years ago, referring to America's place in the world, that it was "bounded on the east by the sunrise, on the north by the Aurora Borealis, on the south by the Equator, and on the west by the Day of Judgment!" Now surely nothing less can be said of it than that the new, the greater America, at every point of the compass, is bounded by the Day of Judgment. And still, as every one may see, and may expose his heart to the most complete inspiration of it, alike for our own dear America and for our new allies on the Islands, there is a "door opened in heaven," a "throne in heaven," and, thanks to Him who sits thereon, "a rainbow round about it."

LIBERTY FOR THE INDIAN.

ABSTRACT OF AN ADDRESS BY DR. LYMAN ABBOTT.

Dr. ABBOTT.—Sixteen years this Conference has been in existence. During these sixteen years the nation has made great progress. For one hundred years, and, indeed, before its existence as a nation, it has been facing the Indian problem, and during these years it has made great progress. We began by treating the Indian as our enemy; then we shut him up in distant reservations, and treated him as an exile, for whom we did not care, and to whom we owed no responsibility; then we began to consider him as our ward.

Sixteen years ago this Conference found him as a ward of the nation. It also found the nation fighting this ward, and not doing much else than fight him. There has been a steady change. The facts are familiar to you. We have begun to see, first, that the Indian was not to remain as a ward of the nation. In all this attempt to treat the Indian as a ward, we have been hampered by evils of administration. These evils have been continuous and persistent, and have shown themselves under every administration, Republican or Democratic. They have shown themselves under good administrations and under poor administrations, but I think, on the whole, the history of the administration of the guardianship of the Indian may be criticised as varying from bad to worse. It has been the regular custom of the nation to appoint as Indian Commissioner a new man with every change of administration, and with rare exceptions—with one eminent exception illustrated by a gentleman on this

floor—the man selected has neither had experience with Indians, nor experience in philanthropy, nor with education. Just about the time that he began to get a knowledge of the Indians, and of the philanthropic work, and of the education needed, the four years were up, and he went out, and another inexperienced man was put in his place. We have acted on the fatal self-conceit of the American people that any man can do anything at all without experience or special training. There have been other errors growing out from this one vital error. Instead of selecting an Indian commissioner, and keeping him in his place to carry out a settled policy, we have changed him, and we have changed, in spite of his protests, his subordinates, the inspectors, the agents, and the whole machinery of the bureau every four years. The change has been bad whoever has made it.

We tried for a little while having an agent appointed by the churches. Mr. Smiley has told us that that was a lamentable failure. Under President Cleveland first, the experiment was made to leave it in the hands of the Indian Commissioner, and we know how under that system men were sent into the field who were absolutely without experience, and in many cases without fitness. Under General Morgan the power of appointment was taken from the Commissioner, and exercised by the Secretary of the Interior. That it did not do any more harm than it did was due to the efficiency of the Indian Commissioner, not to the goodness of the system. Under the present administration appointments are left to the representatives and senators, and that system has worked worst of all.

The result has been that while there have been many excellent men appointed, it is also true that we have appointed drunken men to see to it that the Indians do not drink, and ignorant men to see that they are educated, and lazy men to see that they work. We have seen cases, and they have been reported here, of men proved to be incompetent and intemperate, retained in place through political influence. We have seen an able, efficient, capable educator whose work nearly all men who knew it commended, and whose retention nearly all who knew his work urged, dismissed without any reason whatever except politics, and one appointed in his place concerning whom at least this may be said, that she had neither the training nor experience to fit her for the work, however well she may fit herself by the time she has to be removed.

What are the causes of this thoroughly evil system was pointed out with great earnestness and force by Mr. Herbert Welsh last night. We have not in this Indian administration been single minded. We have not aimed at a single target. The positions have been sometimes sacrificed wholly, sometimes partly to the party in power. I appeal to you business men, I appeal to you who are lawyers, I appeal to any man who is a judge, to ask you whether you would, for twenty-four hours, allow a trustee to remain in charge of a ward when, confessedly, he was using his trust not solely for the ward's interest, but partly for his own.

That is not the only cause. There is another, and a deeper one. •

It is this: a democratic government is not competent to exercise paternal functions. That is my whole speech. A democratic government is not competent to exercise paternal functions. A paternal government is a government of the supposedly best over the great mass. The czar is the father of his people, and rules them as you and I rule our children. We do not, while they are little, determine by their vote the questions of family government. The ancient governments were paternal governments. Government was framed to put the power in the hands of the best men who would undertake to exercise the paternal functions. But democratic government is on a different basis. It does not attempt to put the best men in Congress.

Our whole system is based on the idea of securing a representative house; that is, one that represents all the people,—wise people, ignorant people, the most virtuous people, the least virtuous people, the intelligent and the least intelligent. Whether that was wise or unwise I do not stop to discuss. On the whole, I believe it wise. It requires a great deal of faith and hope to believe it, but, still, I believe in it. Certainly it is our system, wise or unwise. Congress represents Fifth Avenue and the East Side; it represents the native American, and the Irish and the Pole just landed: it represents the best, and it represents the worst. Such a government concentrates in itself what? The intelligence and the virtue of the nation? Not at all; the average intelligence and the average virtue. Democratic government does not rest on the theory that the majority of such a heterogeneous population is infallibly wise, that it always knows best what to do, or that it is always virtuous. Democratic government rests on self-government. It rests on the aphorism that any man is better able to take care of himself than any government is to take care of him. We believe that as to ourselves. There is not a man here who wants government to come in and tell him how to conduct his business. There is not a woman here who wants government to tell her where she can shop. But that is what we do with our wards. The fundamental theory of the American government is self-government; that every man is better able to take care of his own interests than the government is to take care of his interests for him; and, therefore, that it is the function of government not to protect a man against himself, but only against the wrongdoing of his neighbor.

Now, such a government is not competent to exercise the functions of paternal government. It is not competent to have wards. We have in this country a great, ignorant foreign population; they are not our wards; we do not put a fence around them and appoint an agent to take care of them until they are competent for self-government. We throw them into the stream; we let them learn to swim. Some may drown in the current, and some may be bruised against the rocks, but on the whole they go steadily forward and upward. They learn to swim by swimming.

I read in this morning's paper of a riot in Illinois—miners against employers. But no man says miners are incompetent for

self-government, and must have an agent. Perhaps some of the criminals will be arrested and punished; certainly some of them will go free; but the miners will go on as miners, and learn liberty by exercising it.

We have a great negro population. On the whole, I think those who have worked among the Indians and negroes will say that the Indian is quite as competent as the negro to take care of himself. He is as intelligent; he does not steal any more; he does not lie any more; he does not drink any more. He fights a little more, but he is far more regardful of the duty of chastity. And yet we do not take this great negro population and put them on reservations, and appoint an agent to take care of them. We say, Take care of yourselves. Some go to the wall; some are trampled under foot by local injustice; some are outrageously wronged by their neighbors; but no man thinks of making the negro a ward of the nation. It is evident that we are going presently to stand in new relations to foreign populations in foreign countries—Porto Rico, Hawaii, and Cuba. We have broken down the old government, and the responsibility lies upon us to see that a better government is put in its place. In Luzon we have driven away the only government there was, and Spain can never restore her authority there. The responsibility rests upon us, whether we like it or not, of seeing that a reputable government is established there. Are we to send a commissioner to Luzon with local agents to take care of the people there and treat them as wards? Why not? If this is a wise thing to do with American Indians, why not with Cubans, with Porto Ricans, with Hawaiians, and Filipinos? No. If we undertake any responsibility in those islands I venture this much of prophecy,—it will not be for the purpose of carrying out any policy of imperialism. It will not be to wield a sceptre and exercise control. It will be to establish in other lands, and over other places, and in the institutions of other countries, the same blessings of freedom which we ourselves possess. It will be to declare that the church shall be separate from the state. It will be to declare that the courts shall be administered on principles of Anglo-Saxon justice, and not on the principles and by the methods on which the trial of Dreyfus has been conducted in France. It will be to declare that the courts shall lie open to every man; that there shall be a public school system free from ecclesiastical control, to which all the children shall be admitted; that the conditions of suffrage shall not be conditions of race or color. There may be conditions of intelligence, of thrift, of property; but the conditions of thrift, intelligence, virtue, and property shall apply equally to men of all races and all conditions. (Applause.) You applaud that for the people of Cuba, for the Filipinos; why not for the Indians? How long will such guardianship as a democratic country gives to Indian wards have to go on before under that system they are prepared for freedom? We have given them money, and they go to the nearest shop and drink it up. We give them land, and they leave the land to lie idle until the wave of white civilization, looking on these forests, and

mountains, and plains, can be kept off no longer, and the lands are taken from them. We have given them ploughs, and the ploughs rust in the furrow. We have given them schools, and the problem is how to get the scholars into them. What does this mean? That what they need is not money, nor lands, nor tools, nor schools, but liberty. You remember that Demosthenes, the Athenian orator, said that oratory is, first, action; second, action; third, action. What is the solution of the Indian problem? Three things: first, liberty; second, liberty; third, liberty: the liberty of the Indian to go where he will, when he will, and as he will; liberty to come under the authority of the law; liberty to do what he will so long as he violates no man's rights; liberty to go into court and plead his cause and demand justice. I wonder if some inimical neighbor of Mr. Smiley were to set fire to his woods what he would do. He would not go out to deal with an agent; he would apply to the courts; but these Indians on the reservation cannot. An Indian has no standing in court. He must see his timber burned. It was said here yesterday that the Indians were not justified in Minnesota in their rising. I think that is true, because no hopeless revolution is ever justifiable. But that is the only reason. If they could have succeeded, they would have been justified. They had immeasurably greater reason to take up arms and fight for their native land than our fathers did in the colonial days. Liberty! We have given them ploughs, we have given them schools, we have given them money, we have given them food, we have given them everything but liberty. I hope to see the nation declare that wherever its flag goes it shall carry freedom with it, and wherever it has once gone up it shall not come down again until freedom is planted under its protecting folds. If that be true for other lands, it is surely true for our own.

I remember the third meeting of this Conference. A few of us came here and plead for liberty; a few of us insisted that the reservation must go, and the Indian be a free man. I remember, and you remember, how even here liberty was thought a dangerous thing, and the suggestion to give it to the Indian too radical. The one thing we need is to claim liberty for the Indian. Education, religion, food, clothing, ploughs, all are important. All these may be given by philanthropy and the church. But the primary function of government is to give that which thus far it has failed to give—justice and freedom.

Rev. Dr. J. M. Buckley was invited to speak. The following is an abstract of his remarks.

Dr. BUCKLEY.—With respect to the less-favored races, though the cells of the brain may be of the same number, the convolutions of the brain, on which the intellect depends, have been wonderfully multiplied; so that to behold the convolutions of the lowest under the microscope, or even with the naked eye, and the convolutions of the highest, shows an amazing contrast. But there is

no faculty possessed by a genius, the greatest of men, whether you call him a man of talent or genius, that is not possessed by all in a certain degree. We fancy that we are extraordinary, but we are only extraordinary in the application of our faculties, not in the possession of faculties that these less-favored races do not have. It is a mistake to suppose that a great scholar, a teacher, a preacher, a statesman, possesses any faculties that his servant girl does not have. Differences arise. The French, as a race, are more oratorical than the Germans, and the Dutch are more phlegmatic than either. But a Dutchman may be as intense and as corrupt as Byron, and a Frenchman may be as sullen as Carlyle. What makes the difference? The Indians have the third largest heads among all the nations of the globe. The difference is this, that their environment and tradition have caused them to develop more and more certain propensities. The vital current runs in certain grooves, that is all. It has been said that the Indian does not swear. The Indian does not need to swear. Give me a right to knock down my foe and I will not swear, nor feel like it. In a state of things such as ours no one can tell what swearing does for the lower classes. No one can tell what murders are not committed because the men work off their energy in things they may know are wicked, but are not contrary to the law. The Indians are not to have credit for not swearing.

What is the condition of the Indian, and what have we come here for? A New York paper the other day said that a few people who love fine scenery and good eating, and have plenty of time to waste, were about to have a conference over a race that is fast proceeding to extinction. A part of that was true, with regard to the extinction. Major Powell, in 1893, in the *Forum*, said: "That one third refuse to take on civilization, and are slowly diminishing; one third are stationary, and may be expected to increase; and one third have passed the turning point and are increasing; and that the Indians, as a whole, are increasing, and will continue to do so."

Taking into account all that has been done, we have everything to rejoice in, and nothing at all to consider from the view of failure.

It has been my lot to visit every State and Territory in the United States. I have seen the Indians in Alaska, and talked to hundreds. In an official capacity I visited the Lake Superior Indians, and I declare that what has been said is true. They are as intelligent as the negro. Several times I have visited Hampton, and I have spoken to the Indians under Captain Pratt. It is only a question of "back action" on the convolutions.

The address to which we listened referred to a man who has brought his whole influence to bear on the medical profession to recommend that all criminals should be treated as irresponsible. It also brought in the speaker's declaration that he himself believed in responsibility, and that he did not commit himself to these peculiar and extraordinary views. I hold that the Indian will be

reticent for ages, notwithstanding the beautiful example of the absence of that which we had this morning. The characteristic Indian will be reticent, as is to be expected of a nation of solitude and wildness.

With reference to the negro, he must take care of himself, and it may not be a survival of the fittest. Social equality will be obtained only by the few.

And now comes Cuba. It is a pretty bad state of things. We attempted to stop a man from abusing his children, and now it appears that we have got to take charge of the whole family and fight the miserable condition of things. Here we have got to come in with all kinds of educational movements; the more Americans the better it will be for them, and the worse it will be for the Americans.

As for the twelve hundred Philippine islands, I do believe we are not fit for paternal government, and I prophesy that if we attempt it they will be treated exactly as we have treated the Indians. There will be agencies, all of which will constitute patronage, to be distributed from year to year, and I fear from age to age. "Further deponent sayeth not."

Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD.—From the fulfillment of such a doleful prophecy as Dr. Buckley's, good Lord deliver us!

I think we need to keep in mind certain settled principles; but the great trouble is in the application of those principles. A chief one is this: that liberty is the safest thing in the world. We have learned that, and we have got to stick to it. It is hard work to apply it. Too many of us believe in it as a principle, but are "agin the enforcement" of it.

Another principle is that those who are self-governing ought to be educated for it. Those are the two principles that we ought to hold before us, and we must apply them without fear. I tell you that there is not a people on the globe so savage, so rude, so degraded, but self-government is better for them than it is to be governed by some one else. The Indians were better governed when they were free, when they were wandering by themselves, than they are to-day. I do not mean to say that there was not barbarity then, but, on the whole, there was more manliness, more courage, under those circumstances, and a higher quality of manhood, than there is under the paternal system of the reservation.

I want to call attention to the different way in which we treat the negro and the Indian. It has come to be a habit,—and a mighty poor habit it is,—to talk against the system which was brought into operation when the war came to an end, of allowing every ignorant negro to vote. It was one of the most wonderful things that ever happened in this country. It gave our Southern States a free school system. What did we do? We said that every negro should vote who was willing to take the oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States, and we established government on that basis, and we established those conditions which in the end are bound to regenerate those States. That was the system of popular education.

I thank the Lord for that extraordinary and providential action that took place, and which gave the ballot to the freedman.

Some people say that a free democratic government cannot exercise paternal functions. Half of this audience is women; they are governed paternally by the United States. They have no voice in the Government. But leaving out the women, and leaving out the District of Columbia, and leaving out all the territories which we govern paternally, it is a fact that we accepted the principle that a democratic Government must, on the whole, govern democratically, and on the whole it is working well. It is coming out well in the end. We must be patient. The colonies of Spain in South America and Mexico became free. At first there was anarchy and insurrection. That was a good education. They have got over that now. We can do the same thing in a couple of generations for the negro.

What is the application to the thing before us? I should say that we ought to get rid of this abominable "boss" system for the Indian as soon as possible. Break up the reservations. Try to introduce a government by themselves for themselves. We have a popular heresy that a man must be capable of reading before he is capable of governing. I presume that half of this audience believe in the heresy that a man should not vote unless he can read. But it is a heresy. The whole principle is, that when we give them responsibility we shall be responsible that they are educated. That forces the education. The common sense of the people will see that they have got to be educated.

Now apply this further. Do you know that education begins at the top and not at the bottom? It is a pyramid that rests on its apex and not on its base. A common school education, an education that is primary, never lifts up a people. The education that lifts the people is that at the top. The common school does not educate men; it is the higher education that lifts up the common school. We have had that illustrated in this country. In 1630 the Puritans settled Charlestown and Boston. Six years afterwards they founded Harvard College. What happened then? From that have come the educational efforts of the United States. Go to Virginia. It was eighty-five years after Virginia was founded before they had a college. In New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, it was well on to the middle of the second century before they had colleges. I will not say but the Scotch-Irish were as good and pious as those Pilgrims who came over, but they did not found a college.

What shall we do with the new regions that we are likely to control? We cannot discuss that here, but the providence of God has put us there, and we are responsible. We are not responsible for Cuba. We made a definite promise that we did not propose to take it, and so I except Cuba.

A VOICE IN THE AUDIENCE.—Thank the Lord for that.

Dr. WARD.—What have we got to do? Just as we have promised; and if we do not, within six months, have an arrangement by

which they will call a constitutional convention, and take action whether they will be annexed or independent, we shall not have done our duty.

But we have Porto Rico. What shall we do with the undeveloped races there? I am not one of those persons who believe that because a person has for a father a Spaniard, and for a mother a negro, that he is necessarily degraded; that he is not as capable as an Anglo-Saxon. I do not believe in heredity by races. I believe that the general quality of humanity belongs to all races, and that the digger Indian and the Hottentot have that quality. It depends on the size of the brain, and what comes to us by education, by teaching, by environment. How often has Captain Pratt told us that an Indian baby, allowed to grow up with white people, will be a white man. Take a white baby, and it will be an Indian if it grows up with Indians.

What have we got to do with Porto Rico? It is our duty, just as soon as possible, to put the people under their own government as we do in our own territories. Let them establish their own territorial government. Let schools be established under the control of the people themselves. We can give them advice about schools, and they will follow our advice.

The same conditions exist in the Philippine Islands. There are many Roman Catholics to consider in this work. As soon as our American school system is established you will have ten or twelve million Roman Catholics about your ears. Archbishop Ireland will be one, and he is one of the very best. You will have trouble among all the priests. But those people do not love their priests too well. If they can see a government that will give them our school system, under our Constitution, they will be more ready to accept it. We have got to look after these things.

We have got to be careful about the whole system of education with the great population of Porto Rico, and the influences we shall have there. So in Luzon, if the Philippine Islands come to us, we can, by indirect methods, by personal influence, by the influence of our churches and people, control all the system in accordance with the principles so admirably laid down by Dr. Abbott. Establish all the self-government you can. I am not one of those who are afraid of our Government, that we cannot do these things. We want to look at the bright side, and have faith in the power of the American people, and the American conscience, and the service which American Christians can do for the world. It is the memory of the wicked that shall rot, and the memory of the good people which shall rule in the great work which I believe the providence of God has put on us.

Mr. Howard M. Jenkins was the next speaker. He gave a spirited résumé of thoughts suggested by the preceding speeches in the form of a reverie or vision, referring to various books relating to Indian affairs, which in vision he saw transported to certain islands lying in the Pacific ocean; such books as "Ramona," "The Exiles of Florida," the "Red Patriots," the "Massacre of the

Mountains," etc. The "skit," as Mr. Jenkins called it, is omitted at his request.

Mr. SMILEY.—The Navajo Indians are very capable. They have artistic ability. Why should not this be cultivated, and made a source of income to them. They are not lazy; they love to do such work as they can. Miss Carter says that it can be done if a place is provided where they can dispose of the products of their industry. I am ready to be one of a party to make a league that can help them to begin the industry of making pottery for sale in the East. Miss Carter thinks that with a thousand dollars a good beginning may be made.

Miss CARTER.—Some years ago I was told that if I would start a pottery among the Indians and teach them to put on a glaze, that the Rookwood people would help me. It was said that with this improvement the pottery of these Indians would take its place with the good pottery of the world. I was told to let them be absolutely free in making their own patterns, shapes, and decorations. If Mohonk will stand behind me I will try it.

The amount necessary, a thousand dollars, was at once subscribed by different members.

Adjourned at 10 P. M.

Fifth Session.

Friday, October 14, 1898.

After morning prayers the Conference was called to order by the President at ten o'clock. The different religious missionary bodies were invited to report.

Mr. EDWARD M. WISTAR, of the Orthodox Friends.—We are still actively engaged in the work. During the past year we added a special mission in the southern part of Oklahoma among the Otoes, a band where there has been no missionary work, so far as I know. We have been very well received among them, and the work is going on to our encouragement, and we hope for their benefit. We feel that it is a matter of encouragement to us that, during the years when labor has been going on among the Indians, we have added from time to time Indian members to our own congregations. This is not the great thing that we wish to do, however. As a member of my own meeting, I feel that we should try rather to make them members of the church universal. Proselyting is not our object, nor is it desirable that it should be so. In visiting our missions at different times I have felt that they are doing the work which we wish them to do; that they are exercising their privileges, and are lifting up the Indians, and extending Christian civilization among them.

There are nine active missionary stations throughout the Indian Territory and Oklahoma; and a gentleman and his wife visit them from time to time and make reports. Each station makes a monthly report to the standing committee, and they are received, and annotations made and forwarded; and we are kept in knowledge of what is going on.

Passing from our work to the work of the Government in Indian education, I would like to refer to Dr. Hailmann and his admirable work. I found there were many earnest missionaries among the Government officials. I think I am warranted in making that assertion. I rejoice that it is so. There were Indians as well as whites taking part in the instruction and the head management. In one the manager, a lady who was in the position of master of the school, was so earnestly Christian and philanthropic in all her ideas in the government of the school that she seemed to be a real missionary in spirit. It is to me, in common with all the friends of the Indian, a lamentable fact that Dr. Hailmann was removed.

I should also like to refer to Mr. Welsh's remarks, and urge upon this Conference that if we are to attain a great deal we must

cut down to the roots. We may increase our own satisfaction by hacking at the twigs, but it will not avail anything in helping either the Indians or the service. I trust that this will receive our attention, and that the business committee will give us a very strong platform.

Rev. Walter C. Roe, of Oklahoma Territory, was invited to speak. His remarks in substance were as follows:—

Mr. ROE.—Our little church in Oklahoma has been blessed in these two years of its existence. We have ninety-two whites and Indians; and of the seventy-six Indians, sixty-nine have come into the church on profession of faith. We are planning to broaden our borders to include Geronimo's band, which has been fifteen years in captivity, without any systematic study of the Word of God, so far as I know, or any systematic presentation of Christianity. A Christian man is in command of that band, and he invites us to come down and help him. My heart is primarily interested in the Christianization of the Indian, but I have been asked to tell you something of the condition of the allotted Indians, especially among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. In 1837 we began to treat with them, and then began a series of treaties made and broken. At last the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, who have been always allies, said, "Give us some land where we can hunt our buffalo and live in peace; some land from which the white men will be excluded." They gave them 30,000,000 acres in Colorado, and the Indians settled down in peace, and thought their happy days had come. Gold was discovered. The tide of white men followed. The game was killed, the timber was destroyed. Again they went on the warpath, and again the avenging troops of soldiers. Again the old programme: the Indians were moved to "the land of fire," far from their own homes. It is a mistake for us to suppose that those Indians can be lightly moved from this point to that. If ever the instinct or love of locality was developed in the hearts and minds of any people, it is in the redskins of the West. They love the mountains with their streams, and when they are driven to hot, feverish climates they are in despair.

What did we do with them then? Their 4,300,000 acres were sold, and the Government took their money to keep for them. That was the wisest policy. To counterbalance all that can be said of the former history, during the last few years the policy of our Government toward our own Indians has been wise in its aims and purposes. I wish I could say as much in regard to the administration. I wish I could tell you of more unselfish efforts on the part of the officials of the Government. There are exceptions. As has been said from this platform, one of the crying needs of our work—and I speak as one who works with coat off and sleeves rolled up—is that the Government send us plain, simple, unpolitical men who will lay their hands to the problem of the elevation of these Indians,—who will come seeking not their own. As has been

said, too often drunken men go out to teach temperance, and the indolent to teach industry.

Now as to the allotted land. How does it work? The Indians are entering the agricultural stage slowly, but I think surely. If you go into the Indian work, you must first take as your motive love, and you must write over your effort and desires the word patience, patience, patience. So it is among these allotted Indians. They are making headway, though they still live for the most part in tepees. I wish you could see them as they camp in cold weather—tents made of thin cloth instead of the impervious buffalo skins, which used to keep out the driving storm. As you see them wet, and cold, and miserable, and poor, your heart yearns to lift them out of their misery.

We are trying to build a lodge near the church and parsonage which shall be entirely apart from our religious work,—a place to which they shall come as to a clubhouse, where the women can have a stove and Mrs. Roe can teach them to cook, and the returned students can practice what they have learned in the East. They are sometimes criticised for falling back into Indian ways. What can they do? Take the matter of washing. The water is so impregnated with gypsum that when soap is applied it produces an excellent quality of mucilage, which ruins the clothing. They carry water from our well to their homes, fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five miles away; and if I am in their homes a week later perhaps they give it to me as a great treat, it is so much more desirable than what they have.

But they are beginning to work, and that is the basis of hope. They are coming face to face with the necessities of their condition, and the dynamic power of starvation will impel them to systematic industry. Our friend J. H. Seger, the superintendent of the Government school, a man I would like to see on this platform, a man who is as well qualified as any one on the field to know the true state of things, has contributed much to their progress. The Arapahoes of our district have about twenty-five houses, though they live mostly in tepees; but when a storm comes they take refuge in the houses as a sanctuary. Little by little they are working into the houses. Nature drives them there. One Indian has a four-room house, and has a white man to cultivate his land. He said, "White man gets two rows; Indian gets one row." They are learning to get something out of their land. Little Chief raised twenty-five acres of corn and a good crop of Kaffir corn. The Cheyennes have ten houses. They were the stronger race in the past, and are more tenacious of their old ways, but they are coming forward, and we feel encouraged.

I have some hesitation in speaking on one subject in public, but my conviction is so strong that I am willing to put myself on record. We are like the Indians who say they heap look, and who watch a long time before committing themselves. It is wise in us to wait before we utter opinions about the political aspect, or about the giving of rations. I know my views are unpopular; I know my words will be reported to the Indians; but I have taken this ground,

that it will be a blessing to the Indian the day that the rations are cut off. They are starving now, and I do not know that we can do it at once, although I agree with the theory that the way to resume is to resume, and I presume that the best way would be to cut the rations off. You have already been told how the Indians come up for three days out of every fourteen and loiter round in vice and idleness, waiting for their pittance of beef or flour, a package of salt or baking powder, altogether inadequate for their subsistence.

Is the Indian lazy? Not primarily. The buck of to-day is lazy; the women are not lazy. In the old days the buck was usually on the warpath or on the chase. Those occupations were swept away by civilization, and he was left without work. The women were always busy, and they have kept up their lines of activity, caring for the tepee, preparing the food, carrying the wood and water; things that were not for the degradation of women, but that came in the natural division of work in ordinary life. That was her share, and it still occupies her time. The buck is left with idle hands, that soon itch for dice and cards.

So I say that, most of all, these people need industrial and systematic work. Every two weeks they are brought up to the issue station. Sometimes the beef is there, and sometimes it is not. It comes fifty-five miles, and they receive it at the rate of fifteen pounds to each person for two weeks. A miserable little portion of dry or "squaw" rations is also given, which the women carry home. All efforts at systematic development of their land are destroyed. When a man has a crop of corn started, and goes off and stays a week at the critical time of its cultivation, he cannot expect a crop. When these Indians stand face to face with starvation or systematic labor with plough and hoe, they will choose the latter. It will mean distress at first; it will be a strain on us; but the moment they touch bottom the recovery will begin, and we can look forward to a self-supporting people with patience.

Mr. F. D. Gleason, of Hampton, was invited to speak.

Mr. GLEASON.—I have made several trips in Dakota and Wisconsin and Nebraska looking for students, as it is my work to bring back a party each summer. Is it a hard task to get young people for the Eastern schools? Hampton is a long way off from their homes. In many ways it is an easy task, but in some ways it is hard. Almost every reservation that I have visited would be thronged with young people anxious to go, but the difficulty is to find the right quality. First, they must be sound morally, mentally, and physically. Second, they must have passed through the highest grade in the reservation schools. Lastly, they must have their parents' written consent. The consent is hard to get in many cases. Parental love is very strong in the Indian family. It is sad to see a young man who has begun to realize the value of education, prevented from completing it by some long-haired, ignorant old father or grandfather. It seems to me that it would be far

wiser for the Government to say that all who are seventeen or eighteen, and over, can decide for themselves whether they will go away to school or not.

As regards our returned students, what are they doing to carry out the training and exemplify the teaching of Hampton or other good schools? In many cases they are doing noble, self-sacrificing work. Large numbers are holding positions as assistants in the boarding schools, helping in the agency office, and doing a noble work. But it seems to me that those who are doing the best work are those who have gone out on the land, and are working the soil to obtain their living. In many cases they are not able to do much, and are not wholly independent of the ration system, but they are making a beginning. They do better where the rations are cut off than where they are issued, because there is something degrading and humiliating to a young man to go to an issue block every two weeks to receive his portion of beef. They begin to go down as soon as they have to present themselves at the issue block. On the Oneida reservation in Wisconsin many Hampton students are working their own farms. In some cases they have erected blacksmith shops. In winter they have plenty of work at that trade; in summer they raise crops. The young people who go back to fathers and mothers find it hard on the farms. The old people are loath to accept new ideas in regard to farming. They say, "How can you teach us farming? We were farming before you were born," and the young men get discouraged. If a young man can marry a good girl and go off by himself, he can show what he has learned, and illustrate the benefits of an education.

The missionaries at Oneida are doing splendid work. At one mission they have started a co-operative dairy and a herd of milch cows, and the attempt is made to teach the Indians to raise cows. They will come to it after a while.

In the Sioux country things are not as encouraging, but there the missionaries are also at work, and are trying to hold in check the rapacious white people around. The missionaries are the most helpful and most encouraging of all the white people on the reservations.

I was pleased this summer to attend a large missionary gathering at Pine Ridge. Five hundred Dakotas came together and camped three days, meeting the bishop. Many of the congregations have to worship in log cabins, and some have nothing but the open prairie. These people would ask the bishop for a house for church, and he would ask them how much they had raised, and tell them if he would be able to supplement what they had raised with Eastern money so that they could have a church. One old man, in his eagerness, said: "Well, bishop, if you cannot build this house for us we are going to build it ourselves; as soon as the cold weather comes and hardens the roads we will haul the stones and the logs, and will try to put up the house in some way or other."

About Government schools. I find many good people employed in the schools in the West, many fine Christian characters among

the teachers. Good missionary work is being done by many of them, but there are some cases where immoral and intemperate men are in the Government employ. On one reservation I heard of a superintendent who resigned in the spring to escape investigation. This summer he is reinstated, and put in as superintendent of another school. This is disgraceful. In another non-reservation boarding school thirty-three children ran away from school last term because of immorality among the employees. An inspector has been there all summer, and eight or ten employees have been obliged to resign. It rests with you and me to see that proper persons are put in charge of these schools. I am glad there are no politics at Hampton. It is a pleasant thing that we can carry on our work free from that.

Dr. STRIEBY.—When a young man comes home and marries a good girl, where does he get means to start a new home?

Mr. GLEASON.—Many of our young people are sent out in summer to New England farms. There they earn money enough to lay up quite a sum. This is a great help when they start out for themselves.

Mr. GILFILLAN.—In the matter of Indian education, we need to begin with the children. Every Indian child ought to be in school at once. They cannot afford to wait. So far as my experience goes the Indians are willing and anxious to have their children in school, if the school is where they can see them. Where I live, in Minnesota, there is a band of seven hundred Indians with not one school. The children are growing up among the scum of the frontier, learning all the worst vices of the whites. Every time I go to Cass Lake, which is once a month, they beg for a school.

The children cannot be educated by sweeping them up and carrying them away. You would not like to have your own children caught up and carried off to Germany or Asia Minor to go to school. You would not stand it. The true way is to have a school where the Indians are. Reservation schools have a reflex influence on the old Indians. They learn to be clean, to be punctual, to have regular hours for meals, and some English. Another thing that is absolutely necessary is to have the teachers in the schools Christians. I have inquired from the Indians all round, and the universal testimony is that the ordinary Government school, that formerly used to be a godless school, is of no use to the Indian. It is as likely to make him worse as better. No person has any business in an Indian country unless he is a Christian. What the Indian needs is Christianity. He has more intelligence now than the white man. He is educated in his own way. What he needs is Christianity. The Government inquires of the applicant, Are you a good teacher? But it leaves out the critical point, Are you going to exert a Christian influence? All the Government employees whom I have known in twenty-five years who have done any good to the Indians, have invariably been Christians.

Politics come in here. We appealed for a school in 1880. No school was built for us; but five hundred miles from us, at a place

where there is not an Indian within miles, where you could not find one if you went gunning for them, an expensive school was built. Why? Because a congressman wanted the money spent in that region to get votes.

Gen. C. H. HOWARD.—There might seem to be a conflict between the last two speakers, but schools are needed, both on the reservation and in places like Carlisle and Hampton also. You and I like to send away our children for a while. I have had one son at Amherst and one at Williams, and my home is in Chicago. That is all right when they are prepared to go, but it is a most serious and deplorable thing to have these children growing up in idleness. If the Government does not establish enough primary schools, our churches ought to put them where they are needed. We need no higher testimony of the value of a higher education for the Indians than what we have seen in Miss Dawson.

I have been deeply pained at one thing. A dear friend, who is thoroughly acquainted with Indian affairs, has said to me since I came here, I am discouraged; the thing is hopeless, that a great and good man like President McKinley should go back on Civil Service Reform. A Christian cannot be discouraged when the work of God is laid on him to do. I am sixty years old, and I have seen a great number of times when we might have been discouraged; but the duty is laid upon us, and we shall have power to meet it, even if the people of Porto Rico and other depressed races come upon us through no responsibility of our own. God will give us means, and resources, and power, and, I trust, faith. We have had setbacks before. We must meet these faults in the administration, and insist on Civil Service Reform, and we shall get it.

Another point in regard to the Leech Lake trouble. I read in the papers in my own home that the trouble arose from difficulty in arresting drunken men. The trouble there is not a new thing. I was counseling with these Indians twenty-five years ago, and stayed with them night and day. They were a discontented band of Indians then, and had reason to be. Their land was taken from them by false pretence. They were lied to. They told me twenty-five years ago that the white men had lied to them, and they were dissatisfied about it. Wrong upon wrong has been heaped upon that little band of Indians. Their means were taken from them, and they had to leave their homes. They love their homes as we do. They have been persistently wronged.

Miss DAWSON.—Some things that have been said have come home to me. I want to confirm what General Howard has said about reservation and non-reservation schools, both being needed. We cannot do without them both. The education of the Indian people and Christianization should go hand in hand. The education is one-sided when the Christian work is neglected. In regard to children being sent East: I worked three years to get the consent of parents to get twenty young people sent East. The agents discouraged them from going. I believe that as long as Government officials act as guardians to our people, agents and employees

should encourage the children to go East when they are prepared, and after they are seventeen or eighteen they should go to school where they choose, if they are fitted.

Dr. WOODBURY.—After all, you have to depend on the personal touch and personal sympathy, the hand-to-hand work in the homes of these Indians. If nothing else had come from this Mohonk Conference but the sending of the \$3,000 last year to Thomas Riggs, it would be a splendid thing. I have driven for hundreds of miles with him through those Indian encampments, and it was an inspiration to see how these people believed in that man. Say what you please about the stupidity of the Indian, they know a man when they see him, and they stand by the man whom they have proved. After some military difficulty, when the Indians made a claim for their ponies, they did not dare to trust the book with the Government employees, but they journeyed hundreds of miles to Thomas Riggs and said, "You take the book; you are a just man; we know you will count right;" and he did it. The Oahe work is going on, the great work at Santee, that great school which you are carrying on to educate and train the leaders of these people in the hands of Alfred Riggs. We are doing all that we can to support him. Very large inspiration has come up there by putting down an artesian well. The well more than doubles the economic value of the plant, and furnishes means of training agriculturally the young men who need this training.

In Alaska the work is going on. The heroic service of Mr. Lopp, journeying with reindeers, is already known. He wrote me that his young Alaska Christian Endeavorers were praying for him, and he felt sure that the perilous journey would come out successfully because of those prayers.

The Business Committee reported through the chairman, Dr. Lyman Abbott, the platform of the Conference, and moved its adoption.

It was seconded by General Morgan.

An hour's discussion of the platform followed, when it was unanimously adopted. For convenience of reference, the platform is printed at the beginning of this volume.

Sixth Session.

Friday Night, October 14.

The Conference was called to order at 8 P. M. by the Chair. The following committee was announced: Dr. Lyman Abbott, Gen. E. Whittlesey, Hon. Darwin E. James, General T. J. Morgan, Dr. William Hayes Ward, Mr. Frank Wood, with the Chairman of the Conference for Chairman.

This Committee was appointed by vote of the Conference to prepare during the next year a scheme to carry out the policy outlined in the platform and appeal, and to propose it to the next Conference for its action; and that the Committee be also authorized to gather, in the interim before the next Conference, specific facts concerning the defects and abuses in Indian administration, and in behalf of this Conference, in their discretion, to present them to Congress, to the Executive, and to the Press.

After singing by Mrs. Hector Hall, a poem founded on a Mo-honk legend was recited by Miss Edna Dean Proctor.

Mr. SMILEY.—The legend on which this beautiful poem is based has always been accepted in this region. It is believed that a young woman did plunge off the cliff and was drowned in the lake, more than two hundred years ago. The story was taken from the Indians.

Mrs. Roe, of Oklahoma, was invited to speak.

Mrs. ROE.—I come before you as a messenger; as one fallen back from the lonely skirmish line upon the main army. It gives me deep comfort to realize the force that is behind us. Face to face with actual problems which have been here discussed, the thought was borne in upon my heart, put there by God himself, that I should tell you some of the difficulties which press upon us in the work in which we are engaged.

From the windows of my happy home I look out on Indian womanhood, and I cannot express to you the feeling of pain and sympathy which fills my heart at some of the scenes which pass so close to me. I think if a plan that I have in mind could be carried out, we could make more rapid advance in the work among the women. Between our parsonage and the church of which my husband is pastor there is a well of pure, sweet water,—the gift of God to us and to our people.

Right opposite that well I hope, before the snow flies, to see a little house built. It should be, as nearly as possible, like those the Indians build for themselves; one that would not be beyond the reach of an ambitious Indian family. I would like to have one room with a stone fireplace mainly for the use of the men, and when the terrible storms come down, and the women and babies are suffering, there they could all take refuge. It might also be made a center of social life, for in trying to get rid of the ghost and sun dances, we must give them something better. At the other end of this house I would like to have a large room for the Indian women, with a good cooking stove, a sewing machine, and laundry with simple facilities, so that they can be taught these various things. It has been said that when the girls leave the Eastern schools, and return to us, they go back to barbarism. Yes; why not? They know how to make bread, sew on the machine, and wash their clothes, but they have no appliances, not even good water. We ought not to blame them if, when they come back,—young girls accustomed to the life of the Eastern schools, and are forced to enter the dirty tepee,—they go back to the old life. In a house like this we should gather a nucleus for women's work. I could collect the women together every two weeks, could give them lessons in the better care of their children, and, perhaps, break up the terrible habit, which still exists, of plunging their babies into the water through the ice, in order that they may render them more hardy. They cannot be reached unless they have such a place. It could be made a model home, kept clean by the women, and warm by the men. It will cost little to run it after the building is there. It would stand for years, representing to those women what a home should be. Returned students could be gathered there. Evening prayers could be held there. Without this home it seems to me as if I could not go back to face the work. It seems to me that such a house could stand between the Government school and the camp life, and, little by little, the women could be shown what it is to have a home, a refuge, and a friend to meet them. I put the suggestion before you hoping that some of you will give it at least an earnest thought.

Below us, on the Kiowa Reservation, there is a beautiful young woman from Philadelphia. She went out and settled there, and has done marvelous work. She told me that not long ago they were about ready to prepare for an Indian camp meeting, and as the people had to be fed, she asked them to do what they could to earn something to lessen the expense. There were two Indian women there who never had any money, and who knew nothing of the luxury of giving. They got a farm wagon and some Indian ponies and drove mile upon mile all over those prairies, picking up the bones of the cattle that had died in the winter storms. They filled their wagon, drove sixty miles to the railroad, and sold them for three dollars; then drove sixty miles back again, and with joy upon their faces they came to this lady and gave not one tenth, but the whole, to carry on the work of the Master among

their own people. These Indian women will help themselves if we will give them a chance.

Mr. SMILEY.—What would such a building cost?

Mrs. ROE.—I have laid the matter before contractors, and they think that in our country it could be put up for seven hundred dollars. If a tank and windmill could be erected, and the water carried from the well to bath rooms, it would bring the cost up to one thousand dollars. Seven hundred dollars, however, would put it into operation.

Mr. SMILEY.—There is food for reflection.

Bishop Gray, of Florida, was next introduced.

Bishop GRAY.—It gives me great pleasure to stand here and see so many friends of the Indian. When the apostles went out, Jesus told them to "go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." So I feel that no minister of Christ has a right to leave out any class of people who may come within his influence. I felt that in my early ministry, when I determined that I would do what I could among the colored people around me, for I lived in Tennessee, and my work was there. I believe I built the first school for colored people in that part of the State after the Civil War. I worked for those people as diligently as for the whites of my parish; and when the vestry said to me, you are wasting your time,—you will never succeed in doing anything to help them, I said, I feel it my duty to do what I can; it is mine to work, and to leave the results with God. So when called to be bishop of Southern Florida, and I found a great number of classes of people with whom I must come in contact, not only the white people, but Cubans, and colored people, and Indians, I was very anxious to do something with regard to the Indians. I met about fifty of them in some of my visits, and I was deliberating where I could best begin work among them, and how I could best begin; and I believe just as firmly as I believe that the sun will rise to-morrow that God answered my question, for I received a letter from Mrs. Quinton, asking me to take charge of the mission that the Women's National Indian Association had begun in Southern Florida. By the time I reached Orlando it was June, and though it was a dangerous time to go in that region, I went. I found there those workers, Dr. Brecht and his wife. I said, this is the place for me to begin my mission. I believe God opened the way, and it was started with the understanding that Mrs. Brecht should continue as missionary until I could have my own introduced. A wise provision it turned out to be.

Afterwards a young man came to me and said: "I want to devote myself to work among the Indians. My wife is of the same opinion. We want to give our lives to the Indians. Will you accept us?" I did accept them, and he and his wife are working among them still. There have been difficulties and trials. The Indians are suspicious. They have no land secured to them yet. They

never had a reservation. The history of that tribe is interesting. The United States Government set to work to overcome them, and found it a much more difficult task than was imagined. Seven years of war dragged along, and even then they were not annihilated. Those that were left the Government determined to put in Arkansas and the Indian Territory. They called in consultation some of the leading Indians. After some difficulties a part of the tribe were carried off to Arkansas and Indian Territory, and the remnant found refuge in the everglades and swamps, and the United States troops never could capture them. Finally the effort was discontinued, and they were allowed to remain without any agreement or understanding whatever. So there they are, with no reservation and no standing ground. That little remnant numbered, so near as we can find out, about three hundred and eighteen; it is now supposed to number about six hundred. They are divided into three groups: one on the west toward the Cypress Swamp, another west of Fort Pierce, and one near Lake Worth. The mission is on the west side. I have not seen my work grow sufficiently to undertake anything with the other portions. I want to say with regard to these missionaries that they are thoroughly consecrated. No matter what the trials, the difficulties, the discouragements, they are persevering. The first time I made a visitation after Mrs. Gibbs's arrival at Immokalee it was a very wet season, and we drove for three days, almost all of the time, through water. Upon the evening of the first day we had a guide on horseback, and as it grew late he said, "Bishop, I think I had better try to find a camping place." He found a hummock, where he made our camp fire and spread palmetto leaves on the ground. Supper was prepared over the fire, and, rolled up in blankets, we lay on little pieces of oilcloth for the night, the plucky little woman lying down beside her husband on the wet ground. That was the experience she had for several nights, and that is the kind of spirit she has been showing ever since. When she and her husband found that it would be a great deal better to live down there in the everglades, in the midst of the Indians, they tried to live in a little shack very much exposed, and poor Mrs. Gibbs was taken with a violent attack of fever. We are now building a cottage for them, and I have succeeded in getting a whole section of land. I say land; it is land and water, the larger part water. It is on an island. I hope that the missionaries are now living in it. I had a service there, where I had twenty-nine men, women, and children,—the largest ever gathered together at one time. They enjoyed the singing. Larger numbers have assembled since that time.

With regard to work among the Indians, we have had the trouble that the Government did not begin right. We think the Indians ought to have been made citizens in the beginning. If they had been compelled to be citizens, and not treated as if they were foreign people, it would have been better. Now we must labor to bring them up to the high standard of Christian citizenship. They must have schools and Christianity, and must be taught to become

good citizens. I hope if the Government gives them land it will secure it to them, so that they shall not be cheated out of it, or have it disposed of unwisely. Our mission is to them as it is to others, "to every creature."

MR. WARNER VAN NORDEN.—It is my pleasant duty to offer a set of resolutions, on which I am quite confident there will be no negative vote. We look back, as we have met here in conference, to many years of earnest work for the cause which we are advocating. When we began the work people ridiculed the effort, and said it was a good deal like the Lord Chief Justice's description of Franklin's hunt in a dark room for a black cat that was not there. They said we were like the old New England Puritans, who passed two resolutions: first, that the saints should rule the earth. Resolved, second, that we are the saints. The attempt was also made to belittle the Indians' wrongs—to say that they had been exaggerated. But we have found that these wrongs were not exaggerated. We have found that where there is good work to do there are good people to do it. Not only that, but they will overcome discouragement. I believe this work will go on as long as Mr. Smiley lives, and will not end until the end is reached.

I have become familiar with many of the charming places of Mohonk which Miss Prescott has so eloquently described,—these walks, and nooks, and corners, where often there is room for only two. Some years ago I was traveling in Norway, and among other things I saw a sign that read, "We have many things here that are see-worthy." So Mr. Smiley has many see-worthy things, and it has been my experience that yonder "Sky-top" is less unchangeable than the generosity, the personal hospitality, the pleasant friendship, and the loving-kindness of our hosts. It is, therefore, with peculiar pleasure that I offer these resolutions:—

The members of the Sixteenth Annual Lake Mohonk Indian Conference offer to our host and hostess, Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley, our sincere congratulations on that prosperity, health, and benevolent disposition that prompts and enables them to convene year by year these delightful and helpful gatherings.

They have their exceeding great reward, not in our perishing vote of thanks, but in the imperishable results already attained, and in the prospect of greater good yet to come.

Through these conferences Lake Mohonk has become a national synonym for princely hospitality, genial good fellowship, practical philanthropy, and the application of good sense to the affairs of government. The Indian has been lifted from outlawry, and crowned with citizenship. A century of dishonor is being succeeded by a century of justice and generosity, and there has been fostered a lofty ideal of national treatment of unfortunate races that may be largely influential in guiding the Republic in the new and perplexing problems that loom ominously in our horizon.

May we all go down from these delectable mountains better fitted to resume in private and public life our burdens and our privileges.

Rev. GEORGE E. HERR, D.D.—A friend remarked at supper to-night that he had had the opportunity of visiting all the principal palaces of Europe, but there was not a prince or potentate in the world who had it within his power at once, without great preparation, to entertain such a great company with such gracious hospitality as Mr. and Mrs. Smiley have tendered to us. We have all of us read the descriptions of Sir Walter Scott and the great baronial feasts in Scotland, but, as a matter of fact, I doubt if there is a baronial hall in Scotland that compares in spaciousness with the room in which we sat at supper to-night. And I very much doubt if Sir Walter, in his wildest flights of imagination, ever conceived of such meals as we have enjoyed. The fact is that Mr. and Mrs. Smiley are the only persons probably in the wide world who have it in their power to tender such hospitality as we have enjoyed. In seconding this motion I express to our host the sentiments of every guest here: we say that we have not only enjoyed it, but are grateful for it.

What a fine thing it is for a man and woman to link themselves with the fortunes of a great reform. The impulses, the ambitions, the moral enthusiasm that have been carried into this philanthropy have flowed from this place. Why, the room in which we are gathered to-night is one of the shrines of the American Continent. It is a mount of transfiguration, from which people have gone down to engage in larger and more consecrated service for the welfare of their fellow-men.

Not only this, but what a providence it is that for twelve or thirteen years in the discussions of these great themes there should have been enunciated those principles which our nation most needs to-day. Who could have imagined a year ago that it would be the fortune of the American people, whether they liked it or not, to take up the vast problem of dealing with the depressed races of the world. Yet here in this room, I undertake to say, have been discussed and expounded the principles to which the statesmen of the present and of the future must revert time and again, if we are to have any wise solution of the great problems that confront our people. We have been building better than we knew. We have been laying plans and enunciating principles that are to have a larger recognition in the thought and life of the American people within the next three months than they have had in the dozen years that have gone before. So in seconding this motion, I second it not only as an expression of our grateful feeling for this hospitality, but with the feeling that here has been rendered a larger service to the cause of our common humanity than we could have dreamed.

Rev. William E. Barton, D.D., Pastor of the Shawmut Congregational Church, in Boston, spoke in substance as follows:—

Mr. President, and Friends of the Indian.—I rise to second these resolutions. If there were need, I would do so as a friend of the Indian. But the Indian has friends enough here, and I

speak as the representative and friend of another race which sometimes has need of a friend. I appear as a friend of the white man.

We have an Indian problem, and a serious one. It is a problem as old as the progress of the human race. It is the problem which ever meets civilization where it confronts savagery,—to be loyal to its duty to press civilization to the utmost limit of human possibility, and also to conserve, so far as it may, the rights and feelings of the individual whose system it opposes. There is a white man's problem as well as an Indian problem. And the logic of the progress of civilization is that the Indian problem itself becomes a problem for the white man, already burdened with problems of his own. Doubly burdened, the white man sometimes needs the sympathy of a body like this.

I admire the sympathy of a body of this kind for the under dog; a sympathy which seems all the more ready when the upper dog is our own. It is a sympathy which feels a peculiar virtue in self-condemnation, and which prompts us to take sides with the unfortunate and the oppressed everywhere, even though we condemn ourselves and our own institutions. But the white man's friend may of right say a word for the white man.

Let me say, as the friend of the white man,—and all the time admitting that, if there were need, I might also say some counterbalancing truths which have been uttered here so often and so well that they may now be taken for granted,—that some of the arguments of the friends of the Indian may seem to the white man's friend a trifle far-fetched. For instance, there is this perpetual talk about the right of the Indian to the land. I am not quite ready to concede the right of the savage to more land than a civilized man can use for the purposes of civilization. What gave him that right? He was born here; so was I. I question whether the fact that his ancestors were born here first entitles him to the land in fee simple. For aught I know, I had as good right to be born here as he, and being here have as good right to the land, and a better right if I use the land for some good purpose.

I sympathize with the effort of the white man to atone in some way for the fact that he has the land which the Indian once had. I am told that the gate of a cemetery at Buffalo has a bronze statue of Red Jacket, welcoming the white man, I suppose, to the happy hunting ground. It is the only territory into which he ever welcomed the white man. I remember with deep sympathy his

“Love for his land as if she were his daughter;”

and I also remember his

“Hatred of missionaries and cold water!”

I remember those pathetic incidents in his career, but I also remember that in part those pathetic incidents were inherent in the nature of the struggle of civilization onward. And I remember that, however bad the white man may be,—the white man whom the fierce competition of civilized life has pressed to the frontier, where he stands confronting, as allied opponents, civilization to the

eastward and the savage to the westward,—bad as that man may be or become, grasping and seared of conscience, and prone to take advantage of whatever superiority he may find within himself that enables him to prevail against either of his opponents,—I remember that the savage is no saint, much as he may look it when seen under the halo that gathers on this hilltop. Again I remember the saintly look of Red Jacket:—

“Who will believe that, with a smile whose blessing
Would, like a patriarch's, soothe a dying hour,
With voice as low, as gentle, as caressing,
As e'er won maiden's lips in moonlit bower;

“With look, like patient Job's, eschewing evil,
With motions graceful as a bird in air,—
Thou art in sober truth the veriest devil
That e'er clutched fingers in a captive's hair!

“That in thy breast there lurks a poison fountain,
Deadlier than that where bathes the Upas tree;
And in thy wrath a nursing cat-o'-mountain
Is calm as her babe's sleep, compared with thee!”

My friends, this country has not room between the shores of its two great oceans for one single savage. A thousand years from now it will be said that the clashing of civilization against savagery was inevitable if we did our duty in our generation. It is right that civilization should succeed, and we must never allow our sentimentalism to overlook the fact that civilization has a right to our sympathies. The land, every acre of it, belongs to civilization. Leaving the individual out of the question, savagery has no rights to the soil which civilization can respect.

I have heard with deep sympathy and with indignation the story of the wrongs of the Pillager Indians. Let no word that I say be understood as condoning those wrongs. But, my friends, when I consider the opportunity for the commission of such wrongs, an opportunity inherent in a badly devised effort to pension an inferior and savage race, I can only wish I had heard no stories of worse wrong than the Indian has suffered at the hands of the white man. For, what was the Government to do? When it had bought that land in good faith to be settled by a friendly tribe, and that tribe refused to settle there, what should it do? Preserve that land forever against the encroachments of civilization? That was impossible. The land had to be sold, and ought to have been sold, and the Government could not guarantee that every settler should be a saint. No doubt the Indian thought it bad faith. No doubt one administration forgot some promises of a preceding one. No doubt the Indian failed to understand our intricate system of political changes. I do not see how we can make him understand till, as a free citizen, he bears a share in our own problems of citizenship.

And should we have paid him, above the original price of the land, its value as determined by the advance of civilization? I am not sure but these repeated revaluations were a well-meant

supererogation. Who gave that land its value? The Indian? No. It was the white man's railroads and sawmills that made that timber worth revaluation. I am sorry that white men have squandered so much of it. I blame them for it. But I blame them as the friend of the white man, for it was the sweat of toiling civilization, a sweat mingled with drops of blood, that gave that pine timber its value.

We talk of the Indian's right to land, confusing it with our own right gained, not by mere antecedent occupancy, but by improvement. The occupation of the land by the Indian, though it lasted for ages, did not push forward the civilization of the world. The white man's right to the soil inheres in the assumed fact that possession with him means improvement, means contribution to the general good. I am inclined to think that we have long since overpaid the Indian for the land which his fathers possessed, if the value be determined by any fair estimate of the worth of land to a savage. It takes few acres to support a civilized man. It takes many hundreds of acres to support a savage, and in that ratio land values diminish as you recede into savagery. I believe that on the score of land the ledger may be closed.

And have we done little for the Indian's progress in civilization? How much do we give a year for Indian schools? The Government pays \$3,200,000, and churches and individuals must make it up to nearly or quite \$4,000,000. That, on the basis of an enrollment of 24,000 and an attendance of 18,000, is \$166.67 *per capita* for the children enrolled, and \$222 for the children who attend. How do you think the white man in Montana or New Mexico would like it if the Indian should pay \$200 per annum for the education of the white child? My friends, the amount which we spend for the education of the Indian is simply enormous. Only the fact that the Indians are few and the white men many makes it less than an intolerable burden which we take upon our shoulders in their behalf. Why, in Boston, noted for its liberality in the way of public schools, there is an expenditure, I think, of \$27.10 per child.* That is what we count a large sum when we pay it for our own children, we who are bearing the burdens of civilization, and whose children are to be tax-paying citizens. But for the savage we pay this enormous sum.

And here is your white man on the outer edge of civilization, who must buy his land from the Government and pay a tax on every improvement which he makes; and besides this he pays a poll tax of \$2, and he receives for the education of his child, and that out of his own earnings, possibly \$5 or \$6 per child; but the nearly \$8,000,000 we pay to the Indians makes a poll tax paid to

*Dr. Barton evidently did not understand that, in view of the Indian's condition and environment, Indian schools, to have any efficiency, must necessarily be boarding schools, giving not only tuition, but board, lodging, and clothing. This makes the *per capita* cost larger than the public schools, where the only expense is for tuition.

them of \$32 for every man, woman, and child, and an amount for their schools which bears no just ratio to that which the settler has for his own children.

Do you realize what we could do if we had such a sum of money to expend in uplifting our other belated populations? In the mountains of Tennessee and Kentucky, and adjacent States, an inland empire, we have 3,000,000 white people, who constitute a problem to civilization. Progress must go in there, and it finds obstacles, but not the deadly scalping knife. And we owe a debt to these people not less sacred than that we owe to the Indian. There are twelve times as many of them as of the Indians, and they struggle along, striving for education on a *per capita*, to which they contribute, from their own poverty, of \$1.56 or \$1.63, or possibly \$2.00. Give me the amount of money which we spend for the Indian, and let me take it there, and I will make it go twelve times as far, and have twice as much on an average to show for it in the case of each child enrolled. Two dollars for the child of our white brother, who put his life in peril and saved our nation in the dark days of the war, sending into our Union armies 150,000 loyal troops. We give his child \$2, and make him contribute toward it, and we give to the child of the savage a hundred times as much, and talk of the wrongs which we inflict upon the Indian!

And we have wronged him. We have given him too much. He needs not more land, but less, and needs to be put upon his land, and allowed to get very hungry if he will not work it. It is better that some lazy Indians should starve because they will not work, than that we should bear perpetually this burden, intolerable to us and demoralizing to them.

Not in this fashion have conquering races been wont to treat the races whom they have subdued. Tell me,—you have read history,—did you ever read of a nation that conquered another nation and did for it, either absolutely or relatively, what this nation has done for the Indian? Of whom have the nations of the earth demanded tribute—of their own children or of strangers? Of strangers, surely, and have collected from the conquered indemnities and ransoms that have burst out their own treasuries. And their own children have gone free. But we have robbed our own children that we might heap upon the children of the stranger schools which he does not attend; houses in which he stables his ponies, while he lives in the teepee; plows that rust without the turning of a furrow, while he gathers his blanket about him and posts off to the agency for his rations. And we have fed him, pricked in our conscience, the while, because we are doing so little for the Indian. If the Indian will match what we have done for him by exertion in his own behalf, we shall speedily be rid of the Indian problem.

Why do we spend so much time talking about the Indian problem? It is infinitesimal. Here are a quarter million savages. That is a trivial problem. At the close of the Civil War we took sixteen times as many savages into our population as citizens in a

single day. We have not solved that problem, but we should feel quite comfortable if it were only one sixteenth as large as it is. We take in a quarter of a million savages from other countries every now and then, and while they are a problem for a little while, they are soon naturalized and running for office, and we are soon ready for another quarter million. The root of this Indian problem is in the fact that we have been too willing to assume that the savage has rights as a savage, which may stand against the rights of civilization as a system. But he has no such rights as a savage. Whatever rights he has are his rights as a man. We are morally bound to exterminate the savage. And every time we destroy a savage we are bound, if possible, to save the man. And the spelling book is cheaper and usually more effective than the shotgun.

And if the Indian allows himself to become exterminated? I shall be sorry; but the fact that any one individual or race does a diminishing part of the work of populating the world, may not be wholly an evil. People will be born, and in the end the races most fit will perpetuate the race. I would have a civilization with rigor, based on the good, sound precept that if a man will not work, neither shall he eat. And if that means extermination, it shall be the Indian's fault, and not that of the white man.

But we do owe the Indian something. We owe him a fighting chance for life. We owe him the opportunity to be a man. We owe him a foothold on the earth, secure and inalienable. We owe to him that our sacred promises with him shall be kept. We owe to him to make such promises as we may keep, and promises that are grounded, not on his assumed rights as a savage, but on our manifest duty to make him civilized. We owe to him that he shall have opportunity to realize the hopes, and ambitions, and aspirations of manhood. We owe him ground for a reasonable hope for himself and his posterity. Above all, we owe him this, that his first contact with civilization shall be uplifting, and not such as to increase his degradation. We owe to him that he shall share the blessings and the burdens of our civilized life. We owe him the gospel, not simply as a theory of living, but as illustrated in our living. And as a friend of the white man, I may add, we owe to the white man that we shall perform all these sacred obligations.

Yes, we owe a debt to the white man, and as his friend I claim a right to demand it. We owe it to the white man that we shall purify our civil service; that we shall have done with this abnormal and mischievous reservation system; that we shall take this whole system out of politics, and put it on a basis where politics can never touch it.

All these things which I desire as a friend of the white man I believe you also desire as friends of the Indian. What this Conference desires for the Indian's sake I also desire for the sake of the white man, for economy, for purity, for righteous government, and

for the progress of civilization into every nook and cranny of our land from Plymouth Rock to Puget Sound. And so, as a friend of the white man, I second the resolutions.

The resolution of thanks was passed unanimously by a rising vote.

Mr. SMILEY.—I want to say a few words in response to the generous resolutions and the flattering remarks. They give my wife and myself much more credit than is due us. We have the opportunity of doing what we have done, and we like to do it, and that is all there is of it. Don't you all do just the same thing at home? That is all we do. Nothing in the year gives me more satisfaction than your coming up here to discuss this cause.

A word to strangers here. They must not go away thinking that there is no bright side to this; that the Indians are a very-much-abused people, and that the evils of the spoils system are confined to the Indians. It is no such thing. The spoils system permeates everything in this country. The old Romans used to say that if a general could make a breach in the wall big enough to admit a bag of gold he could take the city. Men love money. That is the trouble with the Indian service. Men clamor for office, and they get the recommendations of respectable men when they are totally unfit for Government service. Members of Congress are not selected because they are the best men, but because they serve a political end. Once in a while there is an exception. S. J. Barrows is a splendid exception; he has just been renominated, and he was selected on account of his great merit; but, as a rule, they are selected by a political party because they have served that party, not because they can serve the whole country well. The Indian service is no worse than any other part of the service. The vice of patronage prevails all over the country.

It has been said that the Indians are an abused people. They are abused, it is true, but there never, in the history of the world, was a conquered people treated so generously as the American Indians. See the amount of money expended for them,—three millions and a quarter for education alone! That is not a bit too much, but it is a wonderfully grand thing on the part of the United States to do it. I say this for the benefit of those who are here for the first time. I hope that before many years this whole Indian population will be absorbed into the general civilization of the country, and the Indians will no longer be either coddled or pauperized by being shut up on reservations, and having no chance to work out their own salvation. The best way is to throw them out and make them swim in deep water—or drown. That is my solution of the question. There would be a good deal of hardship with it, but it would be the best thing in the end.

We are going to have some more conferences, and we hope to see you here, ready to meet the new problems which will surely come up during the present year. And when you are at home do all you can to make people believe that the Indians are worth saving; and that we are going to save them, and that they must help.

Mrs. E. S. Mead, President of Mt. Holyoke College, was asked to speak. After a few words of gratitude for the hospitality received at Mohonk, Mrs. Mead spoke as follows:—

Mrs. MEAD.—I have long had a deep interest in the Indian problem. Seven generations ago my seventh grandfather, pastor of the church in the old town of Deerfield, Mass., was driven from his home with his family and carried captive to Canada by the Indians, who also massacred many of the inhabitants of the little village. His babe was killed before the eyes of her parents, and soon after his wife was drowned as they were fording the river. After months of captivity he was allowed to return home with the remaining members of his family; but his little daughter, eleven years old, refused to leave her captor, and finally married an Indian chief. The burden of desire for the salvation of the Indians that rested on that father's heart rests to-day on the hearts of his descendants. Amid the horrors of that awful massacre I think I hear him say, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do." I have been intensely interested in the Indian home question, because it is the woman that makes the home and exalts the family.

Such an assembly as this, representing the finest culture, the highest education, the largest business capacity, the broadest legal learning and sound statesmanship, sitting in council for days together considering the question of ameliorating the condition of the Indians, is a noble illustration of the influence of the Christian home, of the mother in the home. England has tried the experiment in India of educating the East-Indian man, but with little effect upon the social condition of the race. This university training of men has not changed the degraded condition of the women of India. They are still only the toy or slave of the husband. Their ignorance shuts them out from the possibility of any true companionship with intelligence, or sympathy with the broad interests of humanity. They are not fitted to teach their children, nor can they win the respect of their husbands or sons. No social life can rise higher than the condition of the women forming its society.

Until we reach the Indian woman in her tepee, until we rouse her æsthetic and moral nature, and develop her mental power, we shall never have an Indian civilization worthy of the name of humanity.

The testimony given by one of the teachers of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute as to the mental value of certain kinds of work, is both interesting and instructive. He says that when the colored students enter the Institute, the boys show a natural interest in the study of mathematics, while the girls have little mathematical ability; but after the girls are taught to sew and become expert in the use of the needle, they become interested in arithmetic and algebra, and often outstrip the boys in winning the mathematical prizes. I am glad that the needle and bobbin have gone into the Indian home, and that the women have learned to make this beautiful lace that Miss Carter has shown us. This lace making will help to rouse these Indian women to higher living.

It will train them to concentrate their thought; it will develop their æsthetic sense; it will awaken a consciousness of ability they have never dreamed of possessing. They have already formed habits of neatness that must in time transform the hut into a pleasant home. No doubt some marked effect uplifting the home and social life will follow this elementary and practical education, but it may not be seen at once. We must be patient with ourselves and the Government.

It took the State of Massachusetts long years to recognize the claims of her daughters for a common-school education. Harvard College had been established a century before girls were admitted to her public schools. It was against the law written on her statute book "to use public money for the schooling of girls," and the framers of this law were our Puritan fathers!

Though more than two hundred years have passed away since our fathers first struggled with the Indian question,—how best to civilize and Christianize the Indians; how to make them safe and good neighbors,—and though the problem has broadened into a national one, and we are not yet very near its solution, we need not be discouraged. History teaches us to be patient, yet always alert to take advantage of every opportunity for securing the desired result. It seems to me the opportunity of the hour is the eagerness of the Indian women for work, their readiness to learn, their desire to earn money; and through this new impulse will come a desire for more knowledge and for better homes. I believe the Christian education of the woman in the home is the only solution of the Indian problem.

Mr. Smiley invited those who wished to contribute to the building of the house desired by Mrs. Roe to subscribe at once. The sum necessary, about a thousand dollars, was subscribed within a few minutes.

Mrs. WALTER C. ROE.—My dear friends, I cannot express to you the gratitude I feel,—not only my own gratitude but that of the dear women I represent. When I came away they said, "O sister, when you are far away you must speak strong for us." I do not know whether I spoke strong or not, but surely God must have spoken to your hearts, and I thank you for your generosity and for the kindness which you have shown not only to these women, but to me, whose cup of happiness you have filled to overflowing. I hope and trust that Mohonk Lodge will be in operation before the snow flies.

The last address of the evening was given by Rev. Edgerton Young. Mr. Young's address consisted chiefly of interesting anecdotes of his early life as a missionary. It is omitted here for lack of space.

A unanimous vote of thanks to the presiding officer was passed, and after the singing of "God be with us till we meet again," the Conference adjourned.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

- ABBOTT, REV. DR. LYMAN and MRS., *The Outlook*, Brooklyn, N. Y.
ANDERSON, REV. DR. JOSEPH and MRS., Congregational Church, Waterbury, Conn.
ARBUCKLE, MR. JOHN, 315 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
ATTERBURY, REV. DR. W. W., 27 West 38th Street, New York.
AUSTIN, MRS. L. C., 891 Prospect Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
BAKER, MR. W. E. and MRS., Hartford, Conn.
BARROWS, MRS. S. J., Dorchester, Mass.
BARTON, REV. DR. W. E. and MRS., Shawmut Congregational Church, Boston, Mass.
BEARD, REV. DR. A. E., Corresponding Secretary American Missionary Association, New York.
BOARDMAN, REV. DR. GEORGE DANA, First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
BROSIOUS, MR. S. M., Washington Agent Indian Rights Association.
BROWNING, MR. E. F., 18 West 51st Street, New York.
BROWNING, MR. ROSS C. and MRS., West Orange, N. J.
BRUCE, REV. JAMES M. and MRS., Associate Pastor Memorial Baptist Church of N. Y., Yonkers, N. Y.
BRUCE, HON. WALLACE and MRS., 267 Stuyvesant Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
BUCKLEY, REV. DR. JAMES M. and MRS., Endeavor Christian Advocate, New York.
BURTIS, MISS M. B., 215 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
CAPEN, HON. F. S. and MRS., State Normal School, New Paltz, N. Y.
CARTER, MISS SIBYL, Care Bible House, New York.
CHENEY, MISS, Wellesley, Mass.
CHENEY, MRS. B. P., Wellesley, Mass.
COE, MRS. KATE FOOTE, New Haven, Conn.
COIT, REV. JOSHUA and MRS., Congregational House, Boston, Mass.
COLER, COL. W. N. and MRS., Nassau Street, New York.
CREEGAN, REV. C. C., District Secretary Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, New York.
CUMING, THE MISSES, 28 West 12th Street, New York.
DAVIS, MR. J. W. and MRS., Vice President Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston, Mass.
DAWSON, MISS ANNA R., Field Matron, Fort Berthold, No. Dak.
DREHER, PRES. JULIUS, Roanoke College, Salem, Va.
DUNNING, REV. DR. A. E. and MRS., *The Congregationalist*, Boston, Mass.
DURYEA, MRS. SAMUEL BOWNE, 46 Remsen Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
EATON, GEN. JOHN, *The Concord*, Washington, D. C.
FERRIS, MR. ROBERT M., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
FERRIS, MISS, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
FIELD, MR. FRANKLIN, Troy, N. Y.
FOUNTAIN, MR. GIDEON and MRS., 34 East 64th Street, New York.
FRYE, MRS. MYRA E., President Maine Indian Association, Woodfords, Me.
GALPIN, MR. S. A., New Haven, Conn.
GARRETT, HON. PHILIP C., Board of Indian Commissioners, Logan, Pa.
GILBERT, REV. DR. SIMEON and MRS., *The Times Herald*, Chicago, Ill.
GILFILLAN, REV. J. A. and MRS., White Earth Reservation, White Earth, Minn.
GILMORE, PROF. J. H. and MRS., University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
GLEASON, MR. F. D., Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
GRAY, RT. REV. WM. CRANE, Orlando, Fla.
GREENE, MR. J. EVARTS, Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston, Mass.

- HALL, MRS. HECTOR, Troy, N. Y.
 HALLOCK, REV. DR. J. N., *Christian Work*, New York.
 HARKNESS, MR. WILLIAM and MRS., 293 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 HARTSHORNE, MR. CHARLES, Philadelphia, Pa.
 HARTSHORNE, MR. EDWARD Y., Treasurer Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia, Pa.
 HATFIELD, THE MISSES, 149 West 34th Street, New York.
 HODGKINS, MISS LOUISE MANNING, Editor *Woman's Missionary Friend*, Auburndale, Mass.
 HERR, REV. DR. GEORGE E. and MRS., *The Watchman*, Boston, Mass.
 HOWARD, GEN. C. H., *Farm, Field, and Fireside*, Chicago, Ill.
 HUNTINGTON, MR. DANIEL, 49 East 20th Street, New York.
 IVES, MISS MARIE E., President New Haven Indian Association, New Haven, Conn.
 JACOBS, HON. JOSEPH T., Board of Indian Commissioners, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 JAMES, HON. DARWIN R., Board of Indian Commissioners, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 JANNEY, MR. JOSEPH J., 1923 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
 JENKINS, MR. HOWARD M. and MRS., *Friends Intelligencer and Journal*, Philadelphia, Pa.
 JOHNSON, MRS. ELLEN C., Superintendent Reformatory Prison for Women, South Framingham, Mass.
 KELLY, REV. DR. JOSEPH T., Fourth Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C.
 KINNEY, MRS. SARA T., New Haven, Conn.
 LIPPINCOTT, REV. DR. J. A. and MRS., Corresponding Secretary Methodist Episcopal Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.
 LUDLOW, MISS HELEN M., *The Southern Workman*, Hampton, Va.
 LUKENS, MR. C. M. and MRS., Germantown, Pa.
 MCWILLIAMS, DR. D. W. and MRS., 39 South Portland Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 MEAD, MRS. E. STORRS, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
 MERRILL, REV. DR. J. G. and MRS., *The Christian Mirror*, Portland, Me.
 MORGAN, GEN. T. J. and MRS., 11 West 81st Street, New York.
 MORSE, MRS. ANSON D., Amherst, Mass.
 PECK, MR. CYRUS and MRS., Newark, N. J.
 POLHEMUS, REV. I. H. and MRS., 565 Park Avenue, New York.
 PROCTOR, MISS EDNA DEAN, Framingham, Mass.
 QUINTON, MRS. AMELIA S., President Woman's National Indian Association, Philadelphia, Pa.
 ROE, REV. WALTER G. and MRS., Colony, Okla.
 SAGE, MR. HENRY W. and MRS., Cincinnati, Ohio.
 SCOVILLE, MISS ANNA BEECHER, Stamford, Conn.
 SHELTON, REV. C. W. and MRS., Congregational Home Mission Society, New York.
 SHINN, MR. JAMES T. and MRS., 313 South 41st Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 SLOCUM, PRES. WILLIAM E. and MRS., Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col.
 SMILEY, HON. ALBERT K. and MRS., Board of Indian Commissioners, Mohonk Lake, N. Y.
 SMILEY, MISS, Minnewaska, N. Y.
 SMILEY, MR. ALFRED E., Minnewaska, N. Y.
 SMITH, MR. and MRS. N. DENTON, 17 West 17th Street, New York.
 SMITH, MISS HELEN SHELTON, 17 West 17th Street, New York.
 SMITH, REV. DR. WILTON MERLE and MRS., 34 West 39th Street, New York.
 STODDARD, DR. C. A., *New York Observer*, New York.
 STRIEBY, REV. DR. M. E., Honorary Secretary American Missionary Association, New York.
 TALCOTT, MR. JAMES and MRS., 7 West 57th Street, New York.
 TAYLOR, REV. DR. JAMES M. and MRS., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 TEAD, REV. E. S. and MRS., Somerville, Mass.

- VAN GIESON, REV. DR. A. B., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 VAN NORDEN, MR. WARNER, National Bank of North America, New York.
 VAN SLYKE, REV. DR. J. G. and MRS., Kingston, N. Y.
 WARD, REV. DR. WILLIAM HAYES, *The Independent*, New York.
 WARNER, DR. LUCIEN C. and MRS., Irvington, N. Y.
 WEBB, REV. DR. E. B., Chairman Board of Foreign Missions, Wellesley, Mass.
 WELSH, MR. HERBERT, Corresponding Secretary Indian Rights Association. Philadelphia, Pa.
 WHITTLESEY, GEN. E. and MRS., Secretary Board of Indian Commissioners, Washington, D. C.
 WILLARD, MR. A. M., Cleveland, Ohio.
 WILLIAMS, MR. JOHN J. and MRS., 401 Clinton Avenue. Brooklyn, N. Y.
 WILSON, GEN. JAMES GRANT and MRS., President American Authors Guild, New York.
 WISTAR, MR. E. M. and MRS., Friends Orthodox Mission Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
 WOOD, MR. FRANK and MRS., Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston, Mass.
 WOODBURY, REV. DR. E. P., Corresponding Secretary American Missionary Association, New York.
 WORTMAN, REV. DR. D. and MRS., Saugerties, N. Y.
 WYNKOON, Mr. F. S., 159 West 21st Street. New York.
 WYNKOON, Miss, 159 West 21st Street, New York.
 YOUNG, REV. EGERTON R. and MRS., Toronto, Can.

LIST OF SPEAKERS AND WRITERS.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Abbott, Lyman, 64.
 Barton, Wm. E., 87.
 Brosius, S. M., 27, 28.
 Buckley, James M., 25, 27, 68.
 Carter, Sibyl, 27, 53.
 Dawes, H. L., 12, 33.
 Dawson, Annie, 54, 80.
 Eaton, John, 61.
 Galpin, S. A., 11, 57.
 Garrett, P. C., 10.
 Gilbort, Simeon, 61.
 Gilfillan, J. A., 18, 25, 79.
 Gleason, F. D., 77.
 Gray, Bishop, 84.
 Horr, Geo. E., 87.
 Howard, Charles, 27.
 James, Darwin E., 11.
 McAfee, G. F., 59.</p> | <p>Mead, Mrs. E. S., 94.
 Morgan, T. J., 25, 49, 52, 60.
 Quinton, Mrs. A. S., 30, 41, 57.
 Roe, Walter C., 75.
 Roe, Mrs. Walter C., 82, 95.
 Scoville, Anna Beecher, 57.
 Slocum, W. F., 16, 25, 43.
 Smiley, A. K., 9, 12, 27, 41, 53, 73, 82, 84, 93.
 Strieby, M. E., 79.
 Van Norden, Warner, 86.
 Ward, Wm. Hayes, 70.
 Welsh, Herbert, 11, 16, 26, 27, 34.
 Whittlesey, E., 12, 52.
 Wistar, E. M., 52, 74.
 Wood, Frank, 32.
 Woodbury, E. P., 57, 81.</p> |
|---|---|
-

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Abolishing of Indian Bureau, 42.
 Act for Relief of Chippewa Indians, 29.
 Administrations, Eras of, in Last Twenty Years, 35.
 Agreements with Indians Easily Broken, 25.
 Alloting of Land, Results of, 76.
 Allotments, Number of, 14.
 Annuities Bad for Indians, 24.
 Annuity, Decrease of, to Chippewas, 23.
 Appropriations for Indian Service, 13.
 Armenia under Turk, 10.
 Arapahoes, 75.
 Baptist Missionary Work, 60.
 Brunot, Felix, 15.
 Bureau of Education, Transferring Indians to, 38.
 Business Principles to be Applied in Government, 41.
 Cherokees, 34.
 Chippewas, 12, 18-25, 28-32.
 Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency, 15.
 Cheyennes, 75.
 Civil Service in England and Elsewhere, 37, 40.
 Civil Service Reform, Need of, 80.</p> | <p>Civil Service Regulations in Indian Service, 38; Need of Everywhere, 41.
 Committees, Members of, 11, 82.
 Cooking Classes among Indian Women, 55.
 Cornelius, Isabel, 16.
 Creeks, 34.
 Crow Agency, 15.
 Crow Creek Agency, 15.
 Crow Creek Indians, 36.
 Crow Reservation, Irrigation on, 13.
 Dakotas, 58.
 Dawes, H. L., 11.
 Deerfield Massacre, The, 94.
 Dekora, Angel, 16.
 Devil's Lake Agency, 15.
 Eastman, Charles, 16.
 Eastman, John, 16.
 Eastern schools, Students for, 77.
 Education, Foundation of, 43.
 Eldridge, Mrs., 31.
 England's Civil Service, 37.
 England's success in educating East Indians, 94.
 Faith of Indian in white man, 19.
 Field Matron Work, 55.
 Filipinos, 11.</p> |
|---|--|

- Five Civilized Tribes, 12, 33.
 Florida Indians, 84.
 Funds frittered away, of Indians, 24.
 Government teachers, Characters of, 78.
 Grande Ranch Agency, 14.
 Great Nemaha Reservation, 14.
 Gros Ventres, 54.
 Hailmann, Dr., 17, 18, 38, 48, 74.
 Hall, G. Stanley, 44, 45.
 Hazard, Rowland, Benefactions of, 56.
 Henry Kendall College, 60.
 Honest Administration, Need of, 40.
 House for Indians Needed in Oklahoma, 83.
 Hualapai Indians, 31.
 Indian Bureau, Efficiency of, 34.
 Indian Education, History of, 49.
 Indian Home, The, 94.
 Indian Teachers, Conference of, 17.
 Indian Territory, People of, 12, 33, 74.
 Indians, are They Lazy? 77.
 Indians, Debt to White Men, 92.
 Indians, Not Diminishing in Numbers, 9.
 Industries for Indian Women, 53.
 Inferior Races, Problem of, 11.
 Irrigation in Montana, 13.
 Jicarilla Reservation, 14.
 Keeley Cure, Taken by Commissioner, 21.
 Kiowa Reservation, 83.
 La Fresche, Francis, 16.
 La Pointe Agency, 14.
 Lazy Indians, 77.
 Leaf River Country, 28.
 Leech Lake Council, 29.
 Liberation and Education, 61.
 Liberty for the Indian, 64.
 Lombraso, Cesare, 46.
 Lower Bute Agency, 14.
 Malays, 11.
 Mandans, 54.
 Message to Senator Dawes, 12.
 Menominees, 28.
 Milk, Indians Learning to Use, 59.
 Mille Lacs Band, 20.
 Mission Indians, 30.
 Mission Tule River Agency, 15.
 Mohonk Legend, 82.
 Mohonk Lodge, 95.
 Money Available for Indian Education, 13, 50, 90.
 Montezuma, Dr., 16.
 Navajoes, Capability of, 73.
 Navajo Indians, 31.
 Negritos, 11.
 New England Farm Boys, Success of, 45.
 Nez Percé Allotments, 14.
 Oahe Work, 81.
 Ojibways, "to Roast all Puckered up," 19.
 Oklahoma, Work in, 75.
 Omaha Educational Convention, 43.
 Ooaho Indians, 57.
 Orthodox Friends, Work of, 74.
 Pan-Indian Conference, 10.
 Philippine Islands, Taking Charge of, 26, 40, 61, 67, 70, 72.
 Pillagers, Revolt of, 28.
 Pima Agency, 15.
 Pine Commissioners, 19.
 Pine Lands, Troubles Concerning, 18-27.
 Pine Ridge Indians, 78.
 Platform, The, 7.
 Ponca Agency, 14.
 Pottawatomie Reservation, 14.
 Pottery Making for Indians, 73.
 Presbyterian Mission Work, 59, 61.
 President of United States, one Term for, 42.
 Quapaw Agency, 15.
 Randall, Delia, 16.
 Rations, Issued by Treaty Stipulation, 59.
 Red Lake Reservation, Pine Land on, 21, 22.
 "Red Patriots, The," 57.
 Remedy for Inefficiency in Indian Bureau, 42.
 Reservation, Doing Away with, 49.
 Resolution of Thanks, 86.
 Returned Students, 78, 83.
 Riggs, Thomas, 57.
 Round Valley Reservation, 15.
 Sac and Fox Agency, 15.
 Schooling for Girls, 95.
 Schools for Indians, 13.
 Schools, Value of, 79.
 Seger, J. H., 76.
 Seminoles, 84.
 Shutting up the Reservations, 93.
 Sickness Reduced through Field Matron Work, 56.
 Siletz Agency, 14.
 Sioux, 18, 19, 28.
 Sisseton Agency, 14.
 Spoils System, 37.
 Standing Rock Agency, 57.
 Survey of Field, 12.
 Thanks, Resolution of, 86.
 Treaty of 1854, 28.
 Tuskegee Institute, 94.
 Warm Springs Agency, 14.
 What we owe the Indian, 92.
 White Earth Reservation, 20.
 White Man's Word for the White Man, 88.
 Wilkinson, Major M. C., 25.
 Wind, Lily, 16.
 Woodpiles and Haystacks, 58.
 Wright, J. G., Report of, on Pine Estimates, 22.
 Yakima Reservation, 14.



TOZZER LIBRARY



3 2044 041 993 528

**This book should be returned
to the Library on or before the
last date stamped below.**

Please return promptly.

